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(Journal of the Indian Research Institute)

Edited by
DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A., PH.D., F.A.S.B.
BENI MADHAB BARUA, M.A., D.LITT.
BIMALA CHURN LAW, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

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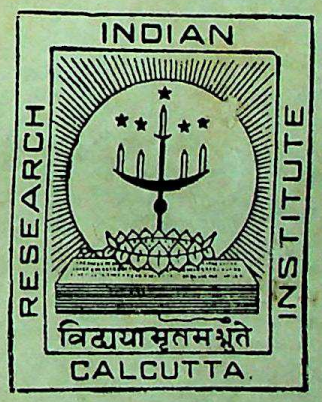

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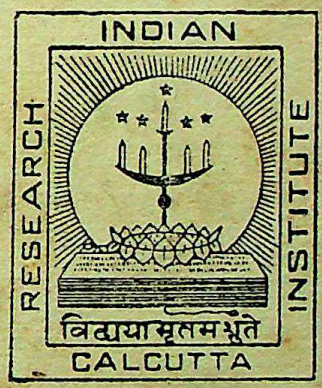

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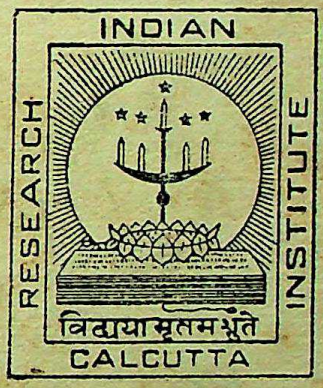

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INDIAN CULTURE

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CULTURE AND ORDER

Foreword By SIR DEVA PRASAD SARVADHIKARY, KT.
(*President, Indian Research Institute*)

It might appear to be too late in the day to have to define or defend 'Culture', which is the foundation, the base, and the bed-rock of order and orderliness in their broadest and best sense. The contrary, however, seems to be the case, and wonder of wonders such is the case, in regions best and most permeated and pre-dominated by Culture, also in its best and the broadest sense. The case of such an individual was like that of one who proclaimed that he did not know what Prose was though he was speaking Prose all his life.

This remark can be best illustrated and in the shortest way by two quotations from two of the most cultured men of the last century. The famous statesman, orator, and philanthropist, John Bright, almost in a perverse and 'cussed' fashion once pro-claimed, 'People who talk about what they call *culture*, by which they mean a smattering of the two dead languages—Greek and Latin. How poor a thing this culture is, how little good it can do to the world, and how absurd it is for its possessors to set much store by it'.

Another famous protagonist of real Culture and one of the most cultured of men took upon himself to speak of Culture in the same strain. Frederic Harrison observed, 'Perhaps the very silliest cant of the day is the cant about culture. Culture is a desirable quality in a critic of new books, and sits well on a professor of "*belles letters*"; but as applied to politics, it means simply a turn for small fault-finding, love of selfish ease, and indecision in action. The man of culture is in politics one of the poorest mortals alive. For simple pedantry and want of good sense no man is his equal. No assumption is too unreal, no end is too unpractical for him.'

The offending 'smattering of Greek and Latin', now at a much greater discount than ever even in Cambridge and Oxford, or shall I say Oxford and Cambridge, should one would have thought, no longer bring this diatribe on Culture. But the stream of vituperation has by no means ceased. As late as 1933, Mr. Burton Roscoe in the preface to his admirable 'Titans of Literature' says, 'More nonsense has been written about the Greeks than about any other race of people. This is because their tremendously rich literature

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has begot a rich literature, rich in nonsense as well as sense. This sense of non-sense is remarkable in an author who in spite of himself has done yeomen service to the better and proper understanding of Greek and Latin literature. It is a pity that he had not read earlier Prof. Pearl's work, 'To Begin with', which he himself describes as a 'Prophylactes against Pedantry'. Strangely enough, this Prophylactes prescribes from 'Lucretius' to 'Balzac and Anatole France' as some of the antidotes against the prevailing melody of Pedantry. Though we have not lacked support and appreciation there are and had been those to whom the ethics about 'Little Latin' and 'Less Greek' in the domains of Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, and Persian have not been wanting. Ethics of this type have still to be accommodated and reckoned with, particularly as Type-writing, Accountancy, Tailoring, and Actuarial Economics which have begun claiming monopoly in seats of learning, threatened to eclipse also our temple for the Advancement of Learning—our University.

Mathew Arnold, the last century apostle of 'Sweetness and Light' looked upon Culture as the foe of cant, vandalism, and vulgarity. He hated 'Clap-trap' as much as Hebraism the stronghold of narrow bigotry and pert and perverse pertinacity. Hellenism was his creed—the Salt of the Earth and the saving-grace of humanity. Minerva was the daughter of Jove as Saraswati was of Brahma. One can ill afford to ignore the elephant-headed presiding deity of Wisdom and Success riding his mouse-charger and his brother, Heaven's Generalissimo who are all more or less prototypes of Culture. Mahamaya's *entourage* is not unreasonably and ineffectively predominated by Saraswati, Ganesa, and Kertikeya, multiple forces of Culture in the grand scheme of the Universe.

Montesquien says: 'The first motive which ought to impel us to study is the desire to augment the excellence of our nature, and to render an intelligent being yet more intelligent'. This is the true ground, says Mathew Arnold, 'to assign for the genuine scientific passion, however manifested, and for culture, viewed simply as a fruit of this passion'. There is of Culture the prevailing view 'that in all the love of our neighbour, the impulses towards action, help and beneficence, the desire for removing human error, clearing human confusion and diminishing human misery, the noble aspiration to leave the world better and happier than we found it,—motives eminently such as are called social,—come in as part of the grounds of culture'—the main and the pre-eminent part.

Culture may, according to Mathew Arnold, be properly described 'not as having its origin in curiosity: but as love of perfection; *it is study of perfection*. It moves by the force, not merely of

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primarily of the scientific passion for pure knowledge but also moral and social passion for doing good.'

As in the first view of it, we took for its worthy motto Montesquien's words: 'To render an intelligent being yet more intelligent', so, in the second view of it, there is no better motto which it can have than the words of Bishop Wilson: 'To make reason and the will of God prevail'.

This vein need hardly be pursued very much further for our present purposes than to deplore that in the wake of so-called 'Utilitarianism' the study, appreciation, and absorption of culture is on the wane. Horrors are being perpetrated in some sections of modern literature in the name of Art and the tide has to be stemmed. Bengali Vernacular which is daily gathering remarkable vigour and energy has long been casting about for a suitable name for Culture, and among the many that have been suggested, one finds '*Kristi*', '*Charcha*', '*Sadhana*', '*Alochana*', and '*Anusilan*'. The appropriateness and suggestiveness of any of these names need not detain us, except as an index of the widespread desire and demand for the growth and expansion of real cultural ideals, ideas, and formulæ. Culture is bound to prevail, however much one may deprecate, the smattering of any old or mid-old Classics. It is recognized to be and is the bed-rock of order and orderliness without which no social entity can be evolved or exist. *Sahitya* is the Sanskrit equivalent of what is normally connoted as literature. The wise ancient saying:

"काव्यशास्त्रविनोदेन कालो गच्छति धीमताम्"

'The time of the wise and the intellectual is passed by the pastime of Kavya and Shastras or Literature—worldly and other-worldly.' Here is the key-note of the situation and the seeming pastime is really the cement that goes deep down the foundation and constitutes the bed-rock.

Where there is little time, capacity or inclination for close and deep scholarship even 'smattering' or casual acquaintance is helpful and healthful. The Calcutta University not caring or daring to deal with Culture at large, has for the moment shown courage by adopting 'Indian History and Culture' as one of the subjects for higher studies. This is a first good step. Thereby, however, it does not ignore or give the go-by to Culture of other ilk and with a larger venue. All its curricula and courses of study, however seemingly utilitarian, make forth the growth and promotion of Culture in the broader and the better sense.

Search and reverence for the old and the past, as helping in the understanding of the present and in the strengthening and

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reinforcement of the future, have a great place in real Culture. This has been the motto and motive of the Indian Research Institute which in spite of untold handicap has set before itself the great task of the publication of an acceptable and useful edition of the 'Vedas'. The difficulties in our way have gradually assumed much larger proportions than we had bargained for, because of lack of capacity and inclination for work of this description on the part of many people to whom credit for this class of work has been unwittingly but fondly given. We have to retrace our steps, correct our mistakes and miscalculations, and plod on more doggedly and determinately than ever in our new found path. One of the methods for creation and strengthening of public opinion in favour and in the interest of Culture would be the undertaking to which we have now resolved to commit ourselves. There is no lack of Journals and journalistic enterprise in the learned world, which on the other hand seems to suffer according to certain standards and ideas rather from a plethora. But every ideal for propagation and promotion of public opinion as also the demand for manifestation and clarification of its 'Objects and Reasons' must have a platform of its own. Such a platform has its value as it can set forth from time to time and help in diffusing the reasons, the utility, the practicability, and the essential desirability of ideals, as such. Such a platform can also assist in the removal and rectification of errors, miscalculations and misapprehensions and in focussing the views, demands, and necessities of its votaries, that resolve to worship in the same temple.

In addition to our Vedic work, the Institute during its very short existence has succeeded, through the generosity and public spirit of Dr. Bimala Churn Law, a worthy scion of a wealthy, pious, and public-spirited family, in bringing out an acceptable edition of 'Barhut' under the capable and scholarly editorship of Dr. B. M. Barua. Similar other ventures are in view and how far success will attend our endeavours in the directions that we are proposing to ourselves, will depend upon the volume of enlightened and sympathetic public opinion that we can create, and public demand that we can evolve.

The Journal, which again owes its inception and energizing inspiration to the generosity of Dr. Bimala Churn Law and to the determined zeal and unflagging devotion of our Secretary, Mr. Satis Chandra Seal, will endeavour to focus suggestions, criticisms, and ideas. It will as far as our means and resources permit give at once an organic shape to unconnected ideas of our programme in hand and our contemplated field of action. It will try to afford to all devoted workers an impartial forum, under

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the capable editorship of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, long and honourably connected with the epoch-making Journal 'Indian Antiquary', with willing co-operation of Dr. B. M. Barua and Dr. B. C. Law.

We soon expect and propose to have our self-contained office and Press which will make our work quicker, easier, and smoother. Regarding our contemplated publication of the Vedas, the gigantic proportions of which will be some explanation of our seeming slowness, every effort is being made to quicken them on modified lines found necessary and unavoidable under altered circumstances of which premonition and prevision were impossible. Apart from other beneficent resultants of our proposed publications in the domains of Spirituality, Antiquity, Linguistics, and Economy, we set forth high stores by them on the score of much decried Culture which in the march of things, must once again come into its own.

To come back once more to Frederick Harrison. He in his narrow and crabbed concept of Culture looks upon the cultured man as the useless *diletantte*. He thinks that cultured people are the only class, perhaps they are the only class of responsible beings in the community who cannot with safety be entrusted with power.

Frederick Harrison proceeds in this strain and says, 'The active exercise of politics requires common sense, sympathy, trust, resolution and enthusiasm, qualities which your man of culture has carefully rooted up, lest they damage the delicacy of his critical olfactories'.

This large-minded and really cultured man, the exponent of August Comte and Positivism to the British Phelistines, as Mathew Arnold called them, did tremendous injustice to Culture in the West as well as in the East when he gave utterance to these highly Phelistine-like sentiments. Big men of action in the West have also been some of the biggest men of Culture. Not to multiply names, this is best illustrated by the conquering Cæsar and his edifying commentaries.

So has been the case in what to the West goes as the sleepy and the dreamy East. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in his monumental study of Srikrishna, the pivot of modern reaction in Hinduism, has forcibly analysed and illustrated many-sided and variegated activities of the Man of Thought and Speculation, of organization and of action,—an Ideal, a second of which the world has not been blessed with. And who can in this concern forget Srikrishna's typical disciple the Knight Vaishnava or Vaishnavite Knight—Vishma, so powerfully portrayed in the Mahabharata and Srimad Bhagvat with harmonious combination of Action, Administration, Speculation, Sacrifice, and Spirituality in his immeasurably gigantic personality—a true type of true Culture.

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The name of Chanakya Kautilya will strike the most casual of thinkers as illustrating balanced Culture and Action. Names could be multiplied *ad libitum* if necessity arose.

To pick out only a few names in the special domains of that section of Culture with which we are for the moment in particular concerned, the names of Madhavacharya (Vidyaranya) and Sayancharya in the South, and Rupa and Sanatana 'inspired' by Sree Chaitanya in the North, will strike many as giving practical contradiction to Frederick Harrison's poorly conceived dictum. Who were greater scholars, thinkers, teachers, and at the same time administrators and organizers than Madhava and Sayana whose impress on Vedic learning is an abiding asset in high grade Culture ? Who left a deeper impress on Northern Vaishnava spirituality than the thinkers, philosophers, and administrators, Rupa and Sanatana ? It is not of, 'Blucher-booted Kulter', the pernicious creed of pre-war Prussia that rased Luvain, and ultimately rased pre-war German imperialism of which one cares to think in this concern. Rather would one think of and teach Indra-Birochana Philosophy, the leveller and at the same time the uplifter of ideals that may for ascendency, development, and stability of what Ancient India stood for and in spite of passing ages still stand for and will yet abide. Our reference would not be complete without mention of the many-sided activities of that colossal creation and creator of Modern India—Raja Ram Mohun Ray, the centenary of whose death was celebrated with so much eclat last year.

Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, one of our contributors, has in his well-known 'History of Indian Philosophy' abundantly made it clear that the most important achievement of Indian thought was Philosophy and it was regarded as the goal of all the highest practical and theoretical activities. He indicated the point of unity amidst all the apparent diversities which the complex growth of Culture has over a vast area. Dr. Das Gupta goes on to add: 'The unity of India is essentially one of spiritual aspirations and obedience to the Law of the Spirit'. This indeed proves how Culture is the basis and bed-rock of order and orderliness. It is indeed theoretical but much more than theoretical; it is much more practical than it is theoretical—a position that neither John Bright nor Frederick Harrison and small-vision men like them, who deprecate Culture could imagine or appreciate. The spiritual and the practical integrity of our Culture has never been affected by passing political, social, or even intellectual phenomena that have, age after age, swept over India. A study of its Philosophy will convince open-minded investigator of the essential unity and practical efficiency of Culture—and particularly of Hindu Culture.

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The Culture that we want to visualise and assimilate is neither narrow nor lop-sided but is broad-based, universal, and all-pervading.

A glance at the credentials of our Board of Editors, Advisory Committee, and contributors will convince the most casual and capricious of critics that ours are not sectional or sectarian ideals but we aim at an all-comprehensive programme and routine of work for the uplift of worldly and other-worldly level of humanity as an organic whole. We, who are engaged in the arduous and possibly thankless task of trying to bring home to the seeker the master-pieces in Thought and Speculation of the Past cannot ignore books and what they stand for. At the same time we do not ignore but must frankly recognise the great place that well-conducted journals have won for themselves in the development of cultural ideals in domains of Spirituality, of Art and Arts, and of Science and of Literature. They are much more than a pastime and an entertaining interlude. They help in focussing on a common and easily accessible plane the wisdom of the past and the speculations and the discoveries of the present, in which achievement they have been singularly fortunate and successful. How extensive is the capacity of journals in this direction will be perceived from the fact that one learned Society in Calcutta—the Asiatic Society of Bengal—gets placed on its tables for the benefit of enquiring members as well as of record as many as 86 high class journals. Without taking into consideration the more or less ephemeral and *diletantte* style of work of lesser journals and magazines, one can form an idea of the immense path that is possible for our Research Journal to take in the Advancement of Learning, growth of cultural ideals, and development of speculation.

Ours is an humble but devoted effort to supplement the labours of this band of constant workers in keeping our mission in the forefront of the intellectual and spiritual workings of the day and to keep the flag flying.

May the God of Nations bless and prosper the humble efforts of the Institute that has set itself to it the task of placing before seekers rich stores of the past, which have more or less been a sealed book to the general public.

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CHIPS FROM AN INDIAN WORKSHOP

By SIR BRAJENDRANATH SEAL, KT.

This workshop has long ceased to resound with the stroke of the hammer, but stray chips collected from the debris will be found here from time to time.

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I.

THE COMING WORLD-ORDER.

(a) *The Russian model or plan.*

In Russia, since the Revolution the established socio-political order is communistic, but latterly it has been tempered by the recognition of the individual's claim to remuneration in the form of wages. This has been forced on communistic Russia on account of the foreigners who had been employed under the new organization. It has, however, gradually been extended so as to form an element of the economic system.

(b) *The Anglo-American Model.*

The basis of this system is capitalism and the recognition of individual ownership of property as normal and basic. But it also has had to be tempered by socialistic taxation so that the socio-political organization is tending towards a sort of profit-sharing co-partnership between the capitalists, and the State as representing labour and the masses.

N.B.—In England capitalism is being bolstered up by the introduction of the dole system as a preventive of possible socialistic legislation but the dole system means a confession that pure capitalism has failed as a solution of the problem.

The above two schemes may be briefly described as (1) communism tempered by the recognition of individuals' share in earnings or wages, and (2) individualistic capitalism tempered by State-sharing of profits.

These two tendencies of socio-political organization will move towards *râpprochement* and merge at last in a socio-economic order which will combine both individualism and socialism. The new order will therefore be based on the recognition both of private ownership and communal or State ownership in proper measure and context.

The right remedy against the absurdity of doles is reorganization of the labour and wage-system so as to provide work for every able-bodied individual with such remuneration as will maintain a normal family with facilities for education, necessary medical aid, and recreation. Conversely, every individual citizen will be under obligation to the State to work for a certain number of hours which gradually may be reduced to four hours a day,—this being sufficient with the coming improvements in small mechanical appliances to produce all that is necessary for healthy maintenance of individual life, even if the population should grow to three-fold

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its present numerical strength. A programme of four hours' daily labour is within the range of visibility.

II.

The problem of war: How to end war:

(1) *A possible solution.*

The problem of war will loom large in the immediate future and an effective solution may be imagined on one of several lines. No doubt it would be difficult if not impossible to give body and shape to such imaginary or fanciful schemes, but we may conceive that, with the march of science, a time may come when war would become too destructive to be seriously contemplated by the rival world-powers.

For example,—

(*a*) If electricity could be brought down from the clouds and employed for the destruction of war-materials of the enemy, the incentive to war under such terrible conditions will certainly be considerably enfeebled;

(*b*) Or again, if ether-waves could be transmitted not merely for the communication of messages (as under the wireless system), but also for the destruction of materials of war (e.g. powder-magazines, etc.), or of the enemy's strongholds, war would be rendered impossible under such conditions;

(*c*) Or again, if Science should discover a means of dislodging even a single atom with a resulting liberation of energy followed by a universal crash and destruction of the entire material system, the incentive to war will also cease under such terrible conditions.

These are only three of the many possible ways in which we might fancy that war might be rendered impossible by the application of science.

(2) *Another solution.*

An international pact in which the control of the world's military and naval organizations will be vested in a body of representatives of all the important nations may also be effective in preventing wars in the future. It will be effective only as non-participating or belligerent nations are subjected to economic boycott and, if necessary, to international military sanctions.

(To be continued.)

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NOTES ON ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA

By D. R. BHANDARKAR

(1) *Pradyota and his brother Kumārasena*

At the end of Chapter VI of the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇa there is a passage which specifies the instances of rulers coming to grief through their over-confiding nature. As it contains many political episodes of importance, the passage has naturally attracted the attention of many scholars ever since 1859 when F. E. Hall first brought it to our notice. For many more years attention will be bestowed upon it, because with the advance of our knowledge of Ancient India more and better light must be thrown upon many of these political incidents, which, being thus properly interpreted and understood will, in their turn, make distinct contributions to the ancient history of India. One such episode I discussed in my paper *New Light on the Early Gupta History*, published in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume*, 1932, p. 189ff. Here I propose to consider the incident referred to in the sentence: Mahākāla-mahe ca mahāmāṁsa-vikraya-vāda-vātūlaṁ vetālas=Tālajaṅgho jaghāna jaghanyajaṁ Pradyotasya Pauṇikaṁ Kumāraṁ Kumārasenam.[1] This passage was some time ago ably discussed by Dr. S. N. Pradhan in the *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*, Orientalia, Pt. 3, pp. 425–27. But as our knowledge is progressing, no excuse is needed for its re-consideration here. It may be translated here as follows: 'Kumārasena, son of Puṇika and younger brother of Pradyota, was slain at the festival of Mahākāla by the vampire Tālajaṅgha, while (he was) crazy with discussion about selling human flesh'.[2]

The mention of the god Mahākāla shows that this incident took place in Ujjain which is still celebrated for the temple of Mahākāla. This inference is supported by the specification of the name of Pradyota who can be no other than Caṇḍa Mahāsena Pradyota, a well-known ruler of Ujjain, and a contemporary of Buddha. Of this Pradyota, Kumārasena was a *jaghanyaja*, that is,

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[1] *Harṣacarita* (Bo. Sk. Pk. Series), p. 270. Here I adopt the reading *Pauṇikam* noticed in the foot-note and not the reading *Pauṇakiṁ* adopted in the text. The reason will be obvious as we proceed further in this paper.

[2] My rendering, of course, differs in some important respects from that given by Cowell and Thomas in their Translation of *The Harṣa-carita of Bāṇa*, p. 193.

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'a younger brother' as the commentator Śaṁkarārya has explained it. This is proved further by the fact that Kumārasena has been called Pauṇika, that is, son of Puṇika, who, as was correctly pointed out by Dr. Pradhan, must refer to the father of Pradyota. The actual variants of his name, as they occur in the Purāṇas, are Pulika, Mulika and Sunika and Śunaka. And it is not difficult to perceive that the correct form must be Puṇika as preserved in the *Harṣacarita*, especially as it offers no variant of the name. We thus see that Kumārasena was a son of Puṇika and a younger brother of Pradyota. We do not, however, know what is exactly meant when we are told that he was 'crazy with discussion about selling human flesh'. This much is pretty certain that human sacrifice was known and practised in the temple of Mahākāla in the time of Pradyota, but we do not know whether Kumārasena was in favour of it or against it. Who, again, could be the vampire Tālajaṅgha? Was he a real vampire or a human vampire? If the episode here described is a historical one (and we can have no reasonable doubt on this point), Tālajaṅgha must be taken to be a human being and we have to suppose that he was called a Vetāla or vampire because he treacherously murdered Kumārasena. If Tālajaṅgha was thus a man and not an unreal being, who could he be? Those who have studied the Purāṇas[1] know full well that Tālajaṅghas were a clan of the Haihaya race. The most renowned king of this race was Kārtavīrya-Sahasrārajuna. One of his sons was Jayadhvaja who became a ruler of Avanti. His son was Tālajaṅgha from whom emanated a number of clans such as Vītihotras, Sujātas, Bhojas, Tuṇḍikeras, Tālajaṅghas and so forth. These clans again were designated by the generic name of Tālajaṅgha. Tālajaṅgha was thus used in a two-fold sense. It denoted the whole race sprung from Tālajaṅgha, son of Jayadhvaja, and also a particular section of the same. But as Jayadhvaja is spoken of as Āvantya or ruler of the Avanti country, it seems that the Tālajaṅghas were in occupation of the province round about Ujjain. This agrees with what is implied by the *Harṣacarita*, for when it represents Kumārasena to have been killed unawares by a Tālajaṅgha, the reasonable inference is that the Tālajaṅghas were in possession of the Avanti country before Pradyota made himself master of it. And further it seems that the Tālajaṅghas were always ready for that reason to wreak vengeance upon the family to which Pradyota belonged, and a suitable opportunity offered itself to them when

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[1] *Vāyu-P.*, cap. 94, vs. 48–52; *Matsya-P.*, cap. 43, vs. 45–49; *Harivaṁśa*, vs. 1891–1895. It will be seen that one text runs through these accounts though they present various readings.

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Kumārasena, brother of Pradyota, was so much absorbed in the discussion about the selling of human flesh that he was thrown off his guard and thus fell a prey to the machinations of his enemy.

In this connection it is worth while turning our attention to what the Purāṇas say about Pradyota's accession to the throne. The well-known lines bearing upon this point are as follows :

Bṛhadratheṣv=atīteṣu Vītihotreṣv=Avantiṣu
Puṇikaḥ svāminaṁ hatvā sva-putram=abhiṣekṣyati
Miṣatāṁ kṣatriyāṇāṁ ca Pradyotaṁ Puṇiko balāt.

This may be translated as follows: 'When the Bṛhadrathas have passed away and the Vītihotras (rule) in the Avanti country, Puṇika will kill his master and anoint his own son Pradyota, by force, in the very sight of the Kṣatriyas'. This translation is practically the same as that given by F. E. Pargiter except in the first line. This line he translates as follows: 'When the Bṛhadrathas, Vītihotras and Avantis have passed away'.[1] But this makes no sense, because the Bṛhadrathas were kings of Magadha, whereas the Vītihotras were in Central India. What is therefore meant by saying that Pradyota was installed as king apparently at Ujjain when the Bṛhadrathas and Vītihotras had passed away? This sense establishes no connectedness. What is intended is that when the Bṛhadrathas, who were the supreme rulers of North India, had disappeared, the Vītihotras seized the Avanti country and that while they were ruling at Ujjain, Puṇika forcibly put his son Pradyota on the throne. It seems that before Pradyota became king, the Avanti country was ruled over by the Vītihotras who were a branch of the Tākajaṅghas. This adequately explains why a Tālajaṅgha should kill Kumārasena, brother of Pradyota, in the temple of Mahākāla, as Bāṇa informs us. Secondly, it seems that Puṇika was apparently a general of his Vītihotra master. The story of a general killing his master, the king, and usurping his throne is too common an incident at this period to require any elucidation, and has many a time been detailed in the Purāṇas. Thirdly, as we are told that Puṇika killed his master and placed his son on the throne while the Kṣatriyas were helpless and merely looking on, it raises the presumption that the father and the son were not Kṣatriyas by caste. And the question arises: who could they be? If we now turn to the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, we find that it speaks of one Āryaka who was a son of Gopāla and who was for long in hiding in 'a settlement of herdsmen' to escape from the machinations of Pālaka. All scholars are now agreed that this

[1] *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 68.

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Āryaka was a grandson of Pradyota who had the two sons, Gopāla and Pālaka, and that Gopāla abdicated the throne of Ujjain in favour of his younger brother, Pālaka. Pālaka, however, was suspicious of his nephew Āryaka and therefore put him into a prison. Before, however, he was arrested, Āryaka, we are informed, concealed himself in 'a settlement of herdsmen'. The actual Sanskrit word used for it is *ghoṣa*, which, according to the Amarakoṣa, is *Ābhīra-pallī*, that is, 'an Ābhīra hamlet'. It therefore seems that Āryaka was an Ābhīra by extraction. In this connection we have also to note that at the very beginning of Act II of the Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa, the Chamberlain conveys a message of the king to the Keeper of the Gate apparently through a sentinel who is addressed as Ābhīraka. Ābhīraka is the same thing as Ābhīra which is the name of a well-known tribe, and the sentinel seems to have been so addressed as he belonged to that tribe. Further, if an Ābhīra is appointed to guard the innermost parts of a palace where the king stayed, the presumption is that the king also belonged to the Ābhīra tribe as it is natural to expect tribesmen to protect their tribal ruler. This is in consonance with the fact that Āryaka hid himself in a *ghoṣa*, that is, in an Ābhīra settlement. The only debatable point is whether the Ābhīras were known before the beginning of the Christian era. Doubt on this point is now set at rest by the fact that Patañjali [1] used such a compound word as Śūdr-Ābhīra in the sense that in his time the Ābhīras formed an entirely different *jāti* from the Śūdras. This shows that even as early as the middle of the second century B.C. the Ābhīras were considered to be of a grade even lower than the Śūdras. It therefore seems that long before the Christian era the Ābhīras were well-known as a tribe, that possibly they were employed as a *śreṇi-bala* or a tribal contingent by the Vītihotra family of Ujjain, and that Puṇika, the leader of this contingent, took fullest advantage of a favourable situation by killing the last Vītihotra king and establishing his son Pradyota on the throne.

(2) *Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga*

There is another political episode mentioned in the passage from the *Harṣacarita* adverted to above, which we shall now consider and which is connected with Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga. Unfortunately, the sentence which describes this incident presents many variants and is also unnecessarily divided into two parts by the

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[1] *Mahābhāṣya* (Bo. Sk. Series), Vol. I, p. 252. Our attention to this was first drawn by Mr. N. G. Majumdar in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 36.

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editors. It is, however, not very difficult to restore the text as follows: *Āścarya-kutūhalī ca daṇḍ-opanata-Yavana-nirmitena nabha-stala-yāyinā yantra-yānen=ānīyata kv=āpi Kākavarṇah Śiśunāgaḥ, Nagar-opakaṇṭhe kaṇṭhas=c=āsya nicakṛte nistriṁśena.* This passage also has been considered by Dr. Pradhan who was the first to correctly point out that Cowell and Thomas in their translation of it have wrongly separated *Kākavarṇah* from *Śiśunāgaḥ* so as to form two separate sentences.[1] Before, however, we translate this passage, it is necessary to take into consideration what the commentator has understood it to mean. The substance of what Śaṁkarārya, the commentator, says is as follows: 'Kākavarṇa conquered the Yavanas and received some Yavana individuals as a present. These Yavana individuals constructed aeroplanes for him which he used for his libidinous purpose. One day these Yavanas took him by this conveyance to their own country, and there they killed him'. In the light of this explanation by the commentator we may now translate the text as follows: 'And, being curious of marvels, Kākavarna, son of Śiśunāga, was carried away no one knows whither, on an artificial aerial car made by the Yavanas subdued by his power (*daṇḍ-opanata*), and his throat cut with a knife on the outskirts of Nagara'. If we piece together the scraps of information supplied by the text and the commentary, it comes to this. Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga, had conquered a Yavana king and received from him, as present, some Yavana artificers who constructed an aerial car[2] for him. This conveyance he used to help his lascivious courses. One day while his car was being so driven, the Yavana servants carried him away to their own country and landed him in the vicinity of Nagara where they finished him.

Various questions now arise. What is meant by the word Nagara which occurs in the text? Are we to take it in the sense of a town in general or of a particular town called Nagara? If we consider the original text carefully and impartially, the term *Nagara* signifying a town in general imparts no good sense to the passage. For what is meant by saying that Kākavarṇa was taken by the Yavanas by aerial passage, nobody knew whither, and was landed in the neighbourhood of 'a town'? Why a town? Why not 'a village' or 'a river'? Thus the passage does not yield good sense. The words *nagara-opakaṇṭha* of the text should very well have been omitted. On the other hand, if we say that he was carried away

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[1] *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Orientalia, pt. 3, pp. 423-24.

[2] Whether aviation was known to Ancient India has been discussed by B. M. Barua and G. P. Majumdar in *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. 49, No. 3 (December, 1933), p. 287ff.

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on an aerial car and landed by the Yavanas on the outskirts of a town called Nagara, it yields very good sense. Because it was at a specific place that he was landed. But the question arises : whether there was such a place as Nagara in the Yavana country ? The commentary surely says that Kākavarṇa was killed in the Yavana territory. Was there then any such place as Nagara in this territory, that is, not far from the frontiers of India ? Obviously, this Nagara must be the same as the Nagara referred to in a Kharoshṭhī inscription of the celebrated Mathura Lion Capital and identified originally by Cunningham, and, following him, by Prof. Sten Kenow with Nagar of the Kābul river.[1]

The second question that we have to consider here is : who were the Yavanas ? They seem to be the Persians. In early times Yavanas always denoted the Greeks but, from the second century A.D. onwards it seems to have been used to denote the Persians. Thus the well-known Junāgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradāman speaks of a Yavana prince called Tuṣāspa,[2] which evidently is not a Greek but a Persian name. Similarly, Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṁśa* (canto IV, vs. 60-61) speaks of a people whom he calls both Pārasīkas (Persians) and Yavanas.[3] When Bāṇa, who lived in the seventh century, makes mention of the Yavanas, we have thus most probably to understand the Persians by that term.

Thirdly Śaṁkarārya, the commentator, informs us that Kākavarṇa had conquered the Yavanas. This seems to be implied by the word *daṇḍ-opanata* occurring in the text. It must, however, be admitted that we would not have come to this conclusion if the gloss had not been explicit on this point. Similarly, he tells us that Kākavarṇa was murdered in the Yavana country. This is not even so much as implied by the text. It may naturally be asked whether Śaṁkarārya was indebted for this information to some extraneous authority. I have elsewhere pointed out that even in the episode where Chandragupta is mentioned in the *Harṣacarita* as having destroyed the Lord of the Śakas in the guise of Dhruvasvāminī, the commentator has given us the additional information that this Dhruvasvāminī was the wife of his elder brother,—a piece of information which ran absolutely counter to the Gupta inscriptions telling us uniformly that she was the wife of Chandragupta himself and not of his brother and which no scholar could

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[1] *C.I.I.*, Vol. II, Pt. 1, pp. 45 and 48 (F). Compare also Nagarāhāra in Uttarāpatha mentioned in the Ghosrawa inscription of the time of Devapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 309).

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 43, l. 8. *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 14.

[3] *An. Bhand. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. VIII, p. 134.

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therefore accept[1] until some fragments from the drama *Devī-Candragupta* of Viśākhadatta were discovered and published by Dr. Sylvain Levi. Everybody is now agreed that she was originally the wife of the elder brother Rāma(Kāca)gupta and was afterwards wedded by the younger brother Chandragupta. For the same reason it seems reasonable to accept as true what he says about Kākavarṇa, namely, that he subdued the Yavanas but was afterwards treacherously killed in the Yavana country, though this does not follow at all from the text. It is possible that in this case also there must have been some independent work in existence upon which both Bāṇa and Śaṁkarārya drew for their statements. We may therefore take it as all but certain that Kākavarṇa extended his conquests as far north-westward as Gandhāra by defeating the Yavanas, who in this case could be no other than the Achemenians. This conclusion need not surprise us, because the Purāṇas say that Śiśunāga, the father of Kākavarṇa, annihilated the renown of the Pradyota dynasty, placed his son in Vārāṇasī or Benares and made Girivraja (Rājgīr) his capital.[2] This means that Śiśunāga made himself master not only of Kosala but also of Avanti. This further means that he annexed the Vatsa kingdom also which lay between Kosala and Avanti. He was thus practically the ruler of the whole Northern India except the Punjāb and Rājputānā. It was therefore natural that Śiśunāga's son, Kākavarṇa, should after the demise of his father turn his attention to the Punjab with a view to expand the Magadha dominions. And if what Bāṇa and Śaṁkarārya say is true, this is exactly what Kākavarṇa was expected to do. Further, this fits excellently, because the hold of the Achemenians over Gandhāra and 'India' (Sind) was nominal after Khṣayarṣa or Xerxes (486–465 B.C.), and it is quite possible that by 393–365 B.C. when Kākavarṇa (=Aśoka) ruled, he did not find it a difficult task to conquer the Persian Satrap and wrest from him Gandhāra at least, leaving for him the Indian province conterminous with Bactria and having Nagar as its capital town.

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[1] *Mālaviya Commemoration Volume*, 1932, pp. 192-93.
[2] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 21 and 68.

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SOME BENGAL VAIṢṆAVA WORKS IN SANSKRIT

By S. K. De

In the Dacca University Manuscript collection we have come across a few Sanskrit Stotras which are attributed to Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma, apparently the Vedāntist scholar who is reported to have been converted by Caitanya at Puri.

Vāsudeva is described as a Navadvīpa scholar who must have been much older than Caitanya, for Caitanya's maternal grandfather Nīlāmbara-Cakravartin is said to have been a friend of Vāsudeva's father Maheśvara-Viśārada. Among Vāsudeva's already known Sanskrit works we have a commentary on Lakṣmīdhara's *Advaita-makaranda*,[1] the colophon as well as the opening and closing verses of which commentary designate the author Vāsudeva-Bhaṭṭācārya as Gauḍīyācārya. At the close of the work Vāsudeva refers to his father Bhaṭṭācārya-Viśārada as *vedānta-vidyāmaya*[2] and informs us that the work was completed under the patronage of Gajapati Pratāparudra of Orissa who is said to have humbled the pride of Kṛṣṇarāya, king of Karṇāṭa. A work on Nyāya entitled *Samāsa-vāda* by Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya is mentioned by Aufrecht.[3] Tradition which makes Vāsudeva into a great academic figure ascribes to him a Sārvabhauma-nirukti, apparently a gloss on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi*, the standard work on Navya Nyāya, but nothing is known of this alleged work. Gopinatha Kaviraj however informs us[4] that Vāsudeva's commentary on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* is called *Sārāvalī* and is available in fragments. Gopinath Kaviraj also speaks of a *Tattva-dīpikā* of Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya, but unfortunately he furnishes no further information on these works.

The Bengali biographies of Caitanya written within one century of his death (1533 A.D.), give us some information about the Vedāntist scholar. Jayānanda tells us that in his adoration of Caitanya the inspired Sārvabhauma composed then and there on his conversion an eulogistic *Caitanyāṣṭaka*,[5] consisting obviously of

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[1] R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, viii, No. 2854, pp. 291-92.

[2] Gopinath Kaviraj (*Sarasvatī Bhavana Studies*, IV, p. 6) ascribes a *Pratyakṣa-maṇi-māheśvarī* on the *Tattva-cintāmaṇi* to Maheśvara Viśārada.

[3] *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i, p. 698*a*.

[4] *Op. cit.*, pp. 63, 68.

[5] चैतन्याष्टक श्लोक करिला प्रबन्धे। सार्वभौम ध्यानस्तुति करि गौरचन्द्रे॥ *Caitanya-maṅgala*, p. 125.

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eight verses. Jayānanda also ascribes to him a *Caitanya-sahasra-nāma*[1] in verse, and a *Śata-ślokī*[2] on Caitanya, the last apparently in hundred verses. Vṛndāvanadāsa[3] also refers to Sārvabhauma's hundred verses (*Śata-śloka*) in glorification of Caitanya. Jayānanda further mentions an *Aṣṭottara-śata-nāma* by Sārvabhauma, apparently a poem giving one hundred and eight epithets of Caitanya.[4] Sārvabhauma might have also written something on the life of Caitanya, for Jayānanda ascribes to him the credit of being the Vyāsa-Avatāra with respect to the Caitanya-carita.[5]

So far as we have been able to trace, an anonymous *Caitanyāṣṭottara-śata-nāma* is mentioned in the *Proceedings* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1865, p. 139, which list also enters an *Advaitāṣṭaka*, apparently a series of eight verses on Caitanya's elderly associate Advaita, by Sārvabhauma. Roth's Tübingen Catalogue (p. 10) also mentions a work called *Caitanya-dvādaśa-nāma-stotra* by Sārvabhauma.

We may also mention here that in the anthology of Vaiṣṇava Sanskrit verses compiled, under the title *Padyāvalī*,[6] by Rūpa Gosvāmin, an immediate disciple of Caitanya, we have seven verses ascribed to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya (Nos. 72, 73, 90, 91, 99, 100, 133), while to Kavi-sārvabhauma, probably a different poet, is attributed one verse (No. 132). These verses are :

श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणाम्—

न वयं कवयो न तार्किका न च वेदान्तनितान्तपारगाः ।
न च वादिनिवारकाः परं कपटाभीरुकिशोरकिङ्कराः ॥ ७२ ॥

परिवदतु जनो यथा तथायं ननु मुखरो न वयं विचारयामः ।
हरिरसमदिरामदातिमत्ता भुवि विलुठाम नटाम निर्विशाम ॥ ७३ ॥

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[1] चैतन्यसहस्रनाम श्लोकप्रबन्धे । सार्वभौम रचिल केवल प्रेमानन्दे ॥ *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[2] चैतन्येर शतश्लोक सार्वभौममुखे । p. 125.

[3] एइ मत सार्वभौम शतश्लोक करि । स्तुति करे चैतन्येर पादपद्म धरि ॥ *Caitanya-bhāgavata*, Antya iii.

[4] सार्वभौम करिलेन अष्टोत्तरशतनाम । *Caitanya-maṅgala*, p. 125.

[5] सार्वभौम भट्टाचार्य व्यास-अवतार । चैतन्यचरित आगे करिल प्रचार ॥ p. 3. The Vaiṣṇava hagiology, however, knows Vṛndāvana-dāsa as an incarnation of Vyāsa, the reputed author of the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (Kavikarṇapūra's *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā*, śl. 109), and Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja applies this epithet to Vṛndāvana-dāsa in many passages of his work.

[6] A critical edition of this work based on 16 manuscripts by the present writer is being printed, and will be shortly published in the Dacca University Oriental Text Series. The numbering of the verses as well as attribution are as in this edition.

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लावण्यामृतवन्या मधुरिमलहरीपरीपाकः ।
कारुण्यानां हृदयं कपटकिशोरः परिस्फुरतु ॥ ९० ॥

भवन्तु तानि जन्मानि यत्र ते मुरलीकलः ।
कर्णपेयत्वमायाति किं मे निर्वाणवार्तया ॥ ९१ ॥

ज्ञातं काणभुजं मतं परिचितैवान्वीक्षिकी शिक्षिता
मीमांसा विदितैव सांख्यसरणिर्योगे वितीर्णा मतिः ।
वेदान्ताः परिशीलिताः सरभसं किं तु स्फुरन्माधुरी-
धारा काचन नन्दसूनुमुरली मच्चित्तमाकर्षति ॥ ९९ ॥

अमरीमुखसीधुमाधुरीणां लहरी काचन चातुरी कलानाम् ।
तरलीकुरुते मनो मदीयं मुरलीनादपरम्परा मुरारेः ॥ १०० ॥

इदानीमङ्गमच्छालि रचितं चानुलेपनम् ।
इदानीमेव ते कृष्ण धूलिधूसरितं वपुः ॥ १३३ ॥

कविसार्वभौमस्य—

क्वाननं क्व नयनं क्व नासिका क्व श्रुतिः क्व च शिखेति देशितः ।
तत्र तत्र निहिताङ्गुलीदलो वल्लवीकुलमनन्दयत् प्रभुः ॥ १३२ ॥

It is noteworthy that while no. 133 is ascribed in this anthology to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya with the name spelt in the honorific plural, the verse immediately preceding, no. 132, is assigned to Kavi-sārvabhauma with the name spelt in the singular; and this mode of ascription would probably indicate that the two names refer to two different poets. All these verses have for their theme the adoration of Kṛṣṇa; they could not therefore have been taken from the *Caitanyāṣṭaka* of Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya.

Again, Ānandin in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*,[1] which is a series of 143 verses in praise of Caitanya, quotes (on śl. 143) two verses from the *Caitanyāṣṭaka* of Sārvabhauma thus:

सर्वविद्वन्मुकुटमणिसुराचार्यावतारसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्याणामनुभवो यथा श्रीचैतन्याष्टके—

वैराग्यविद्यानिजभक्तियोगशिक्षार्थमेकः पुरुषः पुराणः ।
श्रीकृष्णचैतन्यशरीरधारी कृपाम्बुधिर्यस्तमहं प्रपद्ये ॥ १ ॥

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[1] Ed. Berhampore Radharaman Press, Murshidabad, B.S. 1333 (=1927 A.D.).

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कालान्नष्टं भक्तियोगं निजं यः प्रादुष्कर्तुं कृष्णचैतन्यनामा ।

आविर्भूतस्तस्य पादारविन्दे गाढं गाढं लीयतां चित्तभृङ्गः ॥ २ ॥

These two verses are again cited by him in his comments on śl. 41 with the indication : *sarva-vidvac-chiromaṇḍala-ratna-vāsudeva-sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācāryāṇām anubhavo yathā.* This appears to confirm the tradition about Sārvabhauma's authorship of an Aṣṭaka in praise of Caitanya ; for, the genuineness of Ānandin's citation is supported by other independent evidence. The second of the two verses cited as above by him, is also found quoted and attributed to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya (*tad uktaṃ śrī-sārvabhauma-bhaṭṭācārya-pādaiḥ*) by Sanātana Gosvāmin, also an immediate disciple of Caitanya and Rūpa's brother, in his own commentary on his Sanskrit *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* (on śl. 3). Kavikarṇapūra in his Sanskrit drama *Caitanya-candrodaya* [1] (vi, 43-44) puts these two verses in a letter which he makes Vāsudeva write and send to Caitanya through Dāmodara and Jagadānanda. Ānandin, no doubt, knew this dramatic version of Caitanya's life by Karṇapūra, which he quotes elsewhere in his commentary (on śl. 62), but as Kavikarṇapūra does not mention any *Caitanyāṣṭaka* in connexion with these verses, it is probable that Ānandin took them independently from this Aṣṭaka itself of Sārvabhauma. Vṛndāvana-dāsa also places these two verses in the mouth of Sārvabhauma (Antya, iii), but he does not indicate his source ; while Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja obviously adopts Kavikarṇapūra's story which he reproduces, along with these verses, in his Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta* (Madhya vi, 248–256).[2] It is noteworthy that Rūpa Gosvāmin mentions Sārvabhauma in one of his own three *Caitanyāṣṭakas*, which were apparently modelled on Sārvabhauma's earlier work of this type ; for, in this connexion Rūpa tells us that Caitanya's greatness could not be described even by men of great intelligence like Sārvabhauma.[3]

The manuscripts which we have examined in the Dacca University collection give us several works ascribed to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya, but the genuineness of these pedestrian verses is extremely doubtful. None of the above verses, cited by Ānandin and others, as well as those found in the *Padyāvalī*, can be traced

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[1] Ed. Kāvyamālā 87, Bombay 1917. The work is expressly dated in Śaka 1494=1572 A.D.

[2] This work was composed in 1615 A.D. See *IHQ*, ix, 1933, pp. 98-99. The fact that Kṛṣṇadāsa expressly acknowledges his indebtedness to Vṛndāvana-dāsa's *Caitanya-bhāgavata* puts the date of the latter work some time earlier at the close of the 16th century.

[3] *nu varṇayitum īśate gurutarāvatārāyitā ।*
bhavantam uru-buddhayo na khalu sārvabhaumādayaḥ ॥

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in them. These are probably the productions of some later unknown scribbler or scribblers of stereotyped Stotras, betraying a curious knowledge of Sanskrit language and prosody, as well as strange mixing up of Bengali words and forms, which can hardly be fathered upon a great Sanskrit scholar like Vāsudeva. They are very short poems, all in praise of Caitanya, while one is devoted to the glorification of Caitanya's associate Nityānanda. The fact or tradition that Sārvabhauma wrote in praise of Caitanya, no doubt, facilitated the attribution of these later verses in a lump upon the Vedāntist convert when his original poems were lost in course of time; and this sectarian zeal further made him responsible for verses even in praise of Advaita and Nityānanda. As poems or even as Stotras, these verses hardly possess any value, but as they are short compositions we transcribe them here as curiosities, for they are interesting specimens which illustrate certain aspects of the later development of the cult. One of these is called *Gaurāṣṭaka*, the other *Caitanyāṣṭaka*, but both are poor imitations of Jayadeva's metrical style and the two verses cited above do not of course occur in them. The third poem in ordinary Anuṣṭubh Śloka metre is called *Sarvāparādha-bhañjana Śrī-caitanya-nāmāṣṭottara-śata* (25 verses). The fourth work is also a Stotra of the above Aṣṭaka type in mixed Sanskrit and Bengali jargon, but it calls itself *Śrī-caitanya-caritāvali*. In all these poems, the respective colophons give the name of the author as Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya, omitting his name Vāsudeva; but this mode of citation by his title only is also found to refer to Vāsudeva in the works of Rūpa, Sanātana, Ānandin and others, as well as in the Bengali Vaiṣṇava works. We reproduce the language, spelling and metre in this transcription without any attempt at emendation or correction. After these specimens, it will be hardly worthwhile to transcribe here the other poems ascribed to Sārvabhauma-Bhaṭṭācārya, such as *Śrīman-Nityānanda-prabhor Aṣṭottara-śata-nāma*, which we have in the Dacca University collection but which are of the same type.

I. श्रीचैतन्याष्टकस्तोत्रम्

श्रीश्रीकृष्णचैतन्यचन्द्राय नमः ॥

उज्ज्वलवरणं गौरवरदेहं विलसति निरवधि भावविदेहं ।
त्रिभुवनतारणकृपयालेशं तत्प्रणमामि च श्रीशचीतनयं ॥ १ ॥

गदगद-अन्तरभावविकारं दुर्जनतर्जननादविशालं ।
भवभयभञ्जनकारणकरणं तं प्रणौत्यादि ॥ २ ॥

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विगलितनयनकमलजलधारं भूषणनवरसभावविकारं ।
गतिअतिमन्थरनृत्यविलासं तं प्रणमत्यादि ॥ ३ ॥

अरुणाम्बरधरचारुकपोलं इन्दुविनिन्दितनखचयरुचिरं ।
जल्पति निजगुणनामविनोदं तं प्रणमत्यादि ॥ ४ ॥

चञ्चलचारुचरणगतिरुचिरं रञ्जितमञ्जिरमुखरमधीरं ।
चन्द्रविनिन्दितशीतलवदनं तं प्रणमत्यादि ॥ ५ ॥

धृतकटिडोरकमण्डलुदण्डं दिव्यकलेवरमण्डितमुण्डं ।
दुर्जनकिल्बिषखण्डनदण्डं तं प्रणमत्यादि ॥ ६ ॥

भूषणभूरुज-अलकावलिललितं कम्पितबिम्बाधरवररुचिरं ।
मलयजविरचिर-उज्ज्वलतिलकं तं प्रणमत्यादि ॥ ७ ॥

निन्दित-अरुणकमलदलनयनं जानुविलम्बितश्रीभुजयुगलं ।
कलेवरकैशोरनर्त्तकवेशं तं प्रणमत्यादि ॥ ८ ॥

यः पठेत् प्रातरुत्थाय श्रीचैतन्यस्तवामृतं ।
प्रेमभक्तिं लभेत्तस्य सर्व्वत्र जयमङ्गलं ॥ ९ ॥

इति श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्य्यविरचितं श्रीचैतन्याष्टकं स्तोत्रं सम्पूर्णं ॥

II. श्रीगौराष्टकस्तोत्रम्

मलयसुवासितभूषितगात्रं मूर्त्तिमनोहरविश्वपवित्रं ।
भक्तनिषेवितपदयुगद्वन्द्वे शुद्धकनकजय गौर नमस्ते ॥ १ ॥

सघनविपुलजनलोचनपूर्णं जीवदयानिधितापविदीर्णं ।
संज्ञा (?) जपति सदा नाम सहस्ते शुद्धकनकेत्यादि ॥ २ ॥

सिंहगमन-जिनि-ताण्डवलीला जीवदयानिधिकारणशीला ।
अजभवसेवितपदयुगद्वन्द्वे शुद्धकनकेत्यादि ॥ ३ ॥

हुंहुंकृतगर्जनतर्जनरङ्गे चञ्चलकलियुगतापससंङ्गे ।
पदरजताडितदुष्टसमस्ते शुद्धकनकेत्यादि ॥ ४ ॥

गौरदेहधृतमालतिमाले मेरुविलम्बितगङ्गाधारे ।
मन्दमधुरहासभावमुखपद्मे शुद्धकनकेत्यादि ॥ ५ ॥

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भक्तिपराधिनसान्तिकवेशे गमन-सन्नृत्यकभावविशेषे ।
माल्यविलम्बितदेहसमस्ते शुद्धकनकेत्यादि ॥ ६ ॥

फागुविराजितचन्दनभाल कुङ्कुमरञ्जितदेहविशाल ।
पदनखराजितलज्जितचन्द्रे शुद्ध इत्यादि ॥ ७ ॥

भोगविरक्तिकन्यासीकवेश दुःखविमोचनलोकप्रवेश ।
भक्तिविरक्तिप्रवर्त्तकचित्ते शुद्ध इत्यादि ॥ ८ ॥

इति श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्य्यविरचितं श्रीश्रीगौराष्टकं स्तोत्रं सम्पूर्णं ॥

III. सर्वापराधभञ्जनं श्रीचैतन्यनामाष्टोत्तरशतम्

श्रीश्रीकृष्णचैतन्यचन्द्राय नमः ॥

नमस्कृत्य प्रवक्ष्यामि देवदेवं जगद्गुरुम् ।
नाम्नामष्टोत्तरशतं चैतन्यस्य महात्मनः ॥ २ ॥

विश्वम्भरो जितक्रोधो मायामानुषकर्मकृत् ।
अमायी मायिनां श्रेष्ठो वरदेशो द्विजोत्तमः ॥ २ ॥

जगन्नाथप्रियसुतः पितृभक्तो महामनाः ।
लक्ष्मीकान्तः शचीपुत्रः प्रेमदो भक्तवत्सलः ॥ ३ ॥

द्विजप्रियो द्विजवरो वैष्णवप्राणनायकः ।
द्विजातिपूजकः शान्तः श्रीनिवासप्रियेश्वरः ॥ ४ ॥

तप्तकाञ्चनगौराङ्गः सिंहग्रीवो महाभुजः ।
पीतवासा रक्तपटः षड्भुजोऽथ चतुर्भुजः ॥ ५ ॥

द्विभुजश्च गदापाणिश्चक्री पद्मधरोऽमलः ।
श्रीवत्सलाञ्छनो भालमणिधृक् कञ्जलोचनः ॥ ६ ॥

पाञ्चजन्यधरः शार्ङ्गी वेणुपाणिः सुरोत्तमः ।
कमलाक्षेश्वरः प्रीतो गोपीलीलाधरो युवा ॥ ७ ॥

नीलरत्नधरो रौप्यहारी कौस्तुभभूषणः ।
ताळाङ्कलीलो रुद्रलीलाकारी गुरुप्रियः ॥ ८ ॥

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स्वनामगुणवक्ता च नामोपदेशदायकः ।
आचाण्डालप्रियः शुद्धः सर्वप्राणिहिते रतः ॥ ९ ॥
विश्वरूपानुजः सन्न्यावतारः शीतलाशयः ।
निःसीमकरुणो गुप्त आत्मभक्तिप्रवर्त्तकः ॥ १० ॥
आर्त्तप्रियः शुचिः शुद्धभावदो भगवत्प्रियः ।
इन्द्रादिसर्वलोकेशवन्दितश्रीपदाम्बुजः ॥ ११ ॥
न्यासिचूडामणिः कृष्णः सन्न्यासाश्रमपावनः ।
चैतन्यः कृष्णचैतन्यो दण्डधृक् न्यस्तदण्डकः ॥ १२ ॥
अवधूतप्रियो नित्यानन्दषड्भुजदर्शकः ।
मुकुन्दः सिद्धिदो नित्यो वासुदेवोऽमृतप्रदः ॥ १३ ॥
गदाधरप्राणनाथ आर्त्तिहा शरणप्रदः ।
अकिञ्चनप्रियप्राणो गुणग्राही जितेन्द्रियः ॥ १४ ॥
महानन्दनटो नृत्यगीतनामप्रियः कविः ।
अदोषदर्शी सुमुखो मधुरप्रियदर्शनः ॥ १५ ॥
प्रताप रुद्रसन्त्राता रामानन्दप्रियो गुरुः ।
अनन्तगुणसम्पन्नः सर्वतीर्थैकपावनः ॥ १६ ॥
वैकुण्ठनाथो लोकेशो भक्ताभिमतरूपधृक् ।
नारायणो महायोगी ज्ञानभक्तिप्रदः प्रभुः ॥ १७ ॥
पीयूषवचनः पृथ्वीपावनः सत्यवाक् यतः ।
ओड्रदेशजनानन्दसन्दोहामृतरूपधृक् ॥ १८ ॥
यः पठेत्प्रातरुत्थाय चैतन्यस्य महात्मनः ।
श्रद्धया परयाप्येत् स्तोत्रं सर्वाघनाशनं ॥ १९ ॥
प्रेमभक्तिर्हरौ तस्य जायते नात्र संशयः ।
असाध्यरोगयुक्तोऽपि मुच्यते रोगसङ्कटात् ॥ २० ॥
सर्वापराधयुक्तोऽपि सोऽपराधात् प्रमुच्यते ।
फाल्गुने पौर्णमास्यां तु चैतन्यजन्मवासरे ॥ २१ ॥
श्रद्धया परया भक्त्या पठेत् स्तोत्रं जगद्गुरोः ।
उपोषणं पूजनं च चैतन्यस्य महाप्रभोः ॥ २२ ॥

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यद्यत् प्रकुरुते कामं तत्तदेव लभेन्नरः ।
अपुत्रो वैष्णवं पुत्रं लभते नात्र संशयः ॥ २३ ॥
दातव्यं कृष्णभक्ताय नाभक्ताय कदाचन ।
अन्ते चैतन्यदेवस्य स्मृतिर्भवति शाश्वती ॥ २४ ॥
विश्वम्भराय गौराय चैतन्याय महात्मने ।
शचीपुत्राय मित्राय लक्ष्मीशाय नमो नमः ॥ २५ ॥

इति श्रीसार्वभौमभट्टाचार्य्यविरचितं सर्वापराधभञ्जनं श्रीचैतन्यनामाष्टोत्तरशतं सम्पूर्णं ॥

IV. श्रीचैतन्यचरितावलि

श्रीचैतन्यचन्द्रं भजे ॥

कलियुगधन्यं क्षितिरतिपुण्यं श्रीचैतन्यं परमपरं ।
द्विजकुलसारं त्रिजगतसारं महिमा अपारं गौरवरं ॥ १ ॥
तनुकाञ्चनवरणं वयसतितरुणं अम्बर-अरुणं दण्डधरं ।
निजगुणप्रकाशं प्रेमविलासं कपटसंन्यासं भेकधरं ॥ २ ॥
हरिनामकि डोरा कण्ठ हि जोरा जगमनभोरालावण्यं ।
राधारस लागि नूतनविवागी अनुरागि अतिसयविसयं ॥ ३ ॥
अवधौततरङ्गी अविरतरङ्गी नृत्य-अनङ्गी जगविदितं ।
श्रीवाससहचरं वामे गदाधरं प्रीयविश्वम्भरं अद्वैतं ॥ ४ ॥
संकीर्त्तनरचितं वेदविदितं निजगणसहितं नृत्यकरं ।
श्रीकृष्णप्रसङ्गं अतिहितरङ्गं गदगद-अङ्गं पुलकधरं ॥ ५ ॥
पञ्चभावे विभोरं हरिहरिवोलं आनन्दलोरं नयनभरं ।
क्षणे क्षणे हासत क्षणे क्षणे रोयत क्षणे क्षणे नृत्यत धरणिधरं ॥ ६ ॥
जनदीनदयालं अनाथकृपालं आचाण्डाल प्रति सदयं ।
पञ्चसचरहि जीवनं मङ्गलभूषणं पातकितारणं महाशयं ॥ ७ ॥
पृथिविते जन्म प्रचारितधर्म्मं पूर्णब्रह्मरूपस्वयं ।
धन्य नदियापुरं धन्य शचीउदरं जन्मयोगेश्वरकीर्त्तिद्वयं ॥ ८ ॥
श्रीचैतन्यचरितं जगति पवित्रं सार्वभौमभट्टाचार्य्यविरचितं ॥ ९ ॥

इति श्रीचैतन्यचरितावलि सम्पूर्णं ॥

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INDO-JAVANESE LITERATURE

By R. C. MAJUMDAR

From an early date Indian literature was carried to Java, though the nature and extent of this importation is not exactly known. The study of this literature led to the growth of an Indo-Javanese literature, which forms one of the most characteristic features of Indian colonisation in that island. Nowhere else, outside India, has Indian literature been studied with so much advantage and with such important consequences. The range and intrinsic value of this Indo-Javanese literature is, indeed, very great. As in other departments of civilisation, so here too, a fine superstructure was built in Java upon foundations so well and truly laid by the Indians. It will be beyond my scope to enter into a detailed discussion of the contents and merits of this literature and I shall therefore confine myself only to a general outline of the subject.

As is well-known, the history of the Indian colony in Java may be divided into three broad chronological periods, according as the chief seat of political authority was in the west, centre and the east of the island. For the first of these periods, we have no trace of any literature proper, although the inscriptions of Pūrṇavarman clearly testify to the knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature. This knowledge becomes more intensive and extensive during the second period. This is proved not only by inscriptions, but also by the extensive monuments of the period, both Brahmanical and Buddhist, as the sculptures carved therein are mostly, if not exclusively, illustrations of Indian books. This period also probably saw the beginnings of Indo-Javanese literature; I say probably, because only three books may be tentatively ascribed to this period and the date of each of them is a subject-matter of great controversy. It is only when we come to the third period that we find the Indo-Javanese literature taking a definite shape. For nearly five hundred years (1000–1500 A.D.) this literature had an unbroken and flourishing career in the east under the patronage of the kings of Kadiri or Daha, Singhasari and Majapahit.

The Muslim conquest of Majapahit brought to an end what is usually called the Old-Javanese literature. The subsequent development of Javanese literature took place in two different localities. The Javanese who took refuge in Bali continued the literary efforts, and their literary products are referred to as Middle-Javanese. On the other hand, there was a revival of literary culture in Central

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Java, in the new Muslim kingdom of Mataram, and the result was the growth of what is called the New-Javanese literature.

While the Middle-Javanese literature may be regarded as a normal development from the Old-Javanese, the same cannot be said of the New-Javanese, for although the literary traditions of the Old-Javanese still form its main basis, in language, form and substance, it shows a wide divergence from the latter. In other words, the process of Javanisation is more noticeable in New-Javanese than in the Middle-Javanese.

Two different views have been entertained regarding the origin of the New-Javanese literature. According to the older view[1] it is the result of a conscious but futile effort to imitate the old-Javanese literature of the east, and its futility and the consequent artificial and degraded character are due to the influence of Islam. For the Islamic conquest of Java not only ushered in a period of political unrest, chaos and confusion which proved fatal to all fine arts including literature, but also thrust in a wedge between the old and the new, obliterating, or at least considerably blurring the past and giving a new orientation to the present and the future.

According to the other and more recent view,[2] the rise of the New-Javanese literature in the new kingdom of Mataram was a revival of the literary traditions of Central Java which lay dormant for a period of nearly six or seven hundred years. The long gap or break in the continuity of the traditions is regarded as sufficient to explain the wide divergences from the old-Javanese. The greater progress of Javanisation is further explained by the fact that the absence of political centres in Central Java loosened the hold of Indian civilisation and inevitably led to a corresponding increase in the indigenous influence.

The artificial classic language of the New-Javanese literature is called Kavi.[3] Formerly this word was used to denote the old language of Java in general, but now the term Old-Javanese is used to indicate the language which was current up to the fall of Majapahit and the Middle-Javanese to indicate that used by the Javanese in Bali. We thus get three broad divisions of Indo-Javanese literature, viz. :—

1. Old-Javanese.
2. Middle-Javanese.
3. New-Javanese.

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[1] Cf., e.g. G. A. J. Hazeu—Oud en Nieuw uit de Javaansche Letter-Kunde (1921), pp. 6-7.

[2] Berg-Hoofdlijnen, pp. 16-17.

[3] Ibid., p. 20, f.n. 1.

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In the following pages we shall make an attempt to give a short account of the first two only, as the third really falls beyond the Hindu period in Java.

The Old-Javanese literature is marked by several important characteristics. Its poetry follows Sanskrit metre, its subject-matter is derived mainly from Indian literature, and it has a strong predilection for using Sanskrit words and quoting Sanskrit verses. But even in subject-matter the deviation from the Sanskrit original is often considerable. We know that in India itself there were many local versions of Indian epic tales, and so it is difficult to say how far the difference in the Old-Javanese literature may be ascribed to this fact. Another factor may be looked for in the indigenous influence, but our complete lack of knowledge of the pre-Hindu literature in Java or other neighbouring islands [1] prevents us from estimating it at its proper worth.

As already said above, the beginnings of this literature may be traced to the period when Central Java was the political centre of the island. The earliest book that we may definitely refer to this period is an Old-Javanese version of a Sanskrit work, Amaramālā,[2] which, like Sanskrit Amarokośa, and other Indian lexicons, contains synonyms of different gods, goddesses and other animate and inanimate objects. This work was written under the patronage of king Jitendra of the Śailendra dynasty. Unfortunately this king is not known from other sources, and so we cannot trace his relationship to other kings of this well-known dynasty of Central Java.

Another work which may perhaps be ascribed to the same period is Sang hyang Kamahāyanikan, a Mahāyāna text, to which detailed reference has been made in connection with Mahāyāna Buddhism.[3]

According to Poerbatjaraka the composition of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa has also to be referred to the same period.[4] This is one of the best and most famous works of Indo-Javanese literature. Its subject-matter agrees quite well with that of Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa, but it concludes with the re-union of Rāma and Sītā after the fire-ordeal of the latter, and does not contain the story of her banishment and death. Some portions of this work, particularly in the last two Sargas or Cantos, have no corresponding passages in Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa, and are probably later additions. These portions may,

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[1] Berg-Hoofdlijnen, pp. 18–20.

[2] Krom-Geschiedenis (Second Edition), pp. 150-151.

[3] Religious literature has been dealt with in separate articles which have been published in Vedanta Kesari (Jan.-Feb., 1934) and Prabuddha-Bhārata (Feb.-March, 1934).

[4] Gedenkschrift Kon. Inst. 1926, p. 265.

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however, be interpolations of a later date. The style is rich but simple, though occasionally the author makes an attempt to show off his learning.

The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa is not a translation of the Sanskrit epic, but an independent work. Its author did not know Sanskrit and must have derived his materials from other sources. It may be noted here that the story of Rāmāyaṇa had a wide currency, and we have both Malayan and Balinese versions of it, viz. Seri Rama and Rāma Kidung.

The name of the author of the Rāmāyaṇa and the date of its composition are not definitely known. Kern, who edited it, referred it to the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. But according to Dr. Brandes it belongs to a much earlier period. In a Wawatekan, Mpu Yogīśvara is cited as the author of the Rāmāyaṇa, and 1016 (=1094 A.D.) is given as the date of its composition. How far this tradition can be relied upon it is of course difficult to say. As already noted, Poerbatjaraka refers the composition of Rāmāyaṇa to the period of Central Java. There is thus a wide divergence of opinion about the date of this famous work.[1]

The next important landmark in connection with the development of Old-Javanese literature is the prose translation of the great epic Mahābhārata during the reign of Dharmavaṁśa. The Old-Javanese translation of Ādi-Parva, Virāṭa-Parva, and Bhīṣma-Parva may be definitely ascribed to the initiative and patronage of this king, while the Āśrampa-Parva, Mūśala-Parva Prasthānika-Parva and Svargārohaṇa-Parva are of later date. There is also a version of Udyoga-Parva, written in very corrupt Sanskrit and full of lacunae. The Virāṭa-Parva was composed in 996 A.D., just ten years before Java was overtaken by the great catastrophe which destroyed both Dharmavaṁśa and his kingdom.

The Old-Javanese translations closely follow the original epic, but are more condensed. Their style is very primitive and lacks literary merit. Their importance, however, cannot be over-estimated, as they made the Great Epic popular in Java and supplied themes for numerous literary works which exhibit merits of a very high order.[2]

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[1] For Rāmāyaṇa cf., B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 559; Krom-Geschiedenis, p. 174.

For the spread of the Rāma-legend in Indonesia and its different versions cf. Stutterheim-Rāma-legenden und Rāma-reliefs in Indonesien (1924).

J. Kats—The Rāmāyaṇa in Indonesia (Bulletin of the school of oriental studies, Vol. IV, pp. 579–585).

The Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa was edited by Kern (1900) and translated by Juynboll.

[2] B.K.I., Vol. 71 (pp. 563-64).

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The first work of this kind is Arjuna-Vivāha, written by Mpu Kaṇwa under the patronage of Airlangga (1019–1042 A.D.). It deals with an episode from the Mahābhārata in which Arjuna helps the gods in their fight against Nivāta-Kavaca. This is the first poetical work of which the date is known with certainty. It was a very popular work in Java. Its subject-matter formed the motifs of sculpture and the well-known lacon Mintarāga was based on it.[1]

Two other poetical works may be ascribed to the beginnings of the Kadiri period. The first is Kṛṣṇāyaṇa by Triguṇa. It deals with the famous episode of the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛṣṇa and his consequent fight with Jarāsandha. It contains a beautiful description of Dvārāvatī, the capital, of Kṛṣṇa, and gives the name of 10 out of his 16,000 wives. The poem supplied the themes of sculptured reliefs of the temple of Panataran.[2]

The next work Sumanasāntaka [3] (death caused by a flower) is based on the story of the death of Indumatī, the queen of Aja, and the mother of Daśaratha, so marvellously dealt with by Kālidāsa in his immortal work Raghuvaṁśa. While Aja was one day sitting with Indumatī, a garland of flowers fell from heaven upon the latter and she died instantly.

The poem was composed by Mpu Monaguṇa and refers to Śrī Varṣajaya. The Kṛṣṇāyaṇa also refers to a king of the same name. Krom thinks that this king is to be identified with Jayavarṣa (1104 A.D.). So these two works may be referred to the beginning of the 12th century A.D.

We next come to the most flourishing period of the Old-Javanese literature, viz.: the reign of Jayabhaya (1135–1157 A.D.). The greatest work of this period, which has all along enjoyed a very high degree of reputation is Bhārata-Yuddha,[4] an independent work based on the Udyoga-Parva, Bhīṣma-Parva, Droṇa-Parva, Karṇa-Parva and Śalya-Parva of the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, in other

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For the texts, cf. Editions, by Juynboll, of Ādiparva (1906) and Virāṭaparva (1912) and edition, with translation, by the same scholar of the Āśrama-, Mosala-, and Prasthānika-Parvas (Drie Boeken van het Oud-Javaansche Mahābhārata (1893). For Udyoga-Parva cf. B.K.I., Vol. 69, pp. 219–296.

For a discussion of the relation of Old-Javanese Mahābhārata to the different Indian versions of the epic cf. T.B.G., Vol. 49 (1901), pp. 289–357.

[1] B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 561; edited by Friederich in V.B.G., Vol. 23, B.K.I., Vol. 82 (1926).

[2] For contents cf. Cat. 1, Vol. I, p. 156; for the date cf. T.B.G., Vol. 57, p. 515. The work was formerly ascribed wrongly to the period of Airlangga.

[3] B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 561; Cat. 1, Vol. I, pp. 144ff. For the date cf. T.B.G., Vol. 57, p. 516. For the relation of the poem to Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa—cf. B.K.I., series 6, Vol. VI, pp. 391ff.

[4] B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 560. The text was edited by J.G.H., Gunning (1903).

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words, those parts of the great Epic of India which deal with the great war. It is written in simple but epic style, and its grandeur, according to Juynboll, is comparable to that of the Greek epics. It was written by Mpu Sedah in 1157 A.D. by order of the Kadirian king Jayabhaya. According to one tradition, the poet incurred royal displeasure and the work was completed by Mpu Panuluh. As in the Rāmāyaṇa, there are many interpolations—mostly love-episodes—in this work. The continued popularity of the work is testified to by a new-Javanese version named Bratajuda.

Mpu Panuluh, who completed the Bhārata-yuddha, evidently during the reign of Jayabhaya, also composed another poetical work, Harivamśa,[1] during the same reign. This book, like its Indian prototype, deals with the abduction of Rukmiṇī by Kṛṣṇa and the consequent war with Jarāsandha and the Pāṇḍavas who helped the latter. This last episode is not in the original Indian work. Mpu Panuluh is also the author of a third poetical work, Ghaṭotkacāśraya.[2] It describes the fight between Abhimanyu and Lakṣmaṇa-Kumāra over a lady named Kṣitisundarī, in which Ghaṭotkaca comes to the help of the former. This book has supplied the theme to many Wayang stories in Java and Malaya Peninsula.[3]

Kāmeśvara II (1185 A.D.) maintained the brilliant literary traditions of the Kadirian court. The most famous work written under his patronage was Smaradahana.[4] This work is based on the famous episode of the burning of Smara or the god of Love by Śiva which has been so masterfully dealt with by Kālidāsa in his immortal work Kumāra-saṁbhavam. While Śiva was engaged in austerities, Smara (also known as Kāma, Madana, etc.) kindled in him the flames of passion. Enraged at this Śiva turned towards him, and a ray of fire proceeding from his body reduced the god of love to ashes and he became Anaṅga or Bodyless. The subject-matter of the work has been borrowed from Skanda-Purāṇa. The poem was composed by Dharmaya. It is dedicated to King Kāmeśvara, most probably Kāmeśvara II, though some scholars believe that it was Kāmeśvara I. In any case it belongs to the twelfth century A.D. The name of the king might have suggested his theme to the poet.

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[1] Cat. 1, Vol. I, pp. 143-44. For the date cf. T.B.G., Vol. 57, pp. 516-17.

[2] Cat. 1, Vol. I, pp. 149-50. For the date cf. T.B.G., Vol. 57, p. 517. The poem refers in the first stanza to King Jayakṛta, who is probably the same as King Kṛtajaya of Kadiri.

[3] T.B.G., Vol. 25, p. 488.

[4] B.K.I., Vol. 71; T.B.G., Vol. 58, pp. 461–489, 491ff. Krom-Geschiedenis [2], p. 298, T.B.G., Vol. 57, p. 517. Berg-Inleiding (pp. 50ff.) and Mid. Jav. Trad. (p. 173). The text has been edited in Bib. Jav. series.

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According to popular tradition, Dharmaya and Tanakung were two sons of Yogīśvara, the author of Rāmāyaṇa. The truth of this tradition may be doubted, but Tanakung was undoubtedly a contemporary of Dharmaya and wrote two poetical works Lubdhaka [1] and Vṛtta-sañcaya.[2] The latter work deals with rules of Sanskrit metre as applied to Old-Javanese, and was composed before the fall of Kadiri in 1222 A.D. Lubdhaka, composed after this date,[3] relates the well-known story of the fight between the hosts of Yama (the god of death) and of Śiva over the body of a hunter. The latter spent the night of the Śivarātri festival on a Vilva-tree and threw a leaf of it over a Śivaliṅga lying beneath. He thus secured great merits, and so when after his death the servants of Yama took him away, the hosts of Śiva prevented them and a fight ensued. The work is also known as Śivarātri. Lubdhaka is here used as a proper name of a niṣāda, but it is a common word in Sanskrit meaning hunter.

The famous Bhomakāvya [4] is also attributed to the period of Kāmeśvara II. It describes the defeat of Indra and other gods by Bhoma, or Naraka, son of Pṛthivī, and finally his death in the hands of Kṛṣṇa. A recently discovered work, Naraka-Vijaya, which describes the conquests of Naraka, also belongs to the reign of Kāmeśvara ;[5] but it is difficult to say whether he is the first or the second king of that name. For the Singhasari period (13th cent.) we possess the two works, the Lubdhaka of Tanakung and Rājapati Gundala, a religious treatise, already referred to. To the same period probably belongs also the Kakavin Kṛṣṇāntaka, which draws its materials from the Āśramavāsika-, Mūṣala- and the Prasthānika-Parvas of the great epic. As the name shows, the death of Kṛṣṇa and the destruction of his family form the central theme of the work. It refers at the beginning to Śiva-Buddhamūrti, who may be identified with King Kṛtanagara.[6]

In the fourteenth century, during the flourishing period of Majapahit we get a unique poem, the Nāgara-Kṛtāgama [7] written

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[1] For contents cf. Cat. 1, Vol. I, p. 157.

[2] Translated by Kern, V.G., Vol. IX, pp. 67ff.

[3] For the date of these two works cf. T.B.G., Vol. 57, pp. 518-19; Krom-Geschiedenis [2], pp. 298-9.

[4] B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 561, where it is ascribed to the period of Jayabhaya. Kern placed it in the 14th century A.D. For the date adopted cf. T.B.G., Vol. 57, pp. 517-518 and Krom-Geschiedenis [2], p. 298.

The text was edited with a summary of contents in V.G.B., Vols. 22, 24.

[5] Krom-Geschiedenis [2],—p. 299. Oudh. Versl., 1921, p. 70.

[6] Cat. 1, Vol. I, p. 155. B.K.I., Series VI, Vol. VI, pp. 213–230. For the date cf. T.B.G., Vol. 57, p. 519.

[7] Edited, with translation and notes, by Kern, V.G., Vol. VII–VIII.

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by Prapañca in A.D. 1365. Unlike the usual poems based on the Indian epics, it takes as its theme the life and times of Hayam Wuruk, the famous king of Majapahit, and supplies us most interesting informations about the king, his capital city, his court and his vast empire.

Prapañca names as his contemporaries, Kṛtayaśa, Brahmayaśa and several other authors. We possess two poetical works of another contemporary of Prapañca. Arjuna Vijaya [1] composed by Buddhist Mpu Tantular about 1378 A.D., describes an episode from the Uttarakāṇḍa of Rāmāyaṇa, viz.: the defeat of Rāvaṇa by Arjuna (i.e. Sahasravāhu or Kārtavīrya). It forms the basis of the New-Javanese poem Arjuna Sasrabāhu published by Winter (1853). Another work of the same author, Sutasoma or Purusādaśanta,[2] describes the fight between Sutasoma and the *rākṣasa* King Purusāda. It incidentally shows the very close relationship existing between Śaivism and Buddhism, so much so that the two might almost be regarded as identical.

The class of poetical works we have hitherto described is called Kakawin. They are all written in Old-Javanese language and their subject-matter is derived mostly from Indian epics and Purāṇas. In addition to the works mentioned above, there are many other Kakawins, which, however, cannot be dated even approximately. We give below a very brief account of some of them :—

1. Indravijaya [3]—story of Vṛtra's conquest and death followed by that of Nahuṣa who secured the position of Indra for a short period.
2. Pārthayajña [4]—It describes Arjuna's asceticism by means of which he obtained weapons from Śiva.
3. Vighnotsava,[5] written by a Buddhist, describes the exploits of a Yaksa king named Vighnotsava and particularly his fight with the *rākṣasa* king Suprasena.
4. Bratašraya,[6] is a later development of the same theme.
5. Hariśraya.[7] It describes how the gods, threatened by Malyavān, king of Laṅkā, seek, at first the help of Śiva, and then of Viṣṇu, who kills Malyavān and restores to life, by amṛta or nectar, the gods who perished in the fight.

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[1] B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 561.

[2] B.K.I., Vol. 71, pp. 561-562. Cf. Kern 'Over de vermenging van Sivaisme en Buddhisme op Java'.

[3] Cat. 1, Vol. I, p. 137. [4] Ibid., p. 140. [5] Ibid., p. 147.

[6] Ibid., p. 148. [7] Ibid., p. 151.

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6. Hari Vijaya.[1] —It describes the churning of the ocean by gods by means of Mandara mountain.
7. Kālayavanāntaka.[2]—It describes, after the story given in Viṣṇupurāṇa, how Kālayavana invaded Dvārakā, to avenge the death of Kaṁsa, and was ultimately reduced to ashes by Mucukunda, with whom the fugitive Kṛṣṇa had taken shelter. It also describes how Arjuna carried away Subhadrā when the Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis were celebrating a feast on Raivataka.
8. Rāmavijaya.[3]—Its theme is the defeat of Sahasravāhu Arjuna by Paraśurāma, son of Jamadagani and Reṇukā.
9. Ratna Vijaya.[4]—It describes the fight between Sunda and Upasunda over Tilottamā.
10. Pārthavijaya.[5]—It is based on an episode from Bhārata-yuddha, viz.: the death of Iravan, son of Arjuna and Ulupuy, and of Nīla.
11. An unnamed and incomplete Kakawin [6] gives the story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā in a modified form. Satasenya of the lineage of the Pāṇḍavas had two sons, Udayana and Yugandarāyana. The abduction of Angāravatī, princess of Avanti, by Udayana forms the plot of the Kakawin.

In addition to the Kakawins, based on epic themes, there are some, like Dharmaśūnya [7] and Dharmasavitā,[8] of didactic or philosophical nature, and others like Lambang Salukat,[9] of an erotic character. We have besides a lexicon, Candakiraṇa [10] and two Kakawins Vṛttasañcaya [11] and Vrttāyana,[12] dealing with metre.

The Kakawins form the first of the three grand divisions of the Old-Javanese literature. The second division, comprises the doctrinal texts, like Sūrya Sevana, Gāruḍeya mantra, etc. which have already been discussed in connection with religion.[13] We now turn to the third, the Prose works, which may be subdivided, according to its contents, into four classes. Two of these, dealing with law and religion have been discussed separately in connection with these topics, and the third comprises prose works based on Indian epics and Purāṇas.

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[1] Cat. I, Vol. I, p. 152. [2] Ibid., p. 154. [3] Ibid., p. 159.
[4] Ibid., p. 160. [5] Cat. I, Vol. II, p. 493. [6] Ibid., pp. 496-497.
[7] Cat. I, Vol. I, p. 163. [8] Ibid., p. 162. [9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., p. 170. [11] See f.n. (18) above.
[12] Cat. I, Vol. II, p. 491, [13] cf. foot-note (6) above.

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The Mahābhārata series begins with the Old-Javanese translations of the different parvas of the Mahābhārata to which reference has already been made above. Another work of the same series is Koravāśrama,[1] a late work, in which a great deal of modification of the epic is noticeable. After the defeat and death of the Kauravas they are again brought to life by Vyāsa, and on Bhīṣma's advice, they practise asceticism in order to take their revenge on the Pāṇḍāvas. Within this frame-work is contained a large number of Purānic legends and Tantrik doctrines.

To this class also belongs Sāra-Samuccaya [2] (different from the law-book of the same name) an Old-Javanese translation of a large number of moral precepts, chiefly drawn from Anuśāsanaparvan of the Mahābhārata. It is interspersed with quotations of Sanskrit verses from the epics, as well as other Indian books such as Pañcatantra. The translations are fairly accurate and the author shows an intimate acquaintance with Sanskrit literature. The work is probably ascribed to Vararuci who is said in the beginning to have brought together the essence (Sāra) of the eighteen parvas of the epics.

Navaruci,[3] a very popular work in Bali, describes the exploits of Bhīma. He kills two Nāgas and Indrabāhu, saves Droṇa from the wrath of Bhagavān Avaruci, practises asceticism in spite of the temptation offered by the Vidyādharīs, and joins in time his brothers to save Indraprastha which the Dānavas had planned to burn with Śivāgni. The work is also called Tattvajñāna and ascribed to Mpu Śivamūrtti. There are New- and Middle-Javanese redactions of this work (Navaruci-Kidung, Bimasuci). There is also a Kakawin Devaruci [4] dealing with the same theme.

Of the other epic, we have the prose translation of Uttarakāṇḍa [5] in Old-Javanese. It is interspersed with Sanskrit verses and its last two chapters are named Rāmaprasthānikam and Svarggārohanaṁ, agreeing in all these respects with the Javanese version of Mahābhārata. Like the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa, it shows divergences from the original Sanskrit text. As already mentioned before, the Kakawins Hariśraya and Arjunavijaya derive their plots from this work. The banishment of Sītā is described in Rāmāyana. Among other episodes may be mentioned the killing of Vṛtra by Indra.

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[1] Tantu, pp. 329–338.

[2] B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 565, B.K.I., Series VI, Vol. VIII, pp. 393–398. Tantu, pp. 303-4.

[3] Cat. 1, Vol. II, p. 292.

[4] Cat. 1, Vol. I, p. 165.

[5] Cat. 1, Vol. II, pp. 178-179.

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Of the Purāṇa class of works Brahmāṇḍa-Purāna [1] is undoubtedly the most important. It closely follows the model of the Indian Purāṇa, though Javanese touches occur here and there. Even the preamble of the Purāṇa is reproduced. While Adhisīmakṛṣna was the ruler of the earth, Romaharṣaṇa, a pupil of Vyāsa, came to Naimiṣa forest, and recited the Purāṇa. The composition of the Purāṇa is, of course, ascribed to Vyāsa.

As regards the contents, we have first the story of the creation. Brahmā created the *aṇḍabhuvana*. He also created the four Ṛṣis, nine Devarṣis, and Parameśvara who is known under different forms. He also created devas, asuras, pitṛs and mānuṣas, i.e. gods, demons, manes and men, and the four castes originated from his mouth, arms thigh and feet. Then he created Svayambhuvamanu and Śatarupa.

After describing their descendants, in right Purāṇic style, the text describes the division of Jambudvīpa among the nine sons of Agnīndra and the creation of the Veda in different Yugas. In Kaliyuga, Vyāsa taught the four Vedas to his four disciples, Jemini, Polaha, Vaiśampāyana and Sumantu, and Itihāsapurāṇa to his fifth disciple Romaharṣana. Then follows an account of the disciples of these and further divisions of the Vedic literature, and incidentally the story of a dispute between Yājñavalkya and Śakalya in the Court of Janaka, king of Mithilā. The text then gives a list of Vedic scholars, including women, Brahmarṣis, devarṣis and rājarṣis, and the number of ṛks and yajus. It then describes the duration of the fourteen Manus, extent of a day and night of Brahmā, and the Mahāpralaya (great destruction).

The death of Vena and the origin of Pṛthu, the description of the seven seas and the seven dvīpas, varṣas, mountain-ranges, etc., the divisions of Bhāratavarṣa, its rivers and mountains, etc. are all given in detail in the style of the Purānas.

The contents of the work as well as the number of Sanskrit verses and passages occurring therein leave no doubt that it was based upon the Sanskrit original.

The existence of numerous manuscripts of Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa and the veneration with which it is regarded in Bali even to-day, prove the extreme popularity of the work. Why of all the Indian purāṇas, this one obtained a special celebrity in Java, it is difficult to say.

It may be mentioned here that there is also a poetical version of the Old-Javanese Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa. This Kakawin begins with

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[1] V.B.G., Vol. 22, pp. 11-12, 43-50; B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 563. Tantu, pp. 310-319, Cat. 1, Vol. II, pp. 166-167; B.K.I., Series VI, Vol. VII, pp. 272ff.

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the story of Vena and contains other legends such as those of Pṛthu.[1] The recently discovered Pṛtuvijaya Kakawin, composed by Aṣṭaguṇa, is very similar to Brahmāṇḍapurāna Kakawin.[2]

Another work of the same class is Anggastyaparva,[3] where Anggastya (Agastya) describes to his son Dṛḍḍasyu the creation of the world in right Purāṇic style. In the Mahāpralaya everything was destroyed, except Sadāśiva, who created anew the four elements, sky, air, earth and fire, and an egg from which arose Brahmā and Viṣṇu. Brahmā then created Prajāpatis, the ten Brahmarṣis (Daksa, Marīci, Ruci, Nīlalohita, Bhṛgu, Atri, Anggira, Pulaha, Kratu and Vaśiṣṭha), Manus and the Pitṛs, of whom a detailed account is given. It mentions in this connection that the 27 nakṣastras are all daughters of Dakṣa and Asiktiki.

It then discusses the sins for which men go to hell and the meritorious acts which lead them to heaven. After dwelling in heaven or hell for an appropriate period, men are reborn in this world, in higher or lower rank, and even as plants and animals, according to their work. Only by Tapas can a man avoid this re-birth. In this connection is given an interesting list of Karmas or works in life and their consequences in the next birth.

The thirteen daughters of Dakṣa, married to Kaśyapa, twelve children of Kaśyapa and Aditi, two sons of Kaśyapa and Diti (Hiraṇyakaśipu and Hiraṇyākṣa), their descendants, as well as those of Bhṛgu and other Brahmarṣis are described in detail on the model of the Purāṇas. In this connection we are told that Ilā, the wife of Pulastya was the daughter of Tṛnavindu, a disciple of Anggastya, who is now practising tapas in 'Yavadvīpamaṇḍala'. This seems to be the only reference to Anggastya after whom the book is named.

The very detailed knowledge of Indian mythology and the occurrence of Sanskrit verses leaves no doubt that the work was based upon an Indian text.

The Ādipurāṇa[4] begins with an account of King Bhīṣmanagara of Praṣṭanagara, who was very learned and knew the Aṣṭādaśa-dharma, i.e. the eighteen duties, viz.: those about food, marriage, duties towards parents, friends, servants and the diseased, rules of games, trade, service, worship of gods, etc.

The king and the queen, directed by a divine command, go in a boat to meet Bhagavan Mūrtthitāsana on the island Gavangan, and the latter instructs the royal pair. Within this frame-work is described the cosmogony, mythology, etc. after the model of an

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[1] Cat. 1, Vol. I, p. 139. [2] Krom-Geschiedenis[2], p. 299.
[3] Tantu, pp. 319–326; Cat. 1, Vol. II, pp. 170–172.
[4] Tantu, pp. 304–310; Cat. 1, Vol. II, p. 172.

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Indian Purāṇa but widely differing from it in details. The creation, for example, is described as follows :—

Awarunting had eyes in different parts of his body and from them originated Mayanispṛha or Pañcamūrtti, earth, air, sky, the gods, and the tribhuvanāṇda. Then he lost his eyes and created Lord Sardda. From the latter sprang Vindupavana who married Trinayanā. These had the book Kalimahosaḍḍa and created the world, the gods, elements, sciences, etc.

Lord Turyyanta-Sūkṣma, the son of Vindupavana, had three heads, which, when cut off, gave rise to three other beings who became the originator of Brāhmaṇa, Vaiśya and Śūdra, and the lord himself, after the loss of his heads, originated the Kṣatriyas. His son Rāma married Mṛtyujīva and had 3 children, and then follows a long list of their descendants, persons not known from other sources.

Even well-known episodes, like the acquisition of Amṛta by the gods, are described in a different way.

The book is evidently of a very late date and has no connection with any known Sanskrit original, far less with Sanskrit Ādipurāṇa.

The Bhuvanapurāṇa [1] :—It begins by describing how Vaśiṣṭha was instructed by Parameśvara on the Kailāsa mountain about the four āśramas and Varṇas (i.e. castes and orders). It contains many Puranic myths and legends. The Sanskrit verses quoted in it are very corrupt.

Tattva Savang-Suvung [2] .—It is a work on cosmogony. The creator named Sang hyang Taya practised Yoga, and Brahmā and Viṣṇu were born respectively out of his right and left eyes. Then, on his command, Brahmā created the first man Kaki Manuh and Viṣṇu, the first woman, Nini Manuh. Then the Sun, moon, stars, earth, fire, etc. were created.

The fourth category of Old-Javanese prose literature comprises texts of secular character, dealing with a variety of subjects. A few specimens are described below :—

A. Historical.—The Calong Arang [3] may be cited as a good specimen. The text, known in several versions, describes how the widow Calon Arang of Girah was angry that nobody asked her daughter in marriage. Being favoured by Durgā, she used her witchcraft to spread diseases among the subjects of Airlangga, king of Daha, and even burnt his troops. Thereupon King Airlangga

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[1] Cat. 1, Vol. II, p. 174. [2] Ibid., p. 281.

[3] Ibid., pp. 299–300 ; The text is edited with a translation by Poerbatjaraka in B.K.I., Vol. 82 (1926).

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took counsels with wise men such as Tanakung Kanva and Monaguṇa. Then he went to the learned Bhāradah who lived with his daughter Medhavatī in the monastery named Visyamuka. Bharādah succeeded in killing Calong Arang and then the king went with his two sons Jayabhaya and Jayasabha to Girah.

Airlangga wanted to appoint Jayasabha as king of Bali, but was dissuaded by Paṇḍita Kuturan. It was then decided to make Jayabhaya, king of Jaṅggala or Koripan, and Jayasabha king of Kadiri or Daha. The latter, however, marched against his elder brother. A messenger sent by the latter told Jayasabha, by way of warning, a story of the Mahābhārata (Ādiparva), how two brothers, Supratika and Vibhāvasu, were, on account of mutual enmity, transformed into an elephant and tortoise, and devoured by Garuḍa at the command of Kaśyapa. Bhāradah, however, reconciled the two brothers and revived the dead soldiers.

There are two or three Middle-Javanese poetic versions of this work.[1]

Two other works dealing with what may be called the history of the Kakawin literature deserve special mention.

Prastuti Ning Kakawin[2] gives a list of Kakawins together with their authors. Another, a Wavatekan,[3] adds also the date of composition of the works. The data supplied by these books may be shown in the following Tabular form :—

Name of the Kakawin.	Author.	Date in Śaka.
1. Rāmāyaṇa ..	Yogīśvara ..	1016
2. Sumanasāntaka ..	Mpu Monaguṇa ..	1020
3. Arjuna-Vivāha ..	Mpu Kano (Pupil of Yogīśvara).	1022
4. Pārthayājña ..	Mpu Vijātmaka (or Vidyātmaka).	1075
5. Sumavaraṇa ..	Mpu Salukat (Son of Yogīśvara).	....
6. Pāṇḍavavīra ..	Mpu Sdah (Pupil of Mpu Salukat).	....
7. Bomāntaka (or Bhomakāvya).	Mpu Ṛsirangan ..	1019
8. Banolakṣaṇa ..	Mpu Ragarunting ..	....
9. Smaradahana ..	Mpu Dharmaya ..	1021
10. Arjuna Vijaya ..	Mpu Tantular ..	1031
11. Kṛṣṇāyaṇa ..	Mpu Triguṇa ..	1041

[1] Cat. 1, Vol. I, pp. 248-9.
[2] Cat. 1, Vol. II, p. 286.
[3] Ibid., p. 287.

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Name of the Kakawin.	Author.	Date in Śaka.
12. Lubdhaka ..	Mpu Tanakung ..	1050
13. Ghaṭotkacāśraya ..	Mpu Panulung ..	1061
14. Bhārata-Yuddha ..	.... ..	1079
15. Usana Bali Kakawin	Nirārtha ..	1141

The books Nos. 1–8 are given in the first text while those with dates are given in the second. It may be added that these data, particularly the dates, cannot be accepted as true without further evidence.[1]

B. Linguistic.—The chief lexicons are Adisvara,[2] Ekalabya[3] Kṛtabasa[4] and Caṇṭakaparva.[5] They are written in Indian style giving the synonyms of gods, animals, trees and other well-known objects and words. The Kṛtabasa, e.g. gives 29 names of Indra, 31, 27, 29, 48, 9 and 8 synonyms, respectively, of Fire-God, Wind-God, Kāma or God of Love, Moon-God, Yama, and Bṛhaspati, and 29, 59, 4, 28 and 48 words signifying respectively King, Paṇḍita, food, birds and snakes.

The Sanskrit metre is dealt with in Caṇṭakaparva which differs in many respects from Vṛtta-sancaya, the famous Kakawin on the subject referred to above. These, together with grammatical works[6] dealing with Sanskrit conjugation, formation of compounds, etc. show the active pursuit of that language in Java until the very end.

C. Medical texts, such as Aṇḍa[7] and Usada.[8]

D. Texts on Erotic like Smaratantra,[9] Angulipraveśa[10] and Smararacana.[11]

E. Miscellaneous texts on calendar,[12] music,[13] birds,[14] animals,[15] etc.

After having made a brief survey of the Old-Javanese literature we may next turn to the Middle-Javanese.

The extent and compass of the Middle-Javanese literature is fairly large. The most important works are those of historical character written both in prose and in poetry. The poetical works of the Middle-Javanese literature use new kinds of metre and are known as Kidung.

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[1] Cat. 1, Vol. II, p. 287. According to Krom the data are absolutely untrustworthy (T.B.G., Vol. 57, p. 511).
[2] Cat. 1, Vol. II, pp. 205-206.
[3] Ibid., pp. 206-207.
[4] Ibid., pp. 207–214.
[5] Ibid., pp. 219–222.
[6] Ibid., pp. 215–218.
[7] Ibid., pp. 246-247.
[8] Ibid., pp. 248–253.
[9] Ibid., pp. 253–255, 257-258.
[10] Ibid., pp. 255-256.
[11] Ibid., p. 258.
[12] Ibid., p. 225.
[13] Ibid., p. 264.
[14] Ibid., p. 308.
[15] Ibid., p. 309.

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Of the prose works the most important is Pararaton.[1] It begins with the story of Ken Angrok (or Arok) and gives the outline of the political history of Java for nearly three centuries during the Singhasari and Majapahit periods. The proper title of the book is Pararaton (Book of Kings) though it is sometimes referred to as Ken Arok or Ken Angrok. According to the colophon, the work was composed in 1613 A.D.[2] In spite of legendary character of the first part, the work may be regarded as one of the most important historical works, although some of the dates and events recorded herein have not proved true in the light of modern researches.

The Usana Java[3] contains traditions about the history of Bali. It begins by describing how the king of Vilvatikta (Majapahit) sent his brother Arya Damar and Gajah Mada to conquer Bali and how Arya Damar killed the Balinese general Pasunggiri. It then describes the establishment of Deva Agung in Gelgel and the division of the island among the chief nobles. The work gives undue prominence to Arya Damar and his family, but almost ignores Gajah Mada, the founder of the royal family of Karang Asem. The Usana Java means really the old history of Java. It is thus a wrong name for this work.[4]

The Usana Bali,[5] also called Māyāntaka, is another historical work of this kind, but it also gives some account of the popular religion. It was written by Nirartha in the 16th century A.D.

This book is 'exclusively intended for the people and not esteemed by the priest. The Usana Java is held in honour by all castes'.[6]

Besides the two historical works referred to above, there is another, Batur Lelavasan, dealing with the old history of Bali.[7]

Next we have to deal with a class of historical chronicles known as Pamancangah.[8] We have not only general works of this name but also local chronicles such as Pamancangah Glegel, Pamancangah Badung, etc. Of the work known simply as Pamancangah we have both a prose and a Kidung version. It describes the establishment of a Javanese colony from Majapahit in Bali and continues its history up to the fall of Gelgel and the rise of Klungkung. The text is followed by three appendices. The first deals with the

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[1] This was originally edited by Brandes, and the edition was revised by Krom (V.B.G., Vol. 62), 1920.

[2] Ibid., p. 201.

[3] B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 571; Cat. 1, Vol. II, p. 388.

[4] Mid. Jav. Trad., p. 13.

[5] B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 571; Cat. 1, Vol. II, pp. 385–7.

[6] Mid. Jav. Trad., p. 41.

[7] Ibid., p. 12.

[8] To Berg belongs the credit of giving a correct account of these works (Mid. Jav. Trad., p. 15, which supersedes that given in B.K.I., Vol. 71, p. 571 and Cat. 1, Vol. II, pp. 392–4).

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history of Badung, the second with the history of Ñalyan which lies to the east of Gianjar, and the third relates to the destruction of Gelgel and the foundation of the Kraton of Klungkung. The first appendix is also known separately as Pamancangaḥ Badung, while the second and third together form a separate work called Pamancangaḥ Ñalyan.[1] The Kidung version of the Pamancangaḥ contains the second and third, but not the first. In addition to these four there are also other Pamancangaḥs dealing with local history.

The book called Tattva Sunda[2] deals with the story of Hayam Wuruk's marriage with a Sunda princess which ended in such a terrible tragedy.

The same tragic tale forms the plot of the poetical-historical work called Kidung Sunda.[3] Among other works of this kind may be mentioned Kidung Rangga Lawe[4] composed in 1543 A.D. The poem is called Panji Vijayakrama in the manuscripts. The Kidung may be really divided into two parts. The first part gives the history of Vijaya and the foundation of Majapahit, and the second part deals with the revolution of his trusted officer Rangga Lawe. According to Berg the first part may be called Panji Vijayakrama, and the second part, Rangga Lawe.

Of the remaining poetical works, called Kidung, the most important of course is the Panji series, i.e. those dealing with the romantic adventures of the famous hero Panji.[5] The most well-known work of this class is Malat. It is as voluminous as the Rāmāyaṇa and forms the source of all later Javanese and Malayan works of the Panji-Cycle. Among other Javanese Panji-works may be mentioned: Mantri, Wadak, Menur Wills, Misa Gagang, Smaravedana, Undakan Pangrus, Vangbang Videha, Vasing Purusādasanta, Ajar Pakitan, Smara Vijaya, Dangdang Petak and Daugdang Hireng.

The crown prince of Kahuripan, the hero of this cycle of legends, is known by various names. He is represented as a wonderful stranger and a young lover wandering about on horseback in search of his lost beloved, Candra Kirana of Daha. He is an

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[1] Juynboll includes it among the Balinese works (Cat. II, p. 153).

[2] Cat. I, Vol. II, pp. 388-9.

[3] Cat. I, Vol. I, pp. 234-5, 257-8. The text is edited by Berg in B.K.I., Vol. 83 (1927), pp. 1ff.

[4] Cat. I, Vol. I, pp. 255–257; Mid. Jav. Trad., p. 10.

[5] For a general discussion of the origin and nature of the Panji works cf. De Pandji-Roman by W. H. Rassers (1922), particularly the learned introduction of the work and Poerbatjaraka's article in T.B.G., Vol. 58, pp. 461–489.

For an account of the individual works cf. Cat. I, Vol. I, pp. 182–217.

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enigmatic and shadowy figure, and his character is full of contradictions. On the one hand he is a sentimental lover, almost on the verge of madness for his long lost beloved, but, on the other, fully alive to the charms of other women and only too eager and unscrupulous in gaining them. He changes his name and forms, gets involved in endless complications, and plays his role sometimes among men in the earth and sometimes among gods in heaven.

There are good many versions of this story in Javanese and Malayan literature, and quite a large number of texts on this subject. The story is also widely spread all over Indonesia, viz.: Java, Sumatra, Bali, Lombok, Borneo, Celebes, and also Malay Peninsula and Indo-China. The Panji legends also serve as the subject-matter for Wajang Gedog and Topeng Dalang. All these invest the Panji literature with a special interest, and there has been much speculation about the nature and origin of this cycle of legends.

At the first glance, one would not be inclined to invest the stories with any historical character, inasmuch as the scene is laid in the kingdom of Medang, Janggala and Majapahit, three kingdoms which came into existence at long intervals and never existed side by side. But the scholars like Van der Tuuk, Kern and Rouffaer were of opinion that in spite of this seeming contradiction a historical character forms the nucleus of this voluminous mass of legends. Recently Poerbatjaraka has gone a step further and tried to demonstrate that the two chief figures in the story, the crown-prince of Janggala and his beloved (or wife) Candra Kirana, princess of Daha, are to be looked for in the historical king Kāmesvara I of Daha (c. 1115–c. 1130 A.D.) and his Queen Śrī-Kirana-Ratu of Janggala. Of course, we are then to presume that the story-tellers have just reversed the titles, by representing the hero as prince of Janggala and the heroine as princess of Daha.

Whatever we may think of this theory, there can be hardly any doubt that the Panji-legends represent the purely Javanese literature as opposed to that which is based on or influenced by Indian element. This view has been ably put forward by Rassers in his masterly work on the subject. He is further of opinion that the story originated in Java and then spread from that centre all over Indonesia and Indo-China. Lastly he has tried to demonstrate that many mythical beliefs formed the ground-work of this cycle of legends.

Next to the Panji cycle may be mentioned the class of folk-tales and fables known as Tantri. Some of these works are written in poetry, e.g. Tantri, Kediri[1] and Tantri Demung,[2] but the oldest

[1] Cat. 1, Vol. I, pp. 239–244.

[2] Cat. 1, Vol. I, pp. 244–248.

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work, Tantri Kāmandaka,[1] is written in prose. These works are based on Hitopadeśa and Pañcatantra, but contain many new stories. This class of literary works is found not only in Javanese but also in Balinese, Siamese, and Laotian, showing the great popularity of the work. The preamble is, however, different. Instead of the usual introductory episode of Viṣṇuśarman instructing his royal disciples, the stories are put in the mouth of a queen, the last of a long series who were daily married and put off for a new one, thus reminding us of the introduction of the Arabian Thousand and One Nights.

Many Kidung works are merely new versions of well-known works. Thus we have Ādiparva Kidung, Rāmāyaṇa Kidung, Sumanasāntaka Kidung, Koravāśrama Kidung, Panancangah-Kidung, Pararaton Kidung, Indraloka-Kidung, Nava ruci Kidung, Calon Arang, etc.

Epic and mythological stories form the basis of many poetical works of the Kidung class. The Bhīmasvarga[2] describes the journey of Bhīma to hell in order to release the soul of his father Pāṇḍu. The exploit of Bhīma also forms the plot of Navaruci Kidung.[3] One of the most popular Kidungs is Śrī Tañjung.[4] It relates how Sidapakṣa, son of Nakula, married his cousin Śritañjun, the daughter of Sahadeva, how the king sent him to heaven in order to seduce his wife and how, on his return, Sidapakṣa killed her on the suspicion that she had committed adultery, but was convinced of her innocence by the delicious scent emitted by her blood. Śritañjun was then restored to life by Durgā. Another work by the same author, Sudamala,[5] forms a sort of introduction to Śrī Tañjung and describes the exploit of Sahadeva. Śiva cursed Umā for adultery and transformed her into a monster, when she was called Durgā. Sahadeva delivered her from this fate, and on her advice cured Tambapetra of his blindness and married his daughter. The two Vidyādharas Citrasena and Citrāngada were cursed as they looked upon Śiva and Umā during their bath, and became two *Rākṣasas*. Being defeated by the Pāṇḍavas they regained their old forms.

The Kidung Kuntī-Yajña[6] describes the exploits of the Pāṇḍavas and specially Arjuna who was twice married and twice killed. The second time he fought with his own son by Suprabhā and both

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[1] Edited, with a Dutch Translation by Dr. C. Hooykaas in the Bibliotheca Javanica Series (1931). For a summary cf. Cat. 1, Vol. II, p. 395. cf. also my article in I.H.Q., Vol. IX, pp. 930-1.

[2] Cat. 1, Vol. I, p. 267. Its relation with Old-Javanese Mahābhārata is discussed by Juynboll in Kern-Album, pp. 73-74.

[3] Cat. 1, Vol. I, pp. 236-237.

[4] Ibid., pp. 259-261.

[5] Ibid., pp. 262-263.

[6] Ibid., p. 226.

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were killed. But Suprabhā restored them to life and told their relationship.

There are many other Kidungs based on epic and mythological stories such as Dharmajati,[1] Arjuna Pralabda,[2] Candra Berava,[3] Wangbang Astuti,[4] etc.

The Sang Satyavān[5] is of more than passing interest as it gives a Javanese version of the famous episode of Sāvitrī. The god Satyavān was incarnated in the earth and married Suvistri, the daughter of Yayāti and Devayānī. As he pretended to die, his wife killed herself, but was restored to life. Then he went to a monastery and his wife also followed him there. On the way he terrified his wife by assuming the forms of a dragon and of a tiger, and lastly by causing storms. But Suvistri reached the monastery and at last met her husband.

There are some Kidungs with independent plots of romantic character and not based upon epic or mythology, e.g. Aji Dharma,[6] Jaya Prameya,[7] Kṛtasamaya,[8] Panji Margasmara,[9] Vargasari,[10] Durma, etc.[11] There are also Kidungs whose contents are of philosophic, didactic and erotic character.

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes :—

B.K.I.—Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie, etc.

T.B.G.—Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap, etc.

Cat. I.—Supplement op den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche universiteits—bibliothek by Dr. H. Juynboll.

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[1] Cat. 1, Vol. I, p. 269. [2] Ibid., pp. 221–224. [3] Ibid., pp. 249-50.
[4] Ibid., pp. 265–67. [5] Ibid., p. 270. [6] Ibid., pp. 272, 219.
[7] Ibid., pp. 224-25. [8] Ibid., p. 225. [9] Ibid., pp. 227-8.
[10] Ibid., pp. 250–252. [11] Ibid., p. 273.

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LATEST ATTEMPTS TO READ THE INDUS SCRIPT.

A Summary.

By C. L. Fábri, Ph.D.

Ever since the publication of the *Mohenjo-daro* monograph by Sir John Marshall and his collaborators, scholars all over the world were puzzled by the newly discovered pictographic script and many attempts have been made to decipher it. No doubt, many more students have made a thorough study of the existing monuments than would appear from the publications. For there are certainly a number of Indologists and Sumerologists who gave up after a protracted search the hope of solving the mystery of this writing. I know myself five scholars who have spent many an hour and many a day copying the inscriptions of the seals and comparing them with material from many lands, or trying to explain the meaning of the signs 'from inside', without the aid of other scripts; yet they have not published anything about their researches, wisely seeing, how very little they could achieve. The difficulties of the deciphering of this particular script are greater than in most cases. To begin with, we have no idea so far in which language this script is written; worse than that, we do not even know to which general class of language it belongs, whether it expresses cases and tenses by pre- or postfixes, whether it is a syllabic writing or a real word-pictography.

Another difficulty is that there is no consensus of opinion about the use and (or) purpose of the 'seals'. Dr. G. R. Hunter insists on the religious purpose of the 'seals' in his review of the Mohenjo-daro monograph in *JRAS.*, 1932, pp. 466–503, but he suggests that the 'copper-tablets' were a form of coin or ingots, with the names of the king or magistrate, sometimes together with his successor designate. I may be allowed to mention that I have several times suggested a similar use even for the seal-impressions. In two lectures delivered in the autumn of 1933 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna and in the Academy of Sciences, Budapest, I reminded those present of the important fact, that certainly about three-quarters of all written documents of the Near East are of a commercial character, including I.O.U.-s, receipts, money orders, and the like. In an article entitled *Punch-marked Coins: A Survival of the Indus Civilization*, to be published in the next number of the *JRAS.*, I suggest, among others, that the seal-impressions were a fore-runner of the punch-marked coins: not a regular currency

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which one cannot expect in such remote times, but a form of stamped obligation to pay a sum.

To connect the Indus-script with Brāhmī seems to be an almost accepted thesis now. Professor LANGDON already insisted on certain Brāhmī characters being derived from Indus signs, and Dr. PRAN NATH has built upon this foundation an entire hypothesis. He presented his attempt to the Congress of Orientalists at Leyden in 1931, and the general refusal of his theories at that learned gathering might have been a good hint for him not to publish his studies. It is to be feared that his great sacrifice of time and devoted work on the subject was in vain, in view of that untenable supposition that the writing is hiding an Indo-Aryan language, Sanskrit. Such a surmise seems entirely impossible to us.

More interesting, although similarly open to grave doubts, is the discovery by Mr. K. P. JAYASWAL of what he claims to be the connecting link between the Indus Valley signs and the Brāhmī characters. In a rock-shelter of the Vikramkhol Rock, Sambalpur District, Bihar and Orissa, a Sādhū, Svāmī Jnānānanda, found a series of signs, which Mr. JAYASWAL edited in Pt. DCCLXXIV of Vol. LXII of the *Indian Antiquary* (March 1933), pp. 58–60, with nine illustrations. The editor suggests the date of 'about 1500 B.C.' and finds a number of signs (not more than nine) which he compares with the Indus Valley pictograms on one side, and with Brāhmī characters on the other. The very number of the comparisons raises already some doubt, and a careful inspection of the plates (which are very well produced) will strengthen one's impression that Mr. JAYASWAL's conclusions are, in our opinion, somewhat hasty. The general appearance of an 'inscription' disappears when we try to find some connexion between the individual signs, and I must certainly and firmly contradict the author's assertion that 'the writing is in regular lines'. Rarely are more than three signs in any apparent succession, although one must admit that the individual signs do resemble Brāhmī characters vaguely. It will be remembered that both the Mohenjo-daro inscriptions and the Brāhmī texts excel in the neatness of the line; indeed, few writings of ancient times can claim more beauty and perfection in execution than these two scripts. The Vikramkhol 'inscription', on the other hand is a topsy-turvy, haphazard collection of signs, mixed with a few incised drawings. I would go even so far as to doubt that it is an inscription. Yet the possibility cannot be denied that we have here some primitive, 'rural' writing, vaguely connected with the Brāhmī of the courts and temples. It is to be feared, however, that it would be in vain to expect a clue from that side to the Indus Valley characters.

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The most astonishing discovery in connexion with the Indus-script comes from an 'outsider'. This is the Hungarian Dr. G. de HEVESY who in an article *Sur une écriture océanienne*, published in 1933 in the *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique Française*, Nos. 7-8, has called the attention of Indologists to the amazing similarity of the Easter Island script with that of the Indus Valley. Phantastic as the distance is between the two places, there is no Indologist now who refutes this comparison. As a matter of fact, the identity of over 200 signs is so perfect that, according to Professor LANGDON, we must accept it, unless we believe in 'an astonishing historical accident'. I have had the privilege of seeing the original tables of Dr. HEVESY in the hands of Professor Baron von HEINE-GELDERN in Vienna, and I must confess that a few minutes' examination suffices to convince the most critical eye. Perhaps I am not disclosing a secret if I mention that Baron von HEINE attempted to connect these two extremes by a thorough examination of the most ancient Chinese signs; the suggestion that Chinese writing should be compared was made already in the original Mohenjo-daro monograph. As all other attempts to read the Indus-script have failed so far, we must wish good luck to the Viennese scholars who are uniting their efforts now in that direction.

Many Sumerologists have been attracted by the newly discovered script, remotely but definitely similar to Elamitic and Sumerian writing; but even Egyptologists must be interested in the problem, as they have the clue to a pictographic script in their own field which may bear resemblances to another script through mere similarity of the working of the human mind. This, indeed, is the background to Professor Sir Flinders PETRIE's attempt, *Mohenjo-daro*, published in his *Ancient Egypt*, June 1932, Pt. II. That most famous of all Egyptologists interprets all the texts as titles of officials, not as names. Such seals are known in Egypt too, and no one could exclude the possibility of seals being used by officials *ex officio*, and without their names upon them. To quote an example of Sir Flinders' interpretations, seal No. 41 would mean, according to him, 'Wakil of bows, Inspector of the Court of Three, Knight'. A little too much of offices, one could say. The most serious objection, however, is the number of the seals and their find-spots. If all the seals had belonged to officials, then almost every inhabitant of Mohenjo-daro must have been an official personage and member of the Court; for seals have been found in almost every house, often quite a collection of them in a corner of a room, or outside the entrance, in the street, and this would lead to the somewhat embarrassing conclusion, that certain houses were inhabited by a dozen or more high officials of every description. Besides, we must

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confess, that a number of signs are interpreted in a manner that probably few of us are able to follow.

Even more difficult to follow, although certainly much more acceptable in ultimate results, is the attempt of Herr P. MERIGGI, *Zur Indus-Schrift*, published in the *ZDMG.*, New Series, Vol. 12 (87), Heft 3/4, pp. 198–241. Herr MERIGGI gives up the attempt to read *phonems*, sounds, and tries to interpret, like Sir Flinders PETRIE, the inherent meaning of the signs. His first suggestion is remarkable in itself. It is, that the single and double 'accents', i.e. | and ||, are really word-dividing signs. If this is accepted, it would be a discovery of great assistance for further work. Secondly, the author identifies the Nominative, the Genitive, and the Dative (?) suffixes, and we must confess, that his reading of the Genitive ending is very suggestive, anyhow so far as his own system goes. Lastly, he interprets a number of signs, without assigning to them phonetical values, as SEAL, MO(RTAR), BURDEN or weight, HO(RSE), AXE, SCYTHE meaning harvest also, MORTARM-(ILL), CER(EAL), GRAIN also sowing, HOUSE, TEMP(LE), TABLE, M(AN), B(OW)-M(AN) or soldier, SURVE(YOR), OFF-(ICER). As an example of his way of reading, I give here his interpretation of seal No. 557, the first sign of which is somewhat obliterated :

S(EAL ?) || SACK-F || MO-III 7 TEMP-U

where F and U are graphic signs for Dative and Genitive suffixes. This text, according to Herr MERIGGI would then mean : 'Seal for the sacks of corn of the Seven Temples'. There is a great deal of good commonsense about his interpretation, notwithstanding the cryptic and complicated language in which he explains his thesis, partly due to lack of space. The unfortunate thing about this deciphering is that it is extraordinarily difficult to prove it. I must, however, repeat it that his article should be very carefully read by any one who has any serious intention to look into the matter of the Indus Valley script; and if his explanation of the sign for SEAL is right, and his suggestion that the single and double 'accents' | and || are word-dividers, is acceptable, we are certainly a great deal further than we have been before.

In size, and in earnest research, the volume of Dr. G. R. HUNTER, *The Script of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro and its Connection with other Scripts* (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1934), is certainly the greatest of all the attempts. It must have involved more patient research work than that of Herr MERIGGI, although I must admit that it did not strike me as equally ingenious. Such, however, is research, that there is place both for patient, con-

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scientious workers and men of intuitive, ingenious wit; and whilst the one might reach more dependable results through protracted study, the other may, among many unsuccessful attempts, suddenly hit the nail on the head. I am, therefore, not writing to criticize the *methods* of approach of any of them; for I believe in both methods, if used in the proper critical spirit. Dr. HUNTER goes into a detailed discussion which surpasses that of the original monograph; he corrects a number of errors; he publishes a more complete list of seals (drawn in black and white) than shown in the plates of *Mohenjo-daro*; he gives a more complete and better arranged list of all the inscriptions; he gives an exhaustive analysis of his tables, and, on pp. 201–210, he gives a Comparative Morphographic Table, in which he compares the Indus Valley signs with Egyptian, Proto-Elamite, Sumerian, Brāhmī, South-Semitic, Phœnician, and Cypriote writing. To begin at this end, let me add, that these Morphographic Tables are *most useful to show how very vague the relation of Brāhmī is to the Indus signs*. Dr. HUNTER, like Professor LANGDON, is firmly convinced of the derivation of the Brāhmī characters from the Indus signs. Yet I have never seen less convincing material brought together than in these tables of Dr. HUNTER. I myself have spent three months in comparing these two scripts, and gave it up; I would have done so in half an hour if I had then the privilege of seeing Dr. HUNTER's tables. I cannot enter here into a detailed discussion; but I ask the reader to look up in those tables signs Nos. 167 (LA), 172 (ṢA), 184 (KHA), 146 (DHA), 150 (SA), 47 (KA); in all these cases Dr. HUNTER derives the Brāhmī character from Indus Valley pictograms which do not bear the remotest similarity to them; in any case, I am perfectly unable to discover any likeness! In a few other cases the similarity is evident, and has been pointed out already by Professor LANGDON; unfortunately, however, the number of really similar signs is very restricted and, consequently, may be merely accidental. Much more surprising is the comparison with the Proto-Elamitic script; the number of almost entirely identical letters is large, and relates often to such peculiar shapes that their separate, independent invention does not seem likely. Unfortunately, these comparisons do not help to solve the mystery.

Dr. HUNTER claims also to have determined (*a*) the numeral signs, (*b*) the ordinal suffix, (*c*) the word for 'servant' and its determinative, (*d*) the ablative suffix, (*e*) the dative suffix, (*f*) the word for 'slave' and its determinative, (*g*) the word for 'son'. I think that all these conclusions still need corroboration. The very suggestion that 'our texts are entirely proper names (and titles)' (p. 47), needs proof; and I venture to differ fundamentally

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from the author when he suggests that all the seals were made for some religious purpose. This seems to my commonsense so very improbable that I would never start from such a viewpoint. Yet, Dr. HUNTER's work is a most valuable contribution to the problem; and I feel confident that most students will in the future prefer to use his tables instead of those of the *Mohenjo-daro* monograph.

I think we can aptly conclude this short survey of recent attempts to decipher the Indus-script by referring to an article, which, although it does not bear directly on the writing itself, yet indirectly it is of more importance than many a paper written on the script problem. I allude to Mr. GADD's lecture, *Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur*, published in the Proceedings of the B.A., XVIII (1933), 22 pages, with three plates. Here we have a collection of not less than *eighteen seals* of the Indus Valley style, found at Ur, Kish, Tell Asmar, and other places in Mesopotamia, with Indus Valley inscriptions, and differing only slightly, now and then, in design. A number of these were found in datable layers, three of them (one by Dr. FRANKFORT) under circumstances which leave no doubt whatsoever about their exact date. No student of Mohenjo-daro and the Indus-civilization should miss to read this paper. And let us hope that the soil of Mesopotamia from which these eloquent remnants of an ancient trade relation were excavated, will one day give us the clue to the signs of the Indus Valley. If the people of Elam and Mesopotamia were in trade relations with the Indus Valley people, and kept their seals (money obligations ?) in their home, then they most probably were able to read these signs; and we are not expecting the impossible when we hope that a bilingual inscription will turn up one day under the spade of some excavator in 'Irāq.

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THE VAṄGAS

By B. C. LAW

In modern geography, the Vaṅga country is conterminous with what is at present known as the province of Bengal. But Vaṅga in ancient days denoted only a portion of it; it is distinguished in ancient literature and epigraphic records not only from Rāḍha which included Suhma [1] or was conterminous with it,[2] and Gauḍa which at one time included Karṇasuvarṇa [3] and a portion of Rāḍha,[4] all making up what is now roughly known as Western Bengal, but also from Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravardhana which included Varendra or Varendri,[5] making up what is roughly identical with present northern Bengal. Vaṅga thus, in ancient times, stood for what is known in modern times as Eastern Bengal comprising the modern Dacca and Chittagong divisions. Among the important divisions of Vaṅga in ancient days were included Samataṭa (mod. Faridpur, according to Watters, and for some time even Tāmalitti or Tāmralipta (mod. Tamluk).[6] Hemacandra in his Abhidhānacintāmaṇi (IV, 23), however, identifies the country of the Vaṅgas with that of a tribe called Harikelas (Vaṅgās-tu Harikelīyāḥ=the Vaṅgas are the Harikeliyas).[7] In an eleventh century Cola inscription (Tirumalai Rock Ins. of Rājendracola) as well as in Goharwa plate of Cedi Karṇadeva the Vaṅga country is referred to as Baṅgāladeśaṁ which in the thirteenth century came to be called Baṅgāla (Wright's *Marco Polo*) and in Mohamedan times Bāṅglā. The Tirumalai Inscription distinguishes Vaṅga not only from South Rāḍha (Takkana Lāḍham) but also from North Rāḍha (Uttila Lāḍham). Vaṅga which at one time meant Eastern Bengal has

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 525–29.

[2] *S.B.E.*, XXII, pp. 84-85, Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary on the Sabhāparva of the Mahābhārata. 'Suhmāḥ Rāḍhāḥ'=Suhmas are the Rāḍhas.

[3] M. Chakravarti, *J.A.S.B.*, 1908, p. 274.

[4] *Prabodhacandrodaya*, Canto II.

[5] Tarpaṇḍighi Grant of Lakṣmaṇasena, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, III, pp. 99 foll. But in some of the Sena records Vaṅga is sometimes included in Puṇḍravardhanabhukti.

[6] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, No. 3, p. 533.

[7] According to Itsing (*Itsing*, Takakusu, p. xlvi), Wuhing, another Chinese pilgrim, visited Harikela which was the eastern limit of eastern India. Harikela is also mentioned in an illustrated manuscript of Aṣṭasahasra-prajñāpāramitā in the Camb. Univ. Library (*Mss. Add.* 1643).

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thus now given its name to the entire province of modern Bengal, and the English rendering of the name is certainly to be derived from old Baṅgāla or Bāṅglā.[1]

The Vaṅgas, as a tribe, are not mentioned in earlier Vedic literature unless we recognise them in the curious word 'Vaṅga-Vāgadhāḥ' which occurs in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka (II, I, 1). 'Vaṅga-Vāgadhāḥ' has often been amended into 'Vaṅga-Māgadhāḥ' which means the Vaṅgas and the Magadhas, the two neighbouring peoples. The amendment is, however, doubtful; but even if it be correct, the Vaṅgas along with the Magadhas must have been branded by the Aryans as an impure people, probably a pre-Aryan tribe, for the two tribes have been described as *pakṣī-viśeṣāḥ* or like certain species of birds. In fact, they were considered as birds by the Aryans. The name of the Vaṅga tribe is certainly found in the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra (I. I, 14; cf. Oldenberg, *Buddha* 394, n). He too brands Vaṅga as an impure country along with Puṇḍra, Kaliṅga, and Sauvīra. An Aryan who had been to any of these countries was required to perform a certain sacrificial rite to become free from the impurities attaching to residence in those countries. Even in the time of Patañjali, the Vaṅgas and their country were excluded from Āryāvarta. The country was, however, Aryanised before Manu wrote his Dharmaśāstra, for the Manusaṁhitā extends the eastern boundary of Āryāvarta to the sea.[2] In early Buddhist literature where detailed lists appear of many countries and peoples, the Vaṅgas and their country are conspicuous by their absence. They are, however, mentioned in Jain Prajñāpāṇā which ranks Aṅga and Vaṅga in the first group of Aryan peoples.[3]

We have already seen that in the time of Baudhāyana the Vaṅgas were distinguished from the Puṇḍras who must have occupied

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[1] In a Nālandā inscription recently edited by Mr. N. G. Majumder (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pt. III, pp. 97 foll.) the name Vaṅgāla deśa appears.

[2] For early references to Vaṅga, see Levi, *Pre-Aryan et Pre-Dravidian dans l'Inde.*

[3] It is interesting to see what accounts we may get of the ancient Vaṅga people out of some records of non-Aryan activities of a time when the Aryans disdained to take any notice of the tribes who were outside the pale of Āryāvarta. For a detailed study Vide B. C. Majumdar, '*History of the Bengali language*,' pp. 38–41.

Glimpses of the ancient relation of Bengal with the Tamils are reflected in at least one place name of ancient Bengal—Tāmralipti which was also called Dāmalipti or Dāmilitti, i.e. the city of the Dāmala people. The Dāmalas are the same as the Tāmala people or the Tāmila; and Bengal must have once in ancient days been a home of those people.

H. P. Śāstrī, *Mānasī*, Vaiśākh, 1321 B.S., pp. 356–58.

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the region that came later on to be designated as Puṇḍravardhana roughly identical with Northern Bengal. In the Epics and the Purāṇas as well, Vaṅga is distinguished not only from Puṇḍra but also from Suhma, the two other important divisions of ancient Bengal, as well as from Aṅga and Kaliṅga. According to the Purāṇas and the Great Epic,[1] the sage Dīrghatamas had married King Bali's Śūdra nurse and had Kakṣivant and other sons; and at Bali's desire begot on the queen Sudeṣṇā five sons, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma, who were called the Bāleya Kṣatras and also Bāleya Brāhmaṇas, and who came to be the founders of five respective countries in their names. In the Matsya Purāṇa Vaṅga and Suhma are included in the list of eastern countries (Chap. 114, 43–45).[2] According to the Great Epic (Mbh. XII, Chap. 5, 6607), King Jarāsandha is said to have extended his supremacy over the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Puṇḍras. Karṇa is also once credited to have conquered the Suhmas, Aṅgas and Vaṅgas (Mbh. Karṇa Parva, Chap. 8, 19). In the Droṇa Parva (Mbh., Chap. 10, 15), Vāsudeva is said to have once routed in battle the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas and Pauṇḍras along with other peoples. In the Sabhā Parva, the Pāṇḍavas are credited to have subverted the Puṇḍras and the Vaṅgas and led their victorious army to Suhma (Mbh. Sabhā P., Chap. XXX, 23–25). It, therefore, seems that in the period represented by the Epics and the Purāṇas, Vaṅga, Puṇḍra (or Pauṇḍra) and Suhma were the three important divisions of Bengal, but it is difficult to define with any amount of exactness the geographical positions of the respective divisions. It is, however, interesting to observe that in the Sabhāparva (Chap. 44, 9) of the Mahābhārata Aṅga and Vaṅga are mentioned as forming one Viṣaya or kingdom. This is supported by a reference in the Rāmāyana (Bk. II, Chap. X) where the Vaṅgas are mentioned along with the Aṅgas; they are moreover, always invariably associated in ancient literature with the Aṅgas and Kaliṅgas. It is not, therefore, improbable that in those days the Vaṅga country touched the realm of Aṅgas on one side and that of the Kaliṅgas on the other. Puṇḍra and Suhma were two adjacent countries

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[1] Vāyu, P. chap. 99, 26–34, 47–97; Brahmāṇḍa, P. iii, chap. 74, 25–34, 47–100; Matsya, P. chap. 48, 23–9, 43–89; Brahma, P. IV, chap. 18, 1; Bhag., P. IX, chap. 23, 5; Mbh. i, chap. 104, 4193–221, with variations: xii, chap. 343, 13177–84, cf. Pargiter, Anc. Ind. Hist. Tradition, pp. 109 and 158.

[2] Cf. also Mbh. (Bhiṣmaparva, chap. 9, 46) where the Aṅgas, Vaṅgas, and Kaliṅgas are mentioned as East Indian peoples (Law, 'Some Ksatriya Tribes of Ancient India', p. 147). Cf. also Rāmāyaṇa (Kiskindhyā Kāṇḍa, canto xlii) where the Puṇḍras are mentioned as an Eastern people.

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identical roughly with the modern Rajsahi and Burdwan divisions respectively.

The first epigraphic mention of the Vaṅgas (more properly speaking of the Vaṅga countries) is probably made in the Maharauli Iron Pillar inscription (C.I.I., Vol. III, pp. 141ff.) where the mighty King Chandra is said to have 'in battle in the Vaṅga countries turned back with his breast the enemies who uniting together came against him, and by whom having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the Indus the Vāhlikas were conquered'. Mm. H. P. Śāstrī identified this mighty King Chandra with King Chandravarman of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and the king of the same name of Pokhrana which he located in Marwar in Rajputana. But a more happy identification is made by Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhuri and Dr. S. K. Chatterjee [1] who identify Pokhrana or Puṣkaraṇa with a village of the same name on the Damodara river in the Bankura district, some twenty-five miles east of the Susuia Hill on which the record of Chandravarman is inscribed. An almost contemporary reference to the Vaṅga people is made by Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśaṁ where Raghu is credited to have conquered the Vaṅgas after he had finished his task with the Suhmas, and planted his victorious banner in the midstream of the Ganges (Canto. IV, 35-36).

'Vaṅganutkhāya tarasa neta nausādhanodyatān |
Nicakhāna Jayastambhān Gaṅgasto'ntareṣu saḥ' ||

It shows that in the age of Kālidāsa the Vaṅgas, were distinguished, as in earlier days, from the Suhmas who seem to have occupied a region west of that occupied by the Vaṅgas. It is further probable that the realm of the Vaṅgas abutted on the Ganges which probably formed the dividing line between the two countries. The Vaṅga country is also referred to in the Mahākuṭa pillar inscription (Ep. Ind., Vol. V) which tells us that in the 6th century A.D. Kīrtivarman of the Chalukya dynasty gained victories over the kings of Vaṅga, Aṅga and Magadha which were but three neighbouring countries. But a more interesting reference to the realm of the Vaṅga people is made in the 'Gauḍavaho', a Marathi Prakrit poem that records the exploits of King Yasovarman (first half of the 8th century A.D.) of Kanoj. The identity of Yasovarman has been sufficiently established by his mention in Chinese records as I-cha-fon-mo, and also in the Rājataraṅginī of Kalhana. But the exploits recorded in the 'Gauḍa-vaho' are of doubtful historical

[1] Rai Chaudhuri, P.H.A.I., p. 364 (3rd Edn.); S. K. Chatterjee, the Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, II, p. 1061. Also see I.H.Q., I, part II, p. 255.

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value except the main topics of the defeat and the killing of the Gauḍa king. According to the court-poet, Yasovarman, out on his conquest first came on the river Son whence he proceeded to the Vindhyas with his army. Fearing his approach the Gauḍa King, who was also the King of Magadha, fled, and Yasovarman entered his territory and fixed his camp there. The Gauḍa King returned, a battle was fought and he was killed. Yasovarman next proceeded to the Vaṅga kingdom whose King too submitted before his conquering sword.[1] Whatever be the historical truth contained in this description, the Vaṅga country in the first half of the eighth century A.D. seems to have been distinguished from the realm of the Gauḍas; and this distinction seems to have been maintained as late as the 12th century A.D. In the Pithapuram plates of Prithvisena (S.S. 1108) King Malla is said to have subdued among others the Kings of the Vaṅgas, Magadhas and the Gauḍas. In the Tirumalai Rock inscription (E.P. Ind., Vol. IX, p. 231) of King Rājendra Cola (1025 A.D.) Vaṅgāla-desam, i.e. the realm of the Vaṅgālas or Vaṅgas is distinguished from Uttira-Lāḍam or Uttara-Rāḍha (=the Brahma country of the Kāvyamīmāṅsā)[2] and Takkana-Lāḍam or Dakṣina Rāḍha (=Suhma of the Epics, the Purāṇas and the Kāvyamīmānsā). The Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājasekhara (Chaps. 3 and 17), a work of the 10th century A.D., also mentions Aṅga, Vaṅga, Suhma, Brahma, Puṇḍra, etc. as janapadas of the east. The Vaṅga country is also referred to not only in the copper-plate grant of Vaidyadeva of Kāmarūpa who is said to have been victorious in southern Vaṅga (EP. Ind., Vol. II, p. 355) but also in the Edilpur plate of Keśavasena, the Madanpāḍā plate of Viśwarūpasena, and the Sāhitya Parishad plate of the same King (Inscriptions of Bengal, Vol. III, pp. 119, 133 and 141). It thus appears that from the fall of the later Guptas to the break-up of the Sena dynasty, the more important divisions of Bengal were Vaṅga, Puṇḍra, Gauḍa and Suhma which according to one authority was identical with Rāḍhā (Nilkaṇṭha's commentary on the Mahābhārata, op. cit.) and according to another stood for a portion, i.e. the southern portion of Rāḍhā, the northern portion being designated as Brahma (Sen, *Some Janapadas of Ancient Rāḍhā*, op. cit.). Other important divisions were Karṇasuvarṇa and Varendra, Tāmralipti, Bāgḍī, Samataṭa and Harikela of which the last two were included in or identical with Vaṅga. Tāmralipti was included in Suhma and Varendra in Puṇḍra or Puṇḍravardhana, while

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[1] N. Ray—The Maukharis of Kanoj, Cal. Rev., 1928, Feb., pp. 216-17.
[2] P. Sen—Some Janapadas of ancient Rāḍha, I.H.Q., Vol. VIII, No. 3, pp. 521-529.

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Karṇasuvarṇa seems to have stood for some region perhaps identical with some portion of the northern Rāḍhā country. Some scholars have identified it with Rāṅgāmāti in the Murshidabad district (J.A.S.B., XXII, p. 281 ; Kubjika Tantra, Ch. 7). Others think that 'the kingdom of Karṇasuvarṇa was situated to the west of the Bhāgīrathī and included Murshidabad, Bankura, Burdwan and Hughli (Dey's Geographical Dict., p. 94). Bāgḍi, one of the four divisions of the ancient Bengal, according to Vallālasena (Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa's Vallāla Charitaṁ, a book of doubtful value, Purva khaṇḍa, Vss. 6 and 7) comprised the delta of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, and may be identified with what is now known as the 24 parganas and the Sunderbans. (C.A.G.I., Ed. by Majumdar, pp. 730-31).

Samataṭa, we have already said, was included in the larger divisions of Vaṅga. Some scholars are of opinion that it was distinct from Vaṅga which lay between the Meghna on the east, the sea on the south, and the old Buḍigaṅgā course of the Ganges on the north. The western boundary of Vaṅga appears always to have been indefinite (Vide Bhaṭṭasāli, Sculptures in the Dacca Museum, pp. 4–6).[1] The country is mentioned for the first time in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (C.I.I., Vol. III, No. 1) as one of the most important among the north-east Indian frontier kingdoms which submitted to the mighty Gupta emperor. It is also mentioned in the Karmavibhāga of the Bṛhatsaṁhitā (Chap. XIV) as an eastern country and was visited by Yuan Chwang, I-tsing and Seng-chi, the celebrated Chinese travellers. Yuan Chwang describes it as 'the country of which the rivers have flat and level banks of equal height on both sides'. According to him it was much to the south of Kāmrūpa and east of Tāmalipta ; it was low, moist and on the sea side. Samataṭa thus seems to have been identical with the delta of the Ganges and Brahmaputra and must have comprised, according to epigraphic evidence, the modern districts of Tipperah, Noakhali, Sylhet (J.A.S.B., 1915, pp. 17, 18) and portions probably of Barisal. That it included Tipperah is proved also by Nos. 19 and 59 of the Cambridge Mss. No. Add. 1643, an illustrated manuscript of Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitā in the Cambridge University Library (Foucher, Iconographic Buddhique, Vol. I ; Cf. also Bhaṭṭasāli, op. cit., pp. 12-13). When Yuan Chwang visited the country, Samataṭa was an important kingdom. There were about 30 Buddhist Saṅghārāmas with about 2,000

[1] Regarding Vaṅga, Vaṅgāla and Samataṭa, mention may be made here of Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri's Bengali article, 'Vaṅga kon deśa' in his Studies in Indian Antiquities, Cal. Univ., pp. 184–192.

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priests in the country while the temples of Brahmanical gods were also numerous. But there were Nigraṇṭha Jain ascetics in plentiful numbers. During the visits of Yuan Chwang and Seng-Chi, Samataṭa seems to have been under the rule of the Khaḍga dynasty (Memoirs of A.S.B., Vol. I, No. 6; also Beal's Life of Hiuen Tsang, Intro. p. xi, no. 40). It came later on to be ruled over by the Chandra dynasty of Vaṅga (Cf. Govindcandra of Vaṅgāla deśaṁ of the Tirumalai Inscription). The Rampal plate of Śrīcandradeva (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII, p. 136) informs us that a Candra dynasty held sway over the Rohita hill (identified by Mr. Bhaṭṭasāli with a range of hillocks in the Tipperah District, op. cit., pp. 9-10) and appears to have mastered the whole of Vaṅga including Samataṭa. Śrīcandradeva's father Trailokya Candra is described to have been the mainstay of the king of Harikela which is identical with some portions of lower Vaṅga. The Candras were ousted from their possession of Samataṭa in the beginning of the 11th century by the Varmans, who in their turn made room for the Senas towards the end of the same century. The Asrafpur copper plates of the Khaḍgas (Mem. A.S.B., Vol. I, No. 6) were issued from a place called Karmmānta, which has been identified with Baḍ-Kāmtā, 12 miles west of Comilla. The Karmmānta has often been identified as the capital of Samataṭa (Dey, Geographical Dictionary, p. 175; Bhaṭṭasāli, op. cit., p. 6).

Not long after Yaśovarman's victory over the Gauḍa and the Vaṅga king (first half of the 8th century A.D.) referred to above, Odivisa, Vaṅga and five other countries of the east (which seem to have included Gauḍa, Suhma, Puṇḍra, etc.) according to the celebrated Tibetan historian Tārānātha (Ind. Ant., Vol. IV, pp. 365-366), seem to have plunged into a chaos which has been described as 'Mātsyanyāya'. This was put an end to when Gopāla, the first of the Pāla dynasty, was elected king from amongst the people sometime in the middle of the 8th century A.D. But not very long after the supremacy of the Pālas was contested in Vaṅga, i.e. Eastern Bengal by a family of kings known in history as the Candra dynasty. The Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola (1025 A.D.) shows that Vaṅga or Vaṅgāla deśaṁ was at this time ruled over by Govinda Candra and was distinguished from Varendra and Uttara Rāḍhā ruled over by Mahipāla, and from Dakṣina Rāḍhā ruled over by Raṇaśūra. The Candra dynasty ruled over the entire realm of Vaṅga including Samataṭa, Harikela and Candravīpa (mod. Backergunj district). But they were supplanted by the Varmans in the beginning of the 11th century who in their turn were very soon ousted by the Senas. During their rule Vaṅga was included in the Puṇḍravardhanabhūkti.

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AN ASOKAN INSCRIPTION RECONSIDERED

By RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

The inscriptions of Asoka still present a few passages which remain as conundrums awaiting adequate explanation. The following is one of these, given in its different texts, which may help to throw light on one another :—

Rūpnath Text : Ya imāya kālāya Jaṁbudīpasi
Sahasram Text : Etena ch aṁtalena Jaṁbudīpasi
Brahmagiri Text : Iminā chu kālena
Maski Text : Pure Jaṁbudīpasi
Rūpnath Text : Amisā devā husu te dāni misā kaṭā
Sahasram Text : Aṁmisaṁ devā saṁta munisā misaṁdeva kaṭā
Brahmagiri Text : Amisā samānā munisā Jaṁbudīpasi misā devehi
Maski Text : Ye amisā devā husu te dāni misibhūtā

The beginning of a right explanation of this passage lay in that of the key-word *misā* which was originally connected with the word *mṛshā*, false, but the form *musā* in the Bhabrū Edict for the same word led to the suggestion that the form *misā* should be traced to Sanskrit *misra* (mixed) and not *mṛshā*.

Thus the literal translation of the passage emerging out of this explanation of the word *misā* is of the two following forms :—

(*a*) Even within this interval, in Jambudvīpa, men who were unmingled with gods [i.e. had no gods or no religion] came to be mingled with gods [i.e. became religious or worshippers of gods].

(*b*) Even within this interval, in Jambudvīpa, men whose gods were disunited have become men whose gods were united.

It will appear that of these two translations, the first applies only to the Sahasram Text, while the second applies to the Rūpnath and Maski Texts. The last two texts speak only of the union of gods previously disunited and have no reference to men. The Brahmagiri Text, however, mentions both men and gods and may be interpreted in either of the two ways (*a*) and (*b*). '*Misā devehi*', if construed as 'mingled with the gods', would give the same meaning as (*a*) ; if rendered as 'united along with their gods', or

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'united by or through their gods', it would give the same meaning as (*b*). Indeed, '*amisā samānā munisā*' can hardly mean 'disunited with the gods', as it must under the interpretation (*a*); the natural meaning is 'disunited among themselves', which agrees with (*b*).

Accordingly, (*b*), which suits all the readings, must be the correct rendering.

But to settle the translation of the passage is not to settle its inherent difficulty. The different translators of the passage up to Hultzsch have remained content with the conception of the commingling of gods with men or men with gods, but have not concerned themselves with any rational explanation of what exactly such a 'commingling' stands for, or what are its exact and practical consequences. These are sought to be interpreted as follows by Dr. F. W. Thomas in the Cambridge History of India [Vol. I, p. 505]: "Asoka claims that in little more than a year he had brought the Brāhman gods to the knowledge of those people in India, i.e. the wild tribes, who had formerly known nothing of them". But this interpretation may perhaps be further rationalized. Translation (*a*) may be taken to refer to Asoka's missionary activities following his closer contact with the Saṁgha [cf. '*Saṁghe upagate*'] by which he was able to achieve a considerable progress of his people in religion or godliness. Translation (*b*), based on the Rūpnath and Maski Texts, which refer to the union of gods hitherto disunited, should mean that Asoka was able, by his work for less than two years, to achieve the task of putting an end to the strife of gods and their worshippers, to the war of sects, and of harmonizing gods and religions, all over the continent of India.

But all these translations and interpretations, however literal, or true to text, do not yield much sense or significance. They only agree in ascribing to Asoka the credit of achieving the impossible. It is claimed for him that within the short space of a 'little more than a year', he was able to convert the wild tribes of India to Brahmanism and to impart to them a knowledge of its gods. It is also as an alternative claimed that within that short interval, he was able to make the millions of India distinctly religious and godly, or to abolish the battle of creeds, and strife of sects, for which India is notorious to this day. In my opinion, these interpretations, besides condemning themselves by suggestions of the impossible, do a great injustice to the character of Asoka by letting him appear as a man given to vainglorious boasting, a charge which the late T. W. Rhys Davids had freely made against him on another ground.

The passage in question, therefore, challenges a more rational explanation out of deference to the hallowed memory of Asoka, and as a vindication of his character which has been assailed already by

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some learned critics. But the key to the riddle of the passage lies hidden in the passages that precede and follow it, and may be recovered from its context, if it is carefully and critically read. It would be a complete misreading of the edict itself to read in it any kind of objective reference. On the contrary, it is purely subjective and personal in its reference and contents. It introduces a most important autobiographical touch in the life of Asoka. Its purpose is entirely moral and ethical. It emphasizes the primal need of self-exertion [*parākrama*] as an aid to moral and spiritual progress. He has realized this need from his own experience of the results of such self-exertion. He is anxious to present to his people these results in this edict in the hope that example is better than precept. In the edict, Asoka first states that he did not exert himself much in his new faith for more than two years and a half that he had remained as an upāsaka. But since then, for more than a year, he made strenuous exertions, of which the result is as described in the passage under review. Asoka exclaims: "Iminā chu kalena amisā samānā munisā Jaṁbudīpasi misā devehi। Pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale। No hī yaṁ sakye mahātpeneva papotave। Kāmaṁ tu kho khudakena pi pakamamīṇeṇa vipule svage sakye ārādhetave" [Brahmagiri Text]; "Of exertion, indeed, is this the result! But this cannot be attained by the great alone. For the small, too, can attain to a wide heaven of bliss by sustained exertion". The point of this entire reference is that the kind of 'result' or achievement indicated in the obscure passage about Jaṁbudvīpa and its people is something which can be attempted by the high and the low equally and alike. It was not something fit only for the high, or for a king like Asoka. Therefore, it should not be taken to mean anything like an all-India religious propagandism, or mass moral instruction, which could only be the work of an emperor like Asoka. We have, therefore, to find out what was the kind of work that could be undertaken equally and in common by the great as well as the small. Such work may be taken to be what we understand by the term *sādhanā*, *parākrama*, or individual self-exertion. The aim of this *parākrama* is again repeated and defined as the attainment of heaven (*pāratrikāya*) in R.E. X, which is again described as being equivalent to freedom from bondage (*parisrava*) or sin (*apuṇyam*). It is further explained that this freedom from sin cannot be achieved except by the utmost exertion born of complete renunciation or sacrifice of all other aims in life (*sarvaṁ paritajya*). It is further emphasized that such a consummation is easier for the poor and the lowly than for the high and mighty. Thus practically Asoka's doctrine of *parākrama* amounts to a whole-hearted and concentrated pursuit of Dharma. And,

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accordingly, we find that even the very word *parākramamānena* in the Brahmagiri Text of the Minor R.E. I alternates with the significant word *dharma-yutena* in the Maski Text. We have again further developments of this doctrine of *parākrama* to record in the edicts. In P.E. II, self-exertion as a means of self-realization is to be cultivated in the following forms, viz. utmost love of Dharma, utmost self-examination [*parīkshā*], utmost obedience [to the dictates of Dharma], utmost dread [of sins], and utmost enthusiasm [*utsāha*, which is to be equated with the term *parākrama*, and also with the term *utthānaṁ* used in R.E. VI which also uses the word *parākrama*]. Again, just as in R.E. X, the aim of *parākrama* is taken to be Dharma, or *puṇyaṁ*, similarly in P.E. II, Dharma is defined as *apāsīnavaṁ*. In P.E. III, *āsīnava* is equated with *pāpa*. P.E. III inculcates the duty of 'self-examination' by which one may 'see' (*dekhati*) his sins as well as his virtues. And lastly in P.E. VII it is pointed out how progress in Dharma may be achieved in two ways, by *Dharma-niyama* and by *Nijhati* or inner meditation. Of these, Meditation or Introspection is extolled as being far more effective than the external regulations of Dharma.

On a comparative consideration of all these relevant passages in the edicts, it is quite reasonable to read a purely subjective and personal reference in the passage of the Minor Rock Edict under review, although a far different view has been advanced, with his usual ability, by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, in his discussion of the same passage in a recent article in the 'Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute'. In the light of the foregoing considerations, I adhere to the interpretation which I had first suggested in my *Asoka* as one corresponding most to reason and common sense, and which may be repeated in my old words as follows: "By a little more than a year's exertion, lo! I have made such progress [bāḍhaṁ cha me pakaṁte . . . pakamasa hi iyaṁ phale]: it is, indeed, the men in Jaṁbudvīpa [the best country, according to the sacred texts, for spiritual life] who could thus have 'commerce with the gods' in such a short time. But let it not be understood that such progress is only for the great, like me. 'It is easier for a camel to enter the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter heaven.' Great or small, all must exert themselves. Then alone will the Pilgrim's Progress (*parākrama*) lead to the Promised Land (*vipula-svarga*)."

The above trend of thought leads to the conclusion that the exertion of which he speaks, and its rich results (*mahā-phalaṁ*), are personal to Asoka and have nothing objective or external in their reference. But though these are personal to him, they are not to be deemed as something which is exclusively his, or a royal

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monopoly. Believing in example as better than precept, Asoka is attempting a relation of his own experience, the success of his own exertions in the life spiritual, to serve as a stimulus to the moral endeavour of his people to whose welfare he dedicated his life. And he points to his own example in this regard as an example of success achieved under adverse conditions due to his own singular position. Royalty and religion can hardly go together. Asoka is anxious to point out to his people a royal road to religion found by him, viz. *parākrama*, though that road is more difficult for Royalty than the lowly. That the religious life is a matter of exertion is, indeed, the central truth (*sāra*) of all religions. Thus the subjective interpretation of the passage yields the best sense. The other interpretations, as already pointed out, would assume the impossible, viz. that Asoka by a year's propagandist work had made the entire people godlike, or made the wilder tribes acquainted with the gods, or had harmonized the warring creeds. As regards the superior spiritual potentialities of the people of Jaṁbudvīpa, on which the Indian sacred works are fond of dwelling, we may refer to Manu's definition of Brahmāvarta as 'the land created by the gods', or to a typical passage in the *Vishṇupurāṇaṁ* where it is stated that birth in India is the final felicity rewarding spiritual merit accumulated in a thousand lives, that those born in India can surpass even the gods in spiritual progress, and that, accordingly, the gods themselves seek birth in this holy land.

I do not claim that this interpretation is final but only that it seeks to be more rational and to recover the true sense of the passage behind its words or its merely verbal or literal translations. My aim is only to provoke a discussion which may lead to a satisfactory solution of one of the few conundrums of Asokan Edicts.

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VIṢṆUDĀSA—A VAIṢṆAVA REFORMER OF SOUTH INDIA

By B. M. BARUA

Buddhadatta, the gifted author of the Abhidhammāvatāra, the Rūpārūpavibhāga, the Vinaya-vinicchaya and the Buddhavaṃsa-Commentary, is known as a great contemporary of Buddhaghosa. He was a native of Uragapura (Uraiyur) on the bank of the Kāverī and a celebrity of South India and no less of the Mahāvihāra (Great Monastery) of Anurādhapura (Ceylon). He flourished during the reign of King Acyuta-vikrānta or Acyuta-vikrama of the Kadamba dynasty. In all of his main works, he patriotically speaks of the Cola kingdom and describes it as the best of all kingdoms—an epitome of the whole of this beautiful and prosperous earth. He expressly says that he wrote his works while he lived at the locality Bhūtamaṅgala of the beautiful port of Kāveripaṭṭana, watered by the Kāverī, in the grand monastery erected by one Viṣṇudāsa or Kṛṣṇadāsa (Veṇhudāsa, Kaṇhadāsa). All these will be evident from the following citations from his own writings :—

First, in the *nigamana* (epilogue) of the Abhidhammāvatāra, he says :—

'Nara-nārī-gaṇākiṇṇe asaṅkiṇṇe kulākule
phīte sabbaṅgasampanne pasanna-saritodake
Nānā-ratana-sampanne vividhāpana-saṅkate
Kāverīpaṭṭane ramme nānārāmopasobhite
Kelāsa-sikharākāra-pāsāda-paṭimaṇḍite
Kārite Kaṇhadāsena dassanīye manorame
Vihāre vividhākāra-cāru-pākāra-gopure
tattha pācīnapasse mayā nivasatā satā
ramma-sallekha-sākhalya-sīlādi-guṇa-sobhinā
ayaṃ Sumatinā sādhu yācitena kato tato.

Secondly, in the *nigamana* of the Vinaya-vinicchaya, he says :—

'Seṭṭhassa Coḷaraṭṭhassa nābhibhūte nirākule
sabbassa pana lokassa gāme sampiṇḍite viya

* * * *

Kāveri-jala-sampāta-paripūta-mahītale
iddhe sabbaṅga-sampanne, maṅgale Bhūtamaṅgale
Vihāre Veṇhudāsassa dassanīye manorame
pāsāda-janane ramme pāsāde vasatā mayā

* * * *

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Accut' Accutavikkante Kaḷambakula-nandane
mahiṃ samanusāsante āraddho ca samāpito.

N.B.—The Ṭīkā adds: 'Kaḷambakulavaṃsajāte Accutavikkama-nāme Coḷarājini Coḷaraṭṭhaṃ samanusāsamāne'.

Thirdly, in the *nigamana* of the Buddhavaṃsa-Commentary, he says:—

'Kāvīra-jala-sampāta-paripūta-mahītale
Kāveri-paṭṭane ramme nānā-nārī-narākule
kārite Kaṇhadāsena saṇhavācena sādhunā
vihāre vividhākāra-cāru-pākāragopure'.[1]

The point of enquiry is—Who was Veṇhudāsa or Kaṇhadāsa who erected a grand monastery at Kāverīpaṭṭana for Buddhadatta and other Buddhist Theras, or how was it that he came to be interested in Buddhism, if he was not a Buddhist by his religious faith?

As to this enquiry, apart from Viṣṇudāsa or Kṛṣṇadāsa bearing a typical Vaiṣṇava name and apart from his being a saintly man of gentle speech (*saṇhavāco sādhu*), there is no other personal information about him to be gathered from Buddhadatta's descriptions. A definite answer to the above questions may, however, be found in the historical anecdote of Viṣṇudāsa and the Cola-king in the Skanda-Purāṇa, Viṣṇukhaṇḍa, Kārttikamāsa-māhātmya, Chaps. XXVI–XXVII.

King Cola reigned in the city of Kāñcīpura (Conjeeverum) and the territories governed by him came to constitute a kingdom which was called Cola after him.[2] His was a peaceful and prosperous reign. Both the banks of the Tāmraparṇi river shone forth with high and bright sacrificial posts. His religious preceptor was the royal chaplain Mudgala who advocated the superiority of sacerdotal or ceremonial Vaiṣṇavism.[3] He founded a royal dynasty in which the reigning king was succeeded to the throne by his nephew (*bhāgineya*, sister's son).

Viṣṇudāsa who was a citizen of Cola was held in high esteem as a saintly Brahmin and pious Vaiṣṇava devotee. He endeavoured

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[1] Buddhadatta's Manuals, edited by A. P. Buddhadatta (P.T.S.), 1915, pp. xvi-xvii.

[2] Skanda-Purāṇa, Vishṇukhaṇḍa, Kārthikamāsamāhātma, Chap. XXVI:—

Kāñcīpuryāṃ purā Cola-cakravarttī-nṛpo 'bhavat,
Yasyākhyāyaiva te deśāś Colā iti prathāṃ gatāḥ.

[3] *Ibid.*, Chap. 26, 27:—

Tasmād adyāpi tad deśe sadā rājyāṃśa-bhāginaḥ,
Svasreyaḥ eva jāyante tatkṛtaḥ vidhivarthinaḥ.

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to establish in the kingdom of Cola a simpler and purer form of Vaiṣṇavism based upon devotion (*bhakti*) and love of humanity irrespective of castes or creeds and free from the pomp and show of ceremonialism. By his own personal example he tried to demonstrate that to be meek in spirit and ardent about living always for Him was to render oneself worthy of favour from Hari. This had its desired effect as it served ultimately to convert the good king Cola of Cola to his faith, and the king himself is said to have been favoured with the vision of the Immutable Being (*Acynta*).

It may be shown that there is a substantial agreement between the two accounts. Both Buddhadatta and the Skandapurāṇa speak of Viṣṇudāsa as a man of saintly character. According to Buddhadatta, he was known by the name of Viṣṇudāsa or Kṛṣṇadāsa, both of which are suggestive of the same fact, namely, that he was a devotee of Kṛṣna Viṣṇu or Hari. In the Skandapurāṇa he distinctly figures as a great Vaiṣṇava devotee and reformer, who had the courage of lifting his voice against the Epic Vaiṣṇavism abounding in sacerdotalism or ceremonialism demonstrating not so much sincerity as worldly power, pomp and prosperity of the worshipper. The sacrificial rites connected with the Epic Vaiṣṇavism must have involved harm to animal life which was against the principle of neo-Vaiṣṇavism expounded by Viṣṇudāsa. The principle of non-harming (ahiṃsā) must have been an essential point of similarity between his Vaiṣṇavism on the one hand and Buddhism on the other.

The Purāṇa represents Viṣṇudāsa as a pious Brahmin who was above caste prejudices and as a devout Vaiṣṇava who felt the keenest sympathy for the suffering humanity, which are again the points of similarity between his Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism.

The Purāṇa represents him as a pious man with the courage of conviction. It was not, of course, an easy task for him to stand openly against the classical form of Vaiṣṇavism with strong royal patronage at its back. There must have been some sort of alliance between him and the Buddhists of the place to contest the issue pressed by him. The Purāṇa says that he proved victorious to such an extent that the powerful Cola King, a devout Vaiṣṇava himself, was convinced at last of the truth upheld by him to the utter discomfiture of the advocates of the Epic Vaiṣṇavism. The Purāṇa would, however, have us believe that the then reigning King Cola was the founder of the Cola Kingdom, thereby intending to take him to be a very ancient king. We need not stress this point too rigorously in view of the fact that the intention of the Purāṇa is not very definite about the age in which the Cola King had flourished. The Purāṇa represents him as a beggarly Brahmin

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with no means to found a temple (*devālaya*) as contrasted with the king, while Buddhadatta mentions him as a builder of a magnificent monastery at Bhūtamaṅgala for the Buddhists. No doubt should be cast upon his having the means of erecting a monastery because of this comparison which is only a reiteration of a very old Indian tradition. Thus ignoring this minor point of difference we can say that the interest of the Purāṇa story of Viṣṇudāsa lies in the light it throws on the mystery shrouding the personality of Viṣṇudāsa or Kṛṣṇadāsa figuring in Buddhadatta's writing.

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A NEW BRAHMAN DYNASTY

By JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH

Among the Odumbara coins, there is one which presents an interesting study. It is the coin of Dharaghosha. It has got some peculiarities which are not found in any other coin of the group. Cunningham and Brown give the following description of this coin :—

Cunningham :

Plate IV, Fig. 1, A.R. 0·7, weight 37·5 grains. Dupl. Lahore Museum.

Obv.—Siva, standing to front with r. hand raised to head, and leopard's skin over (l.) arm ; similar to figure of Herakles crowning himself. Legend in Arian Pali characters. Mahādevasa rajna Dhara-Ghoshasa Odumbarisa—across field Viśwamitra.

Rev.—Tree [Udumbara fig. tree (?)] surrounded by Buddhist railing. To left Siva's trident with battle-axe attached. Indian Pali legend, Mahādevasa rajna Dhara-Ghosasa Odumbarisa.

Brown :

Plate III, 3, Odumbara : Dharaghosha. A.R., Wt. 37·5 grs.

Obv.—Standing figure of Viśvāmitra (?). In Brāhmī. *Mahadevasa Raña Dharughoshasa Odumbarisa*, '(coin) of the Mahadeva, king Dharughosha of Odumbara' ; across, in Kharoshthi, Viśvāmitra.

Rev.—Trident, battle-axe and tree within railing. Brāhmi legend as in obverse.

Many interesting points arise in this connection, such as :—

1. Who is this Viśvāmitra, and what relation does he bear to Dharaghosha ?
2. What does Mahadeva or Mahādeva indicate ? Is it a name, a part of a name or only an appellation ?
3. What again is Dharaghosha ? Is it an appellation ? Or is it a name or a surname or a compound of one name and one surname, or a combination of two surnames ?
4. What is Odumbarisa ? Is it the name of a country or a tribe or what ?
5. What do the symbols trident, tree, etc. indicate ?

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1. The figure on the obverse is taken by Cunningham as one of Śiva and suspected by Dr. Brown and Prof. Rapson as one of Viśvāmitra. There can, however, be no doubt as to this figure being one of Viśvāmitra, as the letters *Viśvāmitra* are engraved across the body of this figure. Viśvāmitra is here represented in the garb of an ascetic. We notice that he has a sacred-thread, (*yajñopavîta*), hanging from his left shoulder across the breast extended down to left loin like that of a Brāhman, a follower of Ṛig-Veda. Other Brāhmaṇs wear it much lower down. This has escaped the notice of the scholars. We are tempted to take him to be the well-known Vedic sage Viśvāmitra.

2. In the inscriptions we generally find that the names of kings are preceded by his appellations or titles. As *Mahādevasa* precedes *rājña* or *rāna* which is admittedly *a title*, *Mahādevasa* seems also to be an appellation. If so, what does it mean? It probably means, like *Māheśvara*, 'a devotee of Mahādeva (Śiva).' According to this interpretation its proper Sanskrit form would be *Māhādevasya*.[1] Our interpretation of the word is supported by the symbol of trident on the reverse.

3. As we have seen that *Mahādevasa* and *Rājña* or *Rāna* are appellations or titles, Dharaghosha must be the name of the king. Now the question is whether Dharaghosha is his whole name with the component *ghosha* indicating his family surname. We are inclined to take it so, for we find from inscriptions that some Brāhmaṇs of the Viśvāmitra Family bore the surname of Ghosha and migrated from Northern India. One of the donees of a charter of Gayāḍa Tunga was Śrî-ghosha, son of Vedaghosha of the Kauśika *gotra* with three *pravaras* (according to Baudhāyana these are Viśvāmitra, Daivarāta and Audala). Their original home was Ahichchhatra,[2] the provenance of these coins. The donee of the Bānapur grant[3] of Daṇḍîmahādevî was a Brāhmaṇ named Dhavala. His father's name is undecipherable. He was a grandson of Apratidaghosha, belonging to the Viśvāmitra *gotra*, with the *pravara* Devarāta (Daivarāta ?) and the anu-pravara Audala, a student of the Kaṇva-*śākhā*. There may be some doubt about Dhavala for it does not end in ghosha and also we do not know his father's name, but no such objection can be raised in the case of Śrî-ghosha, where we find that both the names of father and son end in *ghosha*.

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[1] K. P. Jayaswal translates this by 'His Exalted Majesty' (*Hindu Polity*, Part I, p. 161), whereas S. K. Chakrabartty takes the word to refer to 'the national god' (*A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 160).

[2] *J.P.A.S.B.*, Vol. V, pp. 349-50.

[3] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. V, pp. 571ff.

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4. *Odumbarisa* is a *Prākṛita* word in the sixth case ending, singular, of the word *Odumbari* meaning 'of *Odumbari*'. The Sanskrit form of *Odumbari* is *Audumbari*. It may mean 'an inhabitant, or a king of the country of *Odumbara*', or may denote a *gotra* name. In what sense has it been used here? According to Baudhāyana *Audumbari* is a *gotra* name under the Kuśika group of the Viśvāmitra Family, with the three pravaras, Vaiśvāmitra, Daivarāta and Audala. Having reference to the effigy of Viśvāmitra on the coin, the word cannot be taken in any other sense than the *gotra* name. If it meant 'a country', the word would have been *Odumbarasa* (Sans. Audumbarasya). This clearly shows that Dharaghosha belonged to the Viśvāmitra Family. So he was a Brāhmaṇ and doubtless a follower of Rig-Veda as the *vajñopavîta* of Viśvāmitra would indicate. The *pravaras* of the Audumbaris exactly tally with those of Brāhmaṇ Śrî-ghosha, whose family had migrated to Orissa from Ahichchhatra. Further, not only his *pravaras* but his surname also agree.

5. The symbol of trident on the reverse apparently indicates that the King Dharaghosha was of the Śaiva faith. This we have seen is also supported by the appellation of *Māhādevasa*. The battle-axe perhaps is an insignia of his royalty and it probably also indicates his present Kshatriya profession. The tree is perhaps an *udumbara* (fig) tree as has been supposed by Cunningham. It may be considered as a totem by some. The railing round it and the platform (*vedi*) underneath show that it was an object of veneration and worship. The sage Audumbara, after whom the Audumbari *gotra* was named might possibly have been so called because his hermitage was under an *udumbara* tree or in an *udumbara* forest. It must not be considered that we are drawing too much on our imagination. A similar explanation of the origin of the name of the Śākyas will be found in Canto. I, v. 24 of the *Saundarananda-kāvya* of Aśvaghosha. He says that some princes of the Ikshvāku race lived under a *śaka* tree, so their descendants came to be known as the Śākyas, as—

> '*Śaka-vṛiksha-pratichchhannam vāsaṁ yasmāch-cha chakrire* |
> *Tasmād-Ikshvāku-vaṁśyās-te bhuvi Śākyā iti smṛitaḥ* || 24

It is less likely that the sage was named after the country of Audumbara, for in that case we should expect his name to be Audumbari. But as the *gotra* is named Audumbari, i.e. the descendants of Audumbara, his name could not have been Audumbari. The country might have been named after him, or from the abundance of *udumbara* trees growing in the country.

If there is anything of worth in our remarks, there can be no

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hesitation in taking Dharaghosha to be a Brāhmaṇ of the Audumbari *gotra* of the Viśvāmitra family having the surname of Ghosha. Both Cunningham and Brown assign these coins to circa 100 B.C. The Kāṇvas were then ruling supreme. The dynasty of Dharaghosha might have been their feudatories. Both the Suṅgas and the Kāṇvas were Brāhmaṇ emperors and it is not at all unlikely that some Brāhmaṇ ruling families should have sprung up from among their community. It is a very significant fact that some of the later ruling families, even when they were well-acknowledged as Kshatriyas, claimed Brāhmaṇ origin, namely the Palhavas, the Kadambas, the Chauhans, etc. Yuan Chwang wrote that Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa also was a Brāhmaṇ. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that the Guhilots were originally Nāgar Brāhmaṇs. Again, some common tribal names are found among the Brāhmaṇs and the Rājpūts, such as the Pratihār Brāhmaṇs and Pratihār Rājpūts, the Dadhīch Brāhmaṇs and the Dadhich Rājpūts, the Moḍh Brāhmaṇs and the Moḍh Rājpūts, and so on. We hope some scholars will study this interesting question and throw further light upon it.

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IS SĀṂKHYA NON-VEDIC?

By SURENDRANATH DASGUPTA

The origin of the Sāṃkhya system of thought is rather obscure. We find almost nothing regarding the Sāṃkhya course of thought in the Saṃhitā literature or in the Brāhmaṇas. Of the earlier Upanishads, the Kaṭha and the Śvetāśvatara contain references which may be interpreted on the Sāṃkhya line. The Chāndyogya also contains passages which may be regarded to have a Sāṃkhya bearing. There are some passages in the Maitrī Upaniṣad which may be regarded as being distinctly a Sāṃkhya type. The philosophy of Sāṃkhya is attributed to Kapila about whose identity Śaṅkara is uncertain in his Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. Wherever there are apparent references to the Sāṃkhya doctrine Śaṅkara has always been at great pains to show that these do not refer to Sāṃkhya. Śaṅkara's contention was that the Sāṃkhya philosophy was not to be found in the Vedic literature. He regarded the Sāṃkhya as being a non-Vedic cult of high antiquity. According to him Bādarāyaṇa used the term Smṛti to denote the Sāṃkhya or the Yoga school, but though it was regarded as the Smṛti yet it was contradicted by other Smṛtis of the Vedic school. It seems therefore that Sāṃkhya was regarded as a non-Vedic cult in the 8th century A.D. by such a master of Vedic literature as Śaṅkara.

The apparent references to Sāṃkhya in the Kaṭha Upaniṣad deserve our careful consideration. In my opinion they refer to some Sāṃkhya school which is different from the Sāṃkhya of Iśvarakṛshṇa. It is well known to scholars that the accounts of Sāṃkhya found in the different Purāṇas, the Āgama literature and elsewhere vary greatly. It is therefore very difficult to say which of these accounts of Sāṃkhya can be regarded as a correct representation. The only way in which these different accounts of Sāṃkhya may be reconciled is by the assumption that the Sāṃkhya underwent a course of changes and developments. Whether these developments grew up in a unitary line or whether they should be regarded as having their origin in diverse circles of culture cannot very easily be determined. A shrewd and painstaking analysis of all the available data of Sāṃkhya together with the application of a careful insight into these various accounts may in time disclose some of the obscure parts of the origin and development of the Sāṃkhya system.

It seems however pretty certain that Śaṅkara's contention that

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the Sāṃkhya was non-Vedic is right. The apparent references to Sāṃkhya in Kaṭha and Śvetāśvetara show that these ideas have no organic connection with the general Upaniṣadic scheme of thought. They seem to be references to doctrines which did not grow in the Upaniṣads but which were probably current in the local circles and then adopted by the Upaniṣads. Any interpretation of these texts on non-Samkhya lines on the ground that these do not tally with the standard Sāṃkhya as found in Iśvarakṛshṇa's Kārikā is unwarrantable, for according to the view here propounded Iśvarakṛshṇa's Sāṃkhya is only a stage in the development of the Sāṃkhya school of thought. The Upaniṣads generally advocate either an unqualified Monism, or a qualified Monism of some sort. Thus the Sāṃkhya which in spite of all its changes and developments generally agrees in holding matter as a product of a course of successive emanations from a fundamental pre-matter, that is, Prakriti, distinctly preaches an Un-upaniṣadic idea, for the derivation of matter from a pre-matter is not to be found in the Upaniṣads.

The principal Sāṃkhya work attributed to Kapila is called Ṣaṣṭitantraśāstra or the Śāstra of sixty chapters. The names of these sixty chapters are enumerated in the Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā and the doctrines there enumerated are of a type entirely different from those found in the Upaniṣads. If the account of the Ahirbudhnyasaṃhitā regarding the Ṣaṣṭitantraśāstra and the views of Kapila be regarded as correct then this Kapila can have but little claim to belong to the Upaniṣadic circle. If traditional teaching of Arāḍa is to be believed as the Sāṃkhya teaching and if its affinity to Buddhistic philosophy be taken into consideration then also the Sāṃkhya has to be regarded as having bloomed forth in a field which was different from that of the Vedas.

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BANNER OF THE JINAS AND ITS USE

By KAMTA PRASAD JAIN

Banner is regarded in Jainism as a sacred symbol. It is one of its eight blessed things.[1] 'Banner of the divine Jina or Arhat', as it is called, was always found near Him. In fact the Jinas were the greatest Conquerors in the realm of Spiritual World. Men and angels alike celebrated the great Conquest of every Jina over ignorance always and Indra unfurled the great banner of Victory in the Samośaraṇa (the audience hall of Jina) to commemorate this sacred event.[2]

Besides this, even in the preaching tour of the victorious Jina, his banner, as to indicate the stamp and symbol of Jainism, was taken in the front of the procession by the Devas (heavenly beings).[3] Jinasenāchārya says that it looked to form as if a part of the body of the Jina.[4] And hence a great importance of sanctity has been attached to the banner of the divine Arhat. Every religious and secular ceremony could be performed only with the unfurlment of the banner. It is but essential to get the banner of Jina hoisted on the Jain temples.[5] One who does so, the Jaina Śastras say, will surely become a great *Cakravartin* one day![6]

The banner of Jina is always found flying also on the everlasting shrines dedicated to the worship of Jinas and situated in the regions of the *Devas* and *Asuras*.[7] This fact makes the banner of Jina as old as Jainism itself. No doubt, it came into being with the advent of Jainism in the beginning of this *Kalpa-Kāla* (Cycle of Time), when Ṛṣabha-deva, the first Tīrthankara of the Jainas, whom the Brāhmaṇas also regard as an *Avatāra* of *Viṣṇu*, preached it.[8]

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[1] 'भिंगार कलस दप्पण धय चामर छत्त सुपइट्ठा।
इय अट्ठ मंगलाणिं पत्तेक्कं अडअहियसयं ॥ ५० ॥'—तिलोयपउणति.

[2] Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa (Calcutta), p. 13.

[3] Ibid., pp. 550-551. [4] Ibid.

[5] Everywhere the temples are described as having a banner flying on them in the Jain literature; e.g. Mallināth-purāṇa, p. 66; Bharabāhu-carit, 31; Gautama-carit, 1. 36; Padma-carit, 55. 33, etc.

[6] विजयपडाएहि णरो, संगाममुहेसु विजइउ होइ।
छ खंड विजयणाहो णिप्पडिवक्खो जससमीय ॥ ४९२ ॥— वसुनंदि

[7] Tiloya-Paññati, 1. 45–60. [8] Mahā-purāṇa and Bhāgavata, 5.

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As to the shape and colour of the banner of Jina, the opinions differ. But they agree of course in describing it to be of best cloth either of amber-like yellow or red or white colour.[1] These three colours are perhaps to indicate the three desirable *Leṣyas* of the same colours as propagated in the Jaina School of Thought.[2] The measurement of its cloth is given in a *Pratiṣṭhā-śāstra* as 12 *aṅgulas* in length and 8 *aṅgulas* in width in its least form.[3]

We read in 'Kalpa-sūtra' that the mother of a Tîrthankara saw a banner in her dream with other things—and the above-mentioned three colours are attached to it here too, with a brush of peacock feathers perhaps.[4] In an old manuscript of this same book the banner is shown painted as yellow.[5] The banners of the Jain kings like Ganga Parmadi and Hastimalla were 'Pinchcha-Dhvaja' (flag of peacock feathers).[6]

The banners in the *Samośaraṇa* (Preaching Hall of Jina) are placed in two categories. Those flags which could be found in the special ground reserved for hoisting banners in the *Samośaraṇa* and known as "ध्वजभूमि" are described as of ten kinds on account of their ten different symbols; viz. (1) Lion, (2) Swan, (3) Elephant, (4) Lotus, (5) Peacock, (6) *Garuḍa*-heron, (7) Victory-wheel, (8) Bullock, (9) Cloth, and (10) Flower-garlands.[7] These form the banners of first category. In the next category come those flags which were found near the shrines (*Vaṇa-Vedikas*) in the *Samośaraṇa* and they were of eight kinds, bearing eight different symbols: (1) Flower-garlands, (2) Victory-wheel, (3) Cloth, (4) Lotus, (5) Elephant, (6) Lion, (7) Bull, and (8) Heron.[8]

As to the use of the Jaina banner, we have already pointed out above that it was used in every religious and worldly performance in the Jaina Saṅgha. '*Dhvaja-Daṇḍotsava*' is an important

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[1] Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 124; Padma-charit, 29. 40, etc.

[2] For Leṣyas see the Tattwārthadhigama-sūtra.

[3] Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra, p. 124.

[4] 'छतनुपुणोजचकणगलट्ठिपइट्ठियं। समूह नील रत्त पीय सुक्किलसुकुमालुल्लसिय मोरपिच्छकय-मुदयं धय। अद्दियसस्सिरीय—etc.'— इतिः कल्पसूत्रः।

[5] I have seen this manuscript in the Dig. Jain Temple, Mainpuri, which is dated as 'संवत् १७९५ वर्षे द्वितीय आसूज वदि १३ शनिः।'

[6] Hultzsch, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 165 and *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 313.

[7] 'तत्तो धयभूमिए दिव्व धया होंति ते च दस भेया।
सीय गय वसह खग वइसीही ससि रवि हंस पउम चक्काय॥ १३॥"—तिलोयपउणति.

My above enumeration of the symbols is according to the 'Harivaṃśa' of Jinasenācārya (Ch. II, 74-75).

[8] Harivaṃśa-purāṇa (Cal.), p. 71.

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religious performance, which consists in hoisting a big flag on the *śikhara* of the temple, with the recitation of the *mantras*, etc.[1] Besides it, the *maṇḍapas* erected for the religious purpose must also have a banner and many a flag flying on it.[2] We read in the Padma-purāṇa that when Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa reached near the Vanṣagiri hill, the king of that realm invited these royal exiles to his place and raised many a *maṇḍapa* and shrines, on which white flags were flying, to celebrate their arrival.[3]

The banner of Jina is also taken out in the 'Ratha or Jala-yātrā' ceremony.[4] And while decorating the temples and other religious places, on the occasions of sacred festivals, such as '*Aṣṭān-hikā Parva*', etc., the Jainas are enjoined to hoist the flags and banners. Rāvaṇa, the King-Emperor of Laṅkā, while celebrating the *Aṣṭānhikā Parva*, is reported in the Padma-purāṇa to have decorated his Śāntinātha (Tîrthankara) temple with many a banner.[5] Surely these customs prevail in the Jaina Saṅgha even to this day.

But the Jainas have almost forsaken the use of banner in their daily worldly life. In bygone days the Jainas kept always the sacred banner in the forefront of their household performances. Every Jaina householder had the Victory banner flown[6] and he hoisted it on every occasion of a private celebration.[7]

The Jaina kings and princes had also their own individual banners. Their banners are described as of various kinds in the Jaina Purāṇas. Jinasenācārya mentions in his Harivaṃśa-purāṇa

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[1] Somasena Trivarṇācāra, Ch. VI, 6 and जैसलमीरभाण्डागारीयग्रन्थानां सूची (Gaekwāḍa Oriental Series, XXI, pp. 69 and 79).

[2] चउ तोरण चउ दारो वसोहिज विविहवत्थकयभूसो ।
धूयंत धय वडाज णाणा पुप्फोवहारड्ढो ॥ ॥ २९४ ॥'— वसुनंदि.

[3] 'सतोरण महाद्वारा सशालाः परिवान्विताः ।
सितचारुपताकाढ्या दृढ्वृंटारवान्विताः ॥ २९ ॥ ४० ॥'— पद्मचरित्.

[4] 'सर्वसंघेन च दृत्तश्छत्रतौर्यत्रिकध्वजैः ॥ १५९ ॥'— इतिः प्रतिष्ठासारोद्धारः

[5] 'कुरुध्वं शांतिगेहस्य शोभां सत्तोरणादिभिः ।'

'इति ध्यानमुपायाता लंकाद्वीपे मनोरमे । जनाश्चैत्यानि सोत्साहाः पताकाद्यैरभूषयन् ॥ १० ९८ ॥ — इतिः पद्मचरितः ।

[6] Harivaṃśa-purāṇa, 38. 38 ; Mallinātha-purāṇa 69 ; Pārśva-carit (भवनोत्तंभिता यत्र पताकाः पीतभासुराः ।) I. 62 ; Candraprabha-carita (समुन्नसद्भिः शरदभ्रपाण्डुभिर्ध्वजांशुकै— इत्यादि) Sarga I, Śloka 30, etc.

[7] Candraprabha-carita, Sarga VII, Śloka 34, etc.

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that the banner of Lord Ariṣṭa-Nemi, the 22nd Tîrthankara, had the symbol of bull and those of Śrî Kriṣṇa, Baladeva, Samudravijaya, Arjuna, and Anāvriṣṇi, the Yādava general had the symbols of heron, Tālpatra, lion, monkey, and elephant respectively.[1] These kings cared much for their colours in the battlefield and kept flying a banner of their own on their respective conveyances.[2] They deemed it a deed of valour if they could destroy the banner of their enemy.[3]

Jainas decorated their private conveyances, e.g. rathas, vimānas, and ships by flying a flag over them.[4]

Thus the victorious banner of the Divine Jina had its bright all-round sway in the Jaina Church once.

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[1] Harivaṃśa-purāṇa, pp. 398–475.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Candraprabha-carita, Śloka XIII, 29–40; Nāgakumar-carit (Karanja Jain Series), p. 50, etc.

[4] Padma-carit, Sarga IX, Śloka 23; Harivaṃśa-purāṇa, p. 475, etc.

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EDUCATION IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY

By K. A. Nilakanta Sastri

The ideal of universal popular education and that of all types of education being thrown open to everybody are the results of the application of the Democratic idea in the field of education. Democracy as we now understand it is a new force in world history; it began to count as a powerful factor only after the French Revolution, though its feeble beginnings may be traced in a popular tag like :—

When Adam delved and Eve span
Who was then the gentleman ?

or in the downright statement of the ancient Tamil poet :—

Yādum ūrē yāvarum kēḷir

* * * *

periyōrai viyattalum ilamē
Śiṟiyōrai-yigaḷtal adaninum ilamē,

'All towns are one to me, all men my kindred . . . . I do not fawn on the mighty, much less do I despise the lowly.'

To each according to his station, the station itself depending on the stage reached by him in the long evolution towards *mukti* lasting through several births—this was the accredited scheme of things in India in ancient times; and Tamil education was planned on this basis.

Literacy in itself is not education. It is well known that the Asoka edicts are found engraved on the confines of the Tamil country and that several short Brahmi records of about the same time or a little later are found engraved in rock-cut caves and natural caverns that must once have served as residences of monks. It has been held that the shorter inscriptions are composed in the Tamil language though written in Brahmi script.[1] Several centuries later, in the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., we have Pāṇḍya and Pallava inscriptions on stone and copper in two languages, Sanskrit and Tamil, and three scripts—Grantha, Tamil and Vaṭṭeluttu. Whatever doubts we may entertain of the capacity of the mass of the people to read and understand Brahmi and Grantha inscriptions, it seems a fair presumption to make that literacy in Tamil must have been more widespread by the time the Pāṇḍya and Pallava

[1] *Proceedings of the third Oriental Conference* (Madras), pp. 275ff.

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inscriptions came to be engraved ; and the excellence of workmanship evidenced by many of these epigraphs implies that the artisans who actually carried out the work of engraving were by no means ignorant copyists of models set before them, but educated men who enjoyed their work did not lack originality. The Cōḷa Tamil inscriptions of Tanjore go far to strengthen this belief. The Vaṭṭeluttu, in particular, was decidedly a popular script in active use in the daily transactions of life. Rightly has it been compared to Mōḍī and Ṭākarī by Bühler.[1] And the script continued in use on the West Coast of South India at least to the end of the seventeenth century if not later. At one time it must have been common over the whole Tamil country, with the possible exception of its northernmost parts.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar in his *Kuṟal*, the storehouse of early Tamil wisdom, counts writing and arithmetic as the two eyes of the soul,[2] the means of perfecting man's insight into the nature of things. This ancient author was by no means oblivious of the role of the ear in education ; with characteristic terseness he states that of all the forms of wealth open to man, that gained by the ear is the best,[3]—a statement calculated to emphasise both the part of the teacher in scholastic education and the possibility of another type of education for the illiterate. It has been suggested on good authority that in Akbar we have one of the most remarkable men in human history, who could not sign his name. Tiruvaḷḷuvar lays stress on the true aim of a good education and its influence on practical life.[4] 'One should learn accurately whatever one learns (from books), and should then regulate his conduct accordingly'. The object of education then was not to pass examinations or win degrees, not even to qualify for professions or earn recognition, but to lead the good life. We may now take leave of Tiruvaḷḷuvar with one final citation from his sayings bearing on the value of a true education[5] "The penury of the learned is better than the affluence of the ignorant; a truly learned man does not lose his soul on account of poverty, whereas wealth controlled by an uncultured person may result in much social evil."

The commentary on the *Iṟaiyanār Ahapporuḷ*, which passes under the name of Nakkīrar, a Śangam poet, betrays signs of an evidently later date, and may for good reasons be assigned to the eighth century A.D. A short paragraph in the opening section of this work shows that already there had come into existence much

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[1] *Indian Palæography*, p. 75.
[2] V. 392.
[3] V. 411.
[4] V. 391.
[5] V. 408.

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speculation on what we should now call the theory of education. The author tells us *en passant* that for fear of prolixity he is not entering into a detailed discussion of subjects like the qualifications of the teacher, the methods of teaching, the nature of the pupil and the manner of his study, and that such discussions may be found in other works specially devoted to them. But as no such early works on these topics seem to have come down to us, we are thrown on a work of relatively late date which contains the earliest discussion of such topics now accessible to us. That work is the *Nannūl* (the Good Book), a treatise on Tamil grammar, composed by a Jaina author Pavaṇandi (Bhava-nandi), who flourished at the court of the Ganga prince Amarābharaṇan Śīya-Gangan, a feudatory of the Cōḷa Emperor Kulōttunga III (A.D. 1178–1216). We have every reason to assume that, speaking generally, Pavaṇandi was only restating positions reached by long ages of discussion centring round the topics considered by him. And his statements on educational subjects often surprise us alike by their shrewd good sense and by the possible range of their application to times and conditions other than his own.

Who is fit for the position of a teacher ? The teacher, answers Pavaṇandi, must be a man of good birth, gentle and godly by nature and of a generous outlook. He must be deeply learned in book-lore and capable of expounding his knowledge with directness and simplicity. He must also combine common sense (*ulagiyal aṟivu*) with these high qualities. There is perhaps nothing remarkable in these generic requirements, except the emphasis on birth and the implicit faith in the hereditary transmission of culture. But the functional differentia of the teacher as such are stated by Pavaṇandi in a manner that tickles us by its quaintness, but was quite natural to mediæval scholastic thought all over India. He says : the teacher must unite in himself the characteristic features of the earth, mountain, weighing-rod[1] and flower. Obviously we need some explanation here before we can be sure of the author's meaning, and he does not omit to give us that. The earth, we learn, signifies four qualities : *first*, extent or vastness of size, so great that you could not take it all in at a glance from any one point ; *secondly*, strength not to yield under the stress of great weight ; *thirdly*, patience even towards those who dig into it and otherwise cause hurt and damage ; and *lastly*, capacity to yield fruits commensurate to the timeliness and intensity of effort on the part of the cultivator. The teacher, in other words, should be a man of vast learning,

[1] The word is *niṟai-kōl*. It is a kind of 'steel-yard' of wood and strings, still in use in the villages of the Tamil country.

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not living from hand to mouth so to say, being only a little in advance of his pupils with the subject-matter of his lectures. His learning again should be thoroughly well organised and capable of sustaining positions taken up by him through the stress of the most strenuous debate,—a requirement which shows incidentally the place held by public disputations in the educational system of ancient India. How many are not the occasions when pupils fall below the proper standard of diligence, rectitude or loyalty, or to take to flighty or evil courses! On such occasions the teacher should have the strength and patience to keep his temper, the better to be in a position to study the particular case, and follow the plan suited to it. To discover talent and encourage its growth, and to grade individual teaching according to the capacity of each pupil, so to arrange the work that the indifferent pupils do not hamper the better class of them was an essential feature of a sound system of education. 'To each according to his deserts' should be the motto of the teacher. Such are some of the implications of the apparently puerile statement that the teacher should be like the earth; and let us remember that these implications have been drawn out for us by the author himself.

We may state briefly, again, with the guidance of Pavanandi, his meaning when he lays down that the teacher should also be like the mountain, the weighing-rod and the flower. The mountain impresses us by its great size and the variety of its products, is visible from a great distance, and sustains life even during a drought; so too the good teacher is marked by the wide range of his studies, his fame spreads far and wide, and he gives freely of the abundance of his knowledge even if 'there is no money in his profession'. As the weighing-rod weighs accurately and impartially, so too does the good teacher the merits and deserts of his pupils. No one can teach long in a school or college without observing how readily the pupils detect the slightest departure from strict impartiality on the part of the teacher, and how promptly they let the teacher know that what has been happening; a teacher runs a grave risk to his reputation when he undertakes to push an incompetent pupil, or put down a capable one. The good teacher, like the flower, is sought after on all happy occasions, carries about him a fine flavour that endears him to all and presents a joyful countenance.

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THE ORIGIN OF HINDU TEMPLE

By P. K. Acharya

The idol-worship and the origin of temple do not appear to have gone hand in hand in India or other countries. The designation *devāyatana*, God's abode, need not be taken to imply the presence of an idol in a place of worship. The nature-worshippers of the early Vedic times did certainly imagine the various natural objects and phenomena as the expressions of god who later in the period was assumed to possess a thousand heads, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet and such other features in order to conceive His omnipotent nature and All-mighty powers. But that would not necessarily imply that the Vedic god was actually idolized as was the case in the early Epic age when there is a distinct reference to the golden image of Sita being carved for the purpose of a royal sacrifice. Nor does the absence of idol of a god mean that there was no regular worship practised until an image was installed in a place of worship. Elaborate details of sacrifices are unmistakably met with in the *Brāhmaṇas* and need no specific reference or discussion to prove that these sacrifices were formal and congregational worship without an image or idol. The question, then, arises if this sacrificial form of worship was performed in a temporary shed or pavilion or underneath a tree or in an open place. If, on the other hand, for these sacrifices scientifically designed abodes were regularly built with lasting materials we would get what is generally understood by the term 'temple' which etymologically means only 'a space marked out for religious purposes'. Before the term came to imply 'an edifice erected to a deity' it was actually understood, in English, to mean inns of courts, once occupied by the Knights Templars, a religious and military order founded (in 1119) for the protection of the Holy sepulchre and pilgrims going thither. The idea of the sepulchre or the burial vault was analogous with the Buddhist temple where, however, the image of Buddha was installed in the later edifices. So far as the Hindu architecture is concerned the sacrificial altars out of which the temple seems to have grown up were purely a religious structure and had nothing to do with the *chaityas* or monuments built in memory of the dead.

The *Śulva-sūtras* which are the supplementary portions of the *Kalpa-sūtras* treating of the measurement and construction of the different *Vedis* or altars, furnish us with some interesting structural details of the *Agnis*, the large altars built of bricks. The construction

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of these altars, which were required for the great *Soma* sacrifice, seems to have been based on sound scientific principles and was probably the beginning of religious architecture or temple-building in India.

These altars were constructed in different shapes, the earliest enumeration of which is found in the *Taittirīya-Saṁhitā* (V. 4, 11). Following this enumeration, Baudhāyana and Āpastamba furnish us with full particulars about the shape of all these different *chitis* (altars).

The *chaturaśra-śyenachit* is so called because it resembles the form of a falcon and the bricks out of which it is composed are all square shaped. The *Kaṅka-chit* in the form of a heron [1] is the same as the *Śyena-chit* except the additional wings. The *Prauga-chit* is an equilateral triangle. The *ubhayataḥ-Praugachit* is made up of two such triangles joined at their bases. The *Rathachakra-chit* is in the form of a wheel, (i) a massive wheel without spokes and (ii) a wheel with sixteen spokes. *Droṇa-chit* is like a vessel or tube, square or circular. The *Parichayya-chit* has a circular outline and is equal to the *Rathachakra-chit* differing in the arrangement of bricks which are to be placed in six concentric circles. The *Samuhyachit* is circular in shape and made of loose earth and bricks. Lastly the *Kūrma-chit* resembles a tortoise and is of a triangular or circular shape.[2]

Every one of these altars was constructed of five layers of bricks, which together came up to the height of the knee; in some cases ten or fifteen layers, and proportionate increase in the height of the altar was prescribed. Every layer in its turn was to consist of two hundred bricks, so that the whole *Agni* (altar) contained a thousand; the first, third and fifth layers were divided into two hundred parts in exactly the same manner; a different division was adopted for the second and the fourth, so that one brick was never laid upon another of the same size and form. The first altar covered an area of $7\frac{1}{2}$ *purusha*, which means $7\frac{1}{2}$ squares, each side of which was equal to a *purusha*, i.e. the height of a man with uplifted arms. On each subsequent occasion the area was increased by one square *purusha*. Thus, at the second layer of the altar one square *purusha* was added to the $7\frac{1}{2}$ constituting the first *chiti* and at the third layer two square *purusha* added and so on. But the shape of the whole and the relative proportion of each constituent part had to remain unchanged. The area of every *chiti*, whatever its shape might be —falcon, wheel, tortoise, etc., had to be equal to $7\frac{1}{2}$ square *purusha*.[3]

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[1] Compare Burnell, Catalogue 29, of a carrion Kite, and Thibaut, J.A.S.B., 1875, Part I.

[2] Taittirīya-Saṁhitā, V. 4, 11.

[3] See the writer's *Indian Architecture*, pp. 7-8, and The Pandit, New Series, June, 1876, No. 1, Vol. I, IV, 1882; Old Series, June 1874, No. 97, Vol. IX, X, May, 1876.

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These *chitis* would look like the sanctuary of the Hindu temple, which is essentially analogous to the most sacred portion of both the Jain and the Buddhist temples on the one hand, and that of the Christian church and the Muhammadan mosque on the other. They will also supply the idea of the most remarkable *Śikhara* of the Hindu temple,[1] the steeple of the Christian church and the dome of the Muhammadan mosque. In fact all these temples appear to have expanded almost in the same way—both in height and dimensions. Thus in front of the sanctuary came to be added *Bhoga-maṇḍapa* (pavilion for offerings), *Nṛitya-maṇḍapa* (pavilion for music) and assembly hall, and other *Maṇḍapas*.[2]

These in time grew up to be the twelve-storeyed temples together with seventeen-storeyed gate-houses. They were not mere sky-scrapers; they expanded sidewise also. Thus we see the courts of four classes of edifices, each comprising five to seven varieties, built for offerings, family members, beauty and defence. Each of the *Jāti*, *Chhanda*, *Vikalpa*, and *Ābhāsa* classes of edifice comprises five courts where hundreds of residences or shrines for attendant deities of Vishṇu, Śiva, Buddha, Jain and other temples were built.[3] The innermost court called *Antar-maṇḍala* where the main shrine is situated is furnished with the gate-house called *Dvāra-śobhā* or beauty of the gate. The second court called *Anta-nihāra* is furnished with the gate-house known as *Dvāra-śālā* or gate-hall. The third court called *Madhyama-hārā* is furnished with the gate-house known as *Dvāra-prāsāda* or gate-palace. The fourth court known as *Prākāra* or enclosure proper is furnished with the gate-house called *Dvāra-harmya* or gate-edifice. The fifth court called *Mahāmaryādā* or larger boundary is furnished with the gate-house known as *Mahā-gopura* or great gate-house.[4] The sixth and the seventh courts mainly serve the purposes of defencing walls wherein are housed the soldiers and such other defence forces.

The gradually increasing height of the *chitis* erected with the fixed number of bricks laid in a particular order to ensure the stability of the building constructed by the early masons with their unsteady hands appears to have supplied the idea and courage of erecting storeys upon storeys until they reached the

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[1] For details see the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, under *Śikhara*, *Śikhā*, *Śikhānta*, and *Śikhā-maṇi*, pp. 588–591.

[2] See the writer's *Architecture of Mānasāra*, Vol. III (text), pp. 221–241, Vol. IV (translation), pp. 338–372; Vol. V, pp. 35–39, Plates CVIII–CXII.

[3] See Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 388–395; Vol. II, pp. 51-52; Vol. III, 188–191; Vol. IV, 287–293; Vol. V, p. 33, Plate CI.

[4] See Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 52-53; Vol. II, pp. 174–179; Vol. III, 199–220; Vol. IV, 305–337; Vol. V, pp. 33-34, Plates CII–CVII.

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auspicious number of twelve in case of temples proper and seventeen in case of the *Gopuram* or gate-houses. And when the safe height was reached it became necessary both for scientific and artistic purposes to make it proportionate to the breadth or width. Thus in the standard work on architecture known as the *Mānasāra* (essence of measurement) five beautiful proportions are enjoined in order to prevent the possibility of disproportionate sky-scrapers being erected by too ambitious builders at the risk of the stability of the building. The first one is called *Śāntika* or peaceful. In this proportion the height is equal to the breadth, and this is æsthetically a graceful proportion for a building. The second one is called *Paushṭika*, meaning strong, eminent or rich. In this proportion the height is one-and-one-fourth of the breadth, and this would give to the building a good stability. The third one is called *Jayada* or joy-giving. In this proportion the height is one-and-one-half of the breadth, and this gives a pleasant appearance to the building. The fourth one has two names, *Sarvakāmika* or good in every way, and *Dhanada* or wealth-giving. In this proportion the height is one-and-three-fourths of the breadth, and according to the literal meaning of the term, *Sarvakāmika*, this would make the building strong as well as beautiful. The fifth or last one is called *Adbhuta* or marvellous. In this proportion the height is twice the breadth, and this gives a wonderful loftiness and gorgeous look to the building.[1]

In whichever of these heights a temple is erected the roof thereof may terminate in the flat, pent or spherical shape. The flat roof was an imitation of the cave houses, which at first were the mere natural caves used as shelters both by unskilled men and beasts. The pent roof was the next development in the art of building where the stability was still supplied on the three sides by the rocks. The highest development in architecture is the spherical roof. It is divided into four main parts, called *Śikhara* or cupola, *śikhā* or pinnacle, *śikhānta* or finial, and *śikhāmani* or apex. No distinction has been made in the Śilpa-śāstra of the constructional details of either between the Vishṇu and Śiva temples, or among the Brahmanical, Buddhist and Jain temples regarding their *Śikhara* or spherical roof. The height is, however, stated to vary castewise rather than sectwise. In matter of the finial of temples a comparison of the Hindu *Śikhara* with the steeple of a Christian church on the one hand and the dome of a Muhammadan mosque on the other will show the scientific knowledge, artistic skill, æsthetic sense

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[1] See Mānasāra, XXXV, 22–26; also the writer's *Dictionary of Hindu Architecture*, pp. 82-83.

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and spiritual aspiration of the Christian, Hindu and Muslim builders. There is, however, an important agreement among those three leading faiths in the symbolic spiritual expression, each endeavouring in its own way to point to the highest of the high and the finest of the fine.

These *chitis* will also account for the various shapes and styles which the Hindu temple assumed with the gradual perfection reached in the art and the science of architecture. Thus there are five shapes of temples namely, quadrangular comprising both square and rectangular, octagonal, oval, round, and circular. Buildings are again divided into masculine, feminine and neuter classes which depend upon equiangular and other shapes, and in case of temples the sexes of the chief deities are also taken into consideration. The *Sthānaka* or standing, *Āsana* or seated, and *śayana* or reclining groups depend upon certain aspect, and in case of temples the posture of the chief deity is further taken into consideration. The *Śuddha* or pure, *Miśra* or mixed and *Samkīrna* or amalgamated divisions depend upon the materials, stone, brick and wood, of which a temple is mainly built. The *Jāti*, *Chhanda*, *Vikalpa*, and *Ābhāsa* classes depend on the units of measurement which comprise the cubit of twenty-four, twenty-five, twenty-six, and twenty-seven *aṅgula* each measuring exactly three-fourths of an inch. *Saṁchita*, *Asaṁchita*, and *Apasaṁichita* groups depend upon the standard of measure, the height, breadth, and length of the building being respectively the regulator of measure for the whole structure. Lastly a building must belong to one of the three main styles called *Nāgara* or northern, *Vesara* or eastern and *Drāviḍa* or southern. The northern style is distinguished by its quadrangular shape. The eastern style of temple is marked by its round shape from the neck upwards. In the southern style the upper portion of buildings from the neck is octagonal; of this style there is a subdivision called *Andhra* in which the upper portion is hexagonal.[1]

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[1] For details vide the *Mānasāra* referred to above, published through the Oxford University Press by the Government of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh in five volumes, covering some 3,000 pages of crown quarto size and comprising a critically edited Text, a fully annotated Translation in English, an encyclopedic Dictionary of some three thousand technical terms, and an up-to-date Introductory volume surveying the whole range of the subjects both historically and comparatively with connected literature of this and other countries, and a set of Plates in line and in colours drawn in measure and strictly after the description as given in the original text.

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BUDDHAGHOSA AND THE DATE OF AŚOKA

By E. J. Thomas

The preservation of a corrupt reading is so much rarer than the readiness with which conjectures are invented that a case of this kind appears to deserve special notice, especially as it still persists. Some forty years ago Kern (*Manual*, p. 108, note 4) pointed out that while the *Dīpavaṁsa*, VI, 1, gives 218 as the years that had elapsed since the death of Buddha at the time of Aśoka's abhiṣeka, the reckoning as given by Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Vinaya* yields 228, evidently, said Kern, owing to some error in the figures. But it was not Buddhaghosa's error. The portion of the commentary containing the passage was printed by Oldenberg as an appendix in vol. 3 of his edition of the *Vinaya*, and from a single MS. The lengths of the reigns of the Magadha kings from the death of the All-enlightened down to the abhiṣeka of Aśoka are there given (p. 321), and they add up to 228. Since then an edition of the whole commentary has been begun by the Pāli Text Society, and four volumes of that invaluable work are now at the disposal of scholars. It is based on the readings of six MSS., two printed texts, as well as a Chinese translation. The text of the passage in question (p. 73) appears as given by Oldenberg, but from the critical notes we find that all the authorities but one give the combined years of the kings, Anuruddha and Muṇḍa, not as eighteen (*aṭṭhārasa*) years but as eight (*aṭṭha*). Yet the editors keep Oldenberg's reading *aṭṭhārasa*. Here is the explanation of the discrepancy, and it is a mystery why the editors should have followed the one MS. which gives the wrong figures.

It is of course a principle of textual emendation that the mere counting of MSS. is not enough to determine the worth of a reading, but the editors give us further evidence in support of *aṭṭha*. One of the great merits of their edition is that they record the readings of the Chinese translation, and we find that this too supports the reading *aṭṭha*. The cause of the misreading is probably due to the scribe of the one MS. confusing *aṭṭha* with *aṭṭhārasa*, which happens to occur in the next line as the number of the regnal years of Susunāga.

Even when Oldenberg wrote, the explanation of the error was within reach. The most curious thing is that no one seems to have noticed that Buddhaghosa himself added up the dates of the reigns

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and made them come to 218. Immediately after giving the regnal years of the kings he goes on to say that in the eighteenth year after Aśoka's abhiṣeka the elder Mahinda arrived in this Island: *abhisekato aṭṭhārasame vasse imasmiṁ dīpe Mahindatthero patiṭṭhito.* If 228 were correct, this would make the date of Mahinda's mission to Ceylon 228+18=246, B.E. But Buddhaghosa goes on: *eva taṁ sammāsambuddhassa parinibbānato dvinnaṁ vassasatānaṁ upari chattiṁsatime vasse imasmiṁ dīpe patiṭṭhahi*—i.e. that Mahinda arrived in the Island in the thirty-sixth year, not the forty-sixth, after the second century. Evidently Buddhaghosa added 18 not to 228 but to 218.

With regard to the actual historical value of the date 218, Buddhaghosa can scarcely be considered an independent authority. It is clear that he was merely reproducing the dates found in the Chronicles. He quotes both the *Dīpavaṁsa* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* in his commentary, and the particular date of eight years for the combined years of Anuruddha and Muṇḍa is given thus in *Mahāvaṁsa*, IV, 3: *Tesaṁ ubhinnaṁ rajjesu aṭṭhavāsān'atikkamuṁ.*

There is a wider question of Buddhist chronology connected with these regnal years, that is, the date 544 B.C. for the death of Buddha. It is well known that this is impossible, for we are told that the second Council was 100 years afterwards, and that the abhiṣeka of Aśoka was 118 years after the second Council. If we take 543 as the first year of the Buddhist era, then Aśoka came to the throne in 325 or 326, which is just the date of Alexander's invasion of India, and this was even before Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta had seized the throne. There is a discrepancy of about sixty years. How is it to be explained? One solution has been to suppose that in adding the regnal years together parts of years were reckoned as wholes, resulting in a too large total. But here we find Buddhaghosa adding the regnal years together and getting not that erroneous total but the same figure as modern chronologists accept. That explanation, therefore, does not seem to work.

For the chronologist it is not an important question, as he simply brushes it aside as an error which is not even as old as Buddhaghosa. The cause of the error, however, remains a question for the antiquarian to explain.

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THE KOŚAR: THEIR PLACE IN SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

By V. R. RAMCHANDRA DIKSHITAR

The Sangam works of the ancient Tamils mention a number of tribes, the Kośar among others, which are a puzzle to the historian of ancient South India.

That the term Kośar means in some places particular officers, especially judges of the village sabhā and the royal sabhā as well, has been pointed out in an article in the '*Sen Tamil*' entitled the Kośar.[1] On the authority of two lines in a stanza of the *Kuṟuntogai*[2] which means 'the truthful words of Nallūrk-kośar who appeared in the Podiyal (village sabhā) underneath an old banyan tree' and from a line in the *Puṟanānūṟu*[3] which means 'the assembly of the Kośar ever desirous of victory' and from the phrase *ūrmutu-kośar* occurring in the *Ahanānūru*,[4] it is argued that the term in these places refers to members of the village sabhā and not to a tribe. That they were also members of the royal sabhā at the capital is inferred from the two lines of the *Maduraikkāñji*[5] which means the Kośar expert in four languages appeared in the hall of justice located at Mohūr of Paḷayaṇ.

In these places there is no justification for inferring that the term refers to titles of officers like the judges. On the other hand the reference is to the people who went after that name. The *Kuṟuntogai* and the *Maduraikkāñji* simply show that the Kośar appeared in the assembly of Paḷayaṇ Mohūr, not of course as judges but as soldiers to receive tribute or to a call to take up arms.

'Paṟaipaṭa-p-panilam-ārppa-v-iraikolpu' (*Kuṟuntogai*, 15). Thus to say that the term Kośar denotes a particular office or offices has no legs to stand on.

The question whether the Kośar were an indigenous tribe or alien to Tamil land, still engages the attention of the serious historian of South India. There is no good evidence to support the theory that they were foreigners to the Tamil kingdom proper. Various

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[1] Vidvān A. M. Saḍagoparāmanujācārya, *Sen Tamil*, Vol. XXV, No. 1, pp. 39-40.

[2] Toṉmū tālattup-podiyiṟ ṟoṉṟiya nallūrk-kośar naṉmoḷi St. 15.

[3] Valampurikośa ravaikkaḷattāṇum-Puṟam, 283.

[4] St. 262.

[5] Paḷayaṇmohūr avaikyakam viḷaṅga nāṇmoḷik-kośar toṉṟiya, II. 508-9.

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conjectures have been made to identify them. The late V. Kanakasabai wrote : 'The Kośar appear to be no other than the Kushans, a branch of whom conquered Bactria in the second century B.C. They were the leaders of the four tribes of the Yuh-chi'.[1] According to the same writer they were immigrants to the Tamil country, and the immigration took place some time in the first or second century B.C. It would then appear that these Kośar were not natives of the soil. They were outsiders who settled in large numbers in Malabar coast to the north of the ancient Cera Kingdom.

It is rather difficult to identify them with the Kushans. It is generally accepted by scholars that there was a Mauryan invasion of South India, and that, before the reign of Aśoka.[2] In the light of this and for reasons to be shown in the sequel we have to take it that in the third century B.C. or even before, these Kośar settled down, acquired their own territory and became a powerful force. And their diplomatic alliance was sought by the three ancient Tamil Kingdoms. The events and incidents narrated in the Śangam literature in connection with the Kośar lend support to the fact that by the third century B.C. they had become Tamilized, and were quite at home in the Tamil country. In the light of this fact we had to take it that the immigration of the Kośar must be looked for in the fourth century B.C. or even earlier.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar : 'These may be a tribe of people, the same as the Kośakāras of the *Rāmāyana* and it is possible that they were the *khaśas* who led the advance part of the army that marched upon Pāṭaliputra in favour of Candragupta according to the drama *Mudrārākṣasa*. According to Manu (X, 20 and 22), these were Kṣatriya vrātyas who, according to Uśanas, were water-carriers and distributors of water at fountains.[3] In the Kiṣkindākāṇḍa of the *Rāmāyana*, Sugrīva in directing the monkey-hosts to different places on the surface of the then known earth, makes mention of the Kośakāra country.[4] It may be that the kingdom of the Kośakāras represented the modern Assam.[5] It is plausible that a family of people emigrated from the ancient Assam to South India. But whether the Kośar are the same as the Kośakāras it is not possible to say definitely. The identification of the Tamil Kośar with the *Khasas* of the *Mudrārākṣasa* is not improbable. There is evidence to show that during the time of Candragupta and even before, the Kośar must have settled down as a ruling class in portions of what

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[1] *Tamils 1800 years ago*, p. 51.
[2] See author's *Mauryan Polity*, pp. 58ff.
[3] J.R.A.S., 1923, p. 611.
[4] IV, 40, 121.
[5] See *The Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 94.

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is known as the Koṅgu country, since they were people who helped Bindusāra, son and successor of Candragupta, in his conquest of South India.

Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar has reasons to believe that the Kośar were the inhabitants of the Tulu country [1] and that they were called Vaḍugar, literally Northerners.[2]

The *Ahanānūru* [3] clearly states that the home of the Kośar went by the appellation of Tulunāḍu. This was the territory lying along the Western Ghats on the Malabar coast and bordering on Mysore, Coimbatore and Coorg. The evidence unfortunately does not give us a definite lead to determine whether they were an alien people or autochthons. One thing is clear that they were the inhabitants of Tulunāḍu at a certain period of South Indian History. Again from the statement in the *Ahanānūru* (281),[4] that the bold Vaḍugar, led the vanguard of the Mauryan army in its march to the South, it transpires that the Kośar are also designated Vaḍugar in the sense of 'northerner'. Though the term Vaḍugar can be extended to the Telugus in addition to the Kannaḍas and the Tūlus, we have to take it that this particular reference is to the Kośar.[5] Perhaps the modern Baḍagas who are said to speak the Kannada are the descendants of the ancient Vaḍugar-Kośar. Whatever this may be, the Vaḍugar-Kośar formed the vanguard of the Mauryan army in its onward march to South India. They were the allies of the Imperial Power, and assisted them in their conquest of the southern portion of the Indian continent. If the term Vaḍugar in its literal sense could mean the Kośar, then it is reasonable to assume that the Kośar were Northerners, or in other words, they were a tribe of people belonging to some part of northern India, at least north of the Tamiḻagam. They were, therefore, not necessarily a tribe foreign to India, but an Indian tribe either purely indigenous or mixed. We know from history that several alien tribes became Kṣatriyas to get a *locus standi* in the country of their adoption. They were known to Sanskrit literature as Kṣatriya-vrātyas.

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[1] See *The History of the Tamils*, p. 521.

[2] By the term, Vaḍugar, the Tamils meant the Telugus, Kaṇṇaḍas and the Tūlus.

[3] 'Maimmali perumpūṭ cemmaṟ kośar
kommaiyam paśuṅgkāy k-kuḍumi vilainta
pākalārkaip-paṟaikkaṭ pīlit
tokaik-kāviṟ ṟuḷu nāṭ ṭaṇṇa.'
(Aham, 15, II, 2-5.)

[4] Muraṉmiku vaḍugar muṇṇuṟa moriyar
Teṉṟiśai mādira muṇṇiya varaviṟku—II, 8-9.

[5] See M. Rāghava Ayyangar's '*Tamils and Andhras*'.

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Perhaps the Kośar belonged to some such tribe that settled in North India and migrated in course of time towards the south.

Equally difficult is the question of locating the exact limits of the territory occupied by these Kośar. We meet with the following names of places from the Śangam works mentioned in connection with Kośar. These are Koṅgu, Tulunāḍu, Kuḍagu, Śellūr, Nallūr, Niyamam, Tagaḍūr. From the expression Kośar-Tulunāḍu[1] and Kuḍaga-koṅgar[2] it can be inferred that the kingdom of the Kośar comprised of the Tulu-nāḍu, a part of the Koṅgu country. From the mention of different places assigned to the Kośar and from the term Nāṇmoḷi-k-kośar a theory has been started to the effect that there should have been four kinds of Kośar if the commentator of the verse[3] is to be relied upon. There seems to be no warrant for this theory and this is perhaps due to the geographical confusion arising from the four divisions into which the Koṅgu-nāḍu has been divided. There was then an East Koṅgu, a West Koṅgu, a South Koṅgu and a North Koṅgu. But the Koṅgu of which we are speaking was the West Koṅgu for the *Śilappadikāram* mentions distinctly Kuḍaga-koṅgar, and Kuḍagu is the modern Coorg.

The Cera-nāḍu is generally spoken of as the Koṅgu-nāḍu. In addition to this is the fact that the Ceraṉ is termed also the Koṅgaṉ. These facts then lend the weight of their support to the theory that originally the Koṅgu country was the Cera Kingdom, and later on, other dynasties set up independent kingdoms in portion of the Koṅgu country. When these took place we cannot definitely say. The following pieces of unquestionable evidence lead us to this conclusion. One is the inscription of Aśoka which mentions Keralaputras and Satyaputras, and these we identify with the Cera and Kośar as we shall soon see. The other is the evidence of the *Śilappadikāram*[4] where among the Kings who constructed temples in honour of the Pattinidevi occurs the chief of the Kośar. Here we find a distinction made between the Kośar and the Cera. Therefore much anterior to the time of Aśoka and up to the epoch of the *Śilappadikāram* the Koṅgu portion of the Kośar, otherwise known as the Tuḷu-nāḍu was enjoying an independent status. We have then to distinguish and demarcate between the Cera-nāḍu and the Koṅgu-nāḍu of the Kośar. It may be that under the Kośar the Tuḷu-nāḍu became a separate entity but still retained its good-will and friendship with the Cera. At least the Kośar had no ill-will against them as can be illustrated by the following incident. Naṉṉaṉ, the lord of the Eḷirkuṉṟam (Sanskrit—Saptaśailam), representing

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[1] *Aham*, 15.
[2] *Śilappadikāram*, Canto XXX, l. 159.
[3] *Maduraikkāñji*, l. 569.
[4] *Vide* the Prose Prologue (Uraiperukaṭṭurai).

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the territory near the modern Cannanore, had in his neighbourhood a small state known as Pūḻināḍu. This formed a part of the Cera Kingdom then under the jurisdiction of Kaḷaṅkāykkaṇṇi-nārmuḍie-ceral.[1] Naṉṉaṉ threw his covetous eyes on this territory and encroached on it. This enraged the Cera monarch who led an expedition against Naṉṉaṉ. Over the same chieftain the Kośar won a signal victory. From this it would appear that the Kośar were the allies of the Ceras but were in no way their dependents politically. This is seen from the statement that the Kośar had felled the *naruma* of Naṉṉaṉ, possibly the guardian-tree of the monarch. This expedition of the Kośar is probably to aid the Cera monarch. Two meanings are assigned to it. One is that it refers to the state elephant, and the other is the sweet mango tree, perhaps the *kāvalmaram* of the Tamil kings. The latter seems to be more appropriate.

Roughly the Kośar-nāḍu was the tract of land touching the Western Ghats and bordering on Mysore, Malabar and Coorg. To the south lay the Cera Kingdom and to the north the Mauryan. This we identify as representing the territory of the Satyaputras of Aśoka's inscriptions, for, in our opinion the Satyaputras equate with the Kośar. Before we examine this portion let us mention in passing some of the achievements of this ruling dynasty.

We definitely know that the Kośar were the inhabitants of the Tuḷu country[2] and we also know that this Tuḷu land comprised a portion of the Koṅgu kingdom. It would appear that the Kośar expanded their territory and conquered some more portions of the Koṅgu-nāḍu.[3] P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar would record the founding of Coimbatore as an achievement of the Kośar[4] but this is still to be proved.

Mention has been made already of their fight with Naṉṉaṉ, the neighbouring king of the Ceras. In this, as we have already pointed out, they seem to have taken to arms more as allies of the Ceras, than for their own purpose. That they were good friends and grateful allies is testified to by an ode attributed to the poet Kallāḍaṉār.[5] It is said that one Ahutai was given protection by the Kośar when he sorely needed it. We know of their unflinching loyalty to the Mauryas by helping them in their victorious march to South India. They formed the vanguard of the Imperial army.

It would thus appear that they must have been great warriors and soldiers, and this must have induced the neighbouring chieftains

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[1] Padiṟṟu, IV, *Padikam*. [2] *Aham*, St. 15. [3] *Ibid.*, St. 195.
[4] See the *History of the Tamils*, p. 521. [5] *Aham*, 113.

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and kings to seek their alliance and retain it. The Kośar in Tamil Literature are designated as Iḷamkośar and Mutukośar. Of these Iḷamkośar seem to have been great warriors, perhaps the pick of the tribe. Among the military exploits of this tribe, it is said that Śellik-komāṉātaṉ Eḷiṉi killed an elephant. This Eḷiṉi must have been the head of Śelli, possibly Śellūr near which lay one of their head quarters Niyamam.[1]

There is also on record the practice of the royal princes who were trained for purposes of war when young. One mode of training was to shoot at the *muruṅgai* tree by correctly aiming at it.[2]

One ode describes the soldiers thus. They were distinguished from the rest by their black eyes deeply buried in the head and scars on the face shielded by the helmet, resembling in some respects the description of the Huns by Gibbon. They had all their manliness without their repulsive habits. Hence the Pāṇḍyan King of Talayālaṅgānam fame had in his possession the *Kośappaḍai* or the army of the Kośar under the command of Māṟaṉ.

The term *nāṉmoḷikkośar* has given rise to a number of conjectures, none of which seems to be satisfactory. One interpretation is that they are of four different divisions of the tribe. Another is that they spoke four languages and if this were accepted, there is again the doubt what might have been the four languages. The third meaning given is that they were experts in four *śāstras* or sciences. Much more plausible is that it is a reference to a nāḍu which went after the name *nāṉmoḷi* for we have Nallūr-kośar, Śellurkośar and it is just possible that Nāṉmoḷi refers to a particular place.[3] The term *Mutu-kośar* refers to the aged and the venerable members of the community. These designations lead us on to infer that after a certain age the Kośar were not admitted to the rank and file of their army organizations. That they were of united counsel is testified by a stanza of the Ahanānūṟu.[4] When once they took a vow they stuck to it to the finish, so much so that the vow of the Kośar became proverbial.[5]

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[1] *Aham*, 90. [2] *Puṟam*, St. 169.

[3] See M. Rāghava Ayyangar, *Ceran-Śenguttuvan*. Cf. No. 213-11 of 1906 of South Indian Epigraphy. It is important to note that from an inscription at Nāmakal, the name nāmoḷināḍu is retained until at least the 13th century to which the record belongs.

[4] *Aham*, St. 165. [5] Kuruntogai, 15,

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THE DATE OF ZOROASTER

By A. Berriedale Keith

It is impossible for any student of Indian history to remain indifferent to the discussions of the age of Zoroaster. If in fact he is to be assigned to the sixth century B.C., the theory of the age of the *Rigveda* must be considered in a completely new light, and current views must be drastically revised. It is therefore desirable to consider briefly the latest suggestions which favour so late a date as the sixth century and reject the suggestion, which has the authority of E. Meyer among other historians, in favour of assigning the prophet to 1000 or 900 B.C. These suggestions emanate from distinguished authorities, Professor A. T. Olmstead and C. F. Lehmann-Haupt,[1] and their contentions must receive respectful consideration.

Professor Olmstead's contribution consists of a critical investigation of the conclusions to be derived from the reference to certain gods dwelling in the land of Assyria in a tablet found in the library of Ashurbani-apal (668–626 B.C.). The gods mentioned, presumably as deities of areas included in the Assyrian Empire as opposed to gods of the homeland, include the god Assara and the god Mazaš, each name having before it the sign of divinity. Are these names representative of contemporary usage in Iranian territory subject to Assyria? Olmstead admits that we have no absolute proof of this, though he inclines to the view that we have in the tablet the work of a scribe under Ashur-bani-apal. Hommel,[2] of course, adopted naturally enough a very different view. The retention of the *-s-* sound in lieu of the *-h-* of the Avestan ahura led him to compare the Kassite Surias, and to hold that the word Assara came down from the Kassite period, say between 1700 and 1200 B.C. The argument is evenly balanced, but evades any decisive result. On the other hand, it is very difficult to accept the view of Olmstead that in the god Assara and the god Mazaš we are not to see the Ahura Mazdāh of the Avesta. He insists that the repetition of the term for god before each name precludes belief in a single god, and asserts: "In such a god list, the placing of a second god in the same line means only one thing, identification.

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[1] *Oriental Studies in honour of Cursetji Erachji Pavry* (1933), pp. 366–72, and 251–80.

[2] Cf. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 31ff.

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Our line would then be properly translated : Assara is to be identified with Mazaš." But on further reflection he modified this view, holding that the placing of the two names in one line need not even imply identification, since in another line such utterly different gods as Sin, the moon god, Adad, the weather god, and Shamash, the sun god, appear together. This argument seems to overlook the essential fact of the case. The term god is used, it seems, before each name because the god in fact was called by two distinct names which were not compounded, and therefore were not unnaturally separated by the term for god. But even on the hypothesis of Olmstead we have in say 640–630 B.C. the existence of two deities then identified, Assara and Mazaš. It is true that Assara is a very incorrect reproduction of Asura, but even Olmstead admits that the probability is in favour of identifying these two terms. The position in fact is really beyond dispute, whether or not we ascribe [1] the inaccuracy to the difficulties inherent in the pronunciation of a foreign name, as is the case of the Russians who reproduce Hamburg with an initial *g*-, and Theodore with an initial *f*-, or to the awkwardness of the cuneiform syllabic writing, or to some assimilation to a more familiar Assyrian word.

Olmstead, dating Assara at 640 B.C., draws the conclusion that Avestan Ahura points to a distinctly later date, "unless we are to adopt the somewhat precarious hypothesis of a sound shift in a more distant dialect at a considerably earlier time". Unfortunately the hypothesis in question is one which would be perfectly legitimate, even if we accepted the dating propounded for Assara. But he finds a Sassanian tradition which is valid evidence for a late date. He wisely does not overstress the tradition of the *Bundahishn*, recognizing that the traditional chronology therein handed down "has forgotten the succession of the Achæmenian monarchs, and actually omits the most important of all, the great Darius". How any use can be made of so worthless a tradition is indeed amazing. The more genuine tradition is derived by Olmstead from the fact (*a*) that Ammianus Marcellinus makes Zoroaster a contemporary of King Hystaspes, father of Darius ; and (*b*) the Byzantine historian Agathias, some two centuries later, still remembered the tradition that Hystaspes was the father of Darius, though others were beginning to say that this was some other ruler of the same name. He finds confirmation in the fact that the Egyptian Eutychius makes Zoroaster a contemporary of Bardiya, the Syrian Bar Hebræus a contemporary of Cambyses, and with these agrees the Arab al

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[1] Cf. Kent, *Oriental Studies*, p. 206, n. 2.

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Makin.[1] But the very obvious objection to this reasoning is that it is natural to assume that late tradition confused Hystaspes, friend of Zoroaster, with the father of Darius, a most natural error. Nor can we accept the dictum that Darius is the first Achæmenian monarch in whose religion signs of Zoroastrianism can be detected. Still less is it proved that under the Achæmenids Persian was not written in Aramaic characters, or that the prose Gatha Haptanghaiti belongs to post-Achæmenid times.

Olmstead admits that Mazaš, though a curious form, must be connected with the names of Median chieftains, Mashduku, Mashdakku, and Mashdaiaukku, found under Sargon in 715 B.C. nor can we doubt that this shows the existence of a deity in the 8th century B.C. We have therefore in the Assyrian records, even under the restrictive interpretation given by Olmstead, proof of the existence by 640 B.C. of two divine names, and on this theory we must admit that Zoroaster was not the first to combine Ahura and Mazdāh.

In the view of Lehmann-Haupt, special stress is laid on presenting a more plausible account than that given by Professor Hertel of the exact connection of Zoroaster and the Achæmenids. There is much to be said for his contentions in detail. Thus it is made plausible that Cyrus was definitely a supporter of the views of Zoroaster, that Hystaspes was placed by him in charge of Parthia and Hyrcania and did not merely obtain such authority from Darius, and that the resistance of the Magi was directed against the favour shown to Zoroastrian tenets by Cyrus. But nothing is adduced of any cogency to show that Zoroaster was a contemporary of Hystaspes, father of Darius. To see the marriage of Atossa to Darius in *Yašt* xv. 35f. is to run counter to the text and to the traditional interpretation which relates it to Hutaosā, sister and wife of Vīštāspa. Nor is there any cogency in the contention that Zoroastrian doctrine is deeply influenced by the Babylonian conception of the struggle between the god of light and the demon of darkness and chaos, and that this influence can only be assigned to a comparatively late date, after the contact of the Iranians with Assyria, which dates from the close of the ninth century B.C. with the reign of Adadnirari III, son of the queen on whose regency is based the legend of Semiramis. There is not the slightest reason to suppose that Babylonian legends could not much earlier have reached the Iranians. Yet a further difficulty arises in considering the views of Lehmann-Haupt. He accepts the view that it was Zoroaster who combined the name Ahura with the name Mazdāh,

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[1] Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 168.

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but he does not attempt to explain how it is that we have long before Zoroaster on his dating of the prophet the combination Assara Mazaš.

It remains, therefore, as hitherto, more probable that we are to accept the natural theory that the date of Zoroaster lies well before the 6th century B.C. This view has the merit that it alone is consistent with the assignment of an early date to the *Rigveda*, and that it much simplifies the understanding of Iranian religious history, and relieves us of the necessity of trying to make the Gathas fit into the history of the Achæmenids. An interesting confirmation of the earlier dating is afforded by the careful examination by Professor Kent [1] of the gradual process by which from Mazdāh Ahura or more rarely Ahura Mazdāh, as distinct terms, there evolved the Auramazdā of the Persian inscriptions. It is extremely difficult to deny that this development points to the conclusion that the Achæmenids were decidedly posterior to the period when Zoroaster flourished. Nor is it possible to ignore the fact that the Greek tradition places Zoroaster very early, for this serves to prove that the late dating of Zoroaster was not current in early Persian tradition. Had it been so, it is practically inevitable that we should have had it recorded that Zoroaster was a protégé of the father of Darius. Herzfeld,[2] who clings to the traditional date, shows clearly how worthless is the *Bundahishn* tradition.

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[1] *Oriental Studies*, pp. 200–8.
[2] Ibid., pp. 132–6.

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ON SOME TERMS IN THE NĀGĀRJUNIKOṆḌA INSCRIPTIONS

By D. L. Barua

I. Ayirahaṃghā, Paṃca-Mātukā.

In two of the lines of the inscription No. C. 1,[1] there is the following expression :—

L. 11. Paṃṇagāma-vathavāmaṃ Dīgha-Majhima-paṃca-mātuka-desaka-vācakānaṃ ācariyānaṃ Ayira-haṃ-ghāna[ṃ].

L. 12. aṃtevāsikena Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya-dharena bhajaṃt-Ānandena nithapitaṃ imaṃ navakamaṃ mahācetiyaṃ

Also in the inscription No. C. 2 [2] we have

L. 9. Imaṃ Mahācetiya-navakamaṃ Paṃṇagāmavathavā-naṃ Dīgha-Majhima-paṃda m[ā]tuka-desa[ka-vā] cakānaṃ

L. 10. arayāna[ṃ] Ayira-ha[ṃ]ghāna[ṃ] aṃtevāsikena Dīgha-Ma-nigaya-dharena bhadaṃt-Ānaṃdena

Professor J. Ph. Vogel has translated the above lines as follows :—

'. . . . . this pious foundation of the Mahāchetiya has been completed by the Reverend Ānanda, who knows the *Dīgha-* and the *Majjhima-nikāyas* by heart, (*who is*) a disciple of the Masters of the Ayira-haṃgha (Skt. *Ārya-saṅgha*) who are residents in Paṃṇa-gāma and who are preachers and preceptors of the *Dīgha,* the *Majjhima-*[*nikāya*] and of the five *Mātukas.*' [3]

Evidently each of these two inscriptions is a record about the erection and dedication of a Great Shrine (*Mahācetiya*). The Shrine was dedicated to the teachers of the Aparamahāvinaseliya or Apara-mahāvanaseliya sect. But the erection of the Shrine was entrusted to the care of the Reverend Ānanda who was to be counted among the adherents of the Ayirahaṃgha (=Pāli Ariya-saṅgha ; Skt. Ārya-saṅgha), who had formed a sect different from the Aparama-

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[1] Vogel, 'Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa', *E.I.*, Vol. XX, Part 1, p. 17, and plate facing p. 16.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20, and plate.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 17 ; Cf. also p. 20.

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hāvinaseliya. Dr. N. Dutt inclines to identify the Ayirahaṃgha of the inscriptions with the Mahāsaṅghika of Buddhist tradition.[1] His suggestion rests on an information from the Chinese sources, according to which the Mahāsaṅghikas were also known as Saṅghikas.

The statement in the two records makes it clear that Ānanda the Navakammika, responsible for the construction of the Mahācetiya, belonged to that sect of those Buddhist teachers with whom the five Nikāyas—the *Dīgha*, the *Majjhima* and the rest—were the original canonical authorities. Dr. Barua has long ago pointed out that in no other tradition than that of the Theravāda or Sthaviravāda sect, the term *Nikāya* is known to have been used as title for a particular division of the Buddhist Canon.[2] In both the inscriptions, Ānanda the Navakammika has been introduced as one who had mastered the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima* Nikāyas (*Dīgha-Majhima-nikāya-dharena*). In one of them, the *Majjhima* has been denoted by the initial *Ma-* only (*Dīgha-Ma-nigaya-dharena*). There is no evidence as yet to prove that any of the canonical authorities for the Mahāsaṅghikas bore the title of *Nikāya* instead of *Āgama*. We find it difficult to identify the Ācariyas of the Ayirahaṃgha with any Buddhist sect other than the Theravāda in whose literature we come across the term *Ariyasaṅgha*[3] precisely in the sense of *Sāvaka-saṅgha* occurring in the canonical texts.[4]

If it be doubted that the epithet was applied or applicable to a teacher of the Theravāda school, the reader's attention may at once be drawn to Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Kathāvatthu* in which the Theravāda is counted among the eighteen earlier schools of Buddhist teachers (*aṭṭhārasa-ācariyavādā*).[5] The *Milindapañha* explains the term *ācariyavāda* in its general sense as denoting the traditional teaching of a particular line of teachers (*ācariyavaṃso ti ācariyavādo*).[6]

Dr. Vogel translates the expression *Dīgha-Majhima-paṃcamātukānaṃ*: 'Of the Dīgha, the Majhima and the five mātukas'[7]

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 647.

[2] Barua-Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 29.

[3] Dhammapāla's Commentaries on *Petavatthu*, *Udāna*, *Cariyā-Piṭaka*, etc. opening verses (*vandanāgāthā*) :—

Vande Ariyasaṅghaṃ taṃ puññakhettaṃ anuttaraṃ.

Cf. also *Mahāniddesa*, p. 58 : *ariyā vuccanti Buddhā ca Buddhasāvakā ca paccekabuddhā ca.*

[4] *Dīgha Nikāya*, Vol. II, p. 93 ; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, Vol. I, p. 208.

[5] *Kathāvatthu-commentary*, pp. 2–4 ; Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. V in which all sects are collectively termed '*ācariyavādā*' and the sects other than the Theravāda are distinguished as '*aññācariyavādā*'.

[6] *Milindapañha*, p. 148.

[7] *E.I.*, Vol. XX, Part I, p. 17.

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without any comment on the relation between the two Nikāyas mentioned by name and the five *mātukas*. His rendering, however, is clearly in favour of treating the five *mātukas* apart from the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas.

Dr. N. Dutt overlooking the distinction between the two terms *mātukā* and *mātikā*, kept clear of each other in Pāli, and explains *paṃcamātukā* as meaning the five well-known divisions of the Vinaya-Piṭaka common to 'the five principal schools, viz. Theravāda, Mahīśāsaka, Haimavata, Sarvāstivāda and Mahāsaṅghika'. He goes even so far as to suggest that 'the term *paṃcamātukā* refers to the Vinaya-Piṭaka, and to the one belonging to the Mahāsaṅghikas',[1] (Dr. de La Vallée Poussin being responsible for the Mahāsaṅghika presumption[2]).

In both the records, the spelling is *mātukānaṃ* and not *mātikānaṃ*. *Mātikā* in Pāli means a 'table of contents' or an 'abridged statement', while *mātukā* means 'matrix' (cf. *miga-mātukā* in the Vissāsabhojana-Jātaka, Fausböll, No. 93). In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions themselves (Cf. No. F, l. 2) the word *mahāmātukā* occurs in the sense of 'a grandmother'. As employed in the Theragāthā, v. 612, the word *mātukā* means something 'original', 'basic', or 'fundamental' (*ādi*, *patiṭṭhā*, *pamukha*, i.e. *mūla* as met with in other texts):

Ādisīlaṃ patiṭṭhā ca kalyāṇānañca mātukaṃ,
pamukhaṃ sabbadhammānaṃ, ...

Until it can be shown that *mātukā* means anything else or that it has been confounded anywhere in Pāli with *mātikā* we cannot but take *Dīgha-Majhima-paṃcamātukā* to be an expression similar to *surā-meraya-majja-pamādaṭṭhānā* and translate *Dīgha* . . . *mātukānaṃ*: '(the teachers belonging to the Noble Order who were the expounders and reciters) of the Five Matrices (i.e. original authorities), (beginning with) the *Dīgha* (*Nikāya*) and the *Majjhima* (*Nikāya*)'.

II. *Theriyānaṃ Taṃbapaṃṇakānaṃ.*

This expression forms part of the following text of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription No. F[3]:—

'. . . . . *ta* [*rā*]*jā*[4]*charīyānaṃ Kasmira-Gaṃdhāra-Chīna-Chilāta-Tosali-Avaraṃta-Vaṃga-Vanavāsi-Yava*[*na*]*-Da*[*mila-Pa*]*lura-Taṃbapaṃni-dīpa-pas*[*ā*]*dakānaṃ theriyānaṃ Taṃbapa*[*ṃ*]*ṇakānaṃ suparigahe.*'

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[1] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 646.
[2] *E.I.*, Vol. XX, Part I, p. 29, f.n.
[3] See *Ibid.*, p. 22, l. 1. [4] This letter in the text can clearly be read as *-ji*.

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Dr. Vogel renders it thus[1]: 'For the benefit of the . . . . . masters and of the fraternities (*of monks*) of Taṃbapaṃṇa (Ceylon) who have converted Kashmira, Gandhāra, Chīna, Chilāta (Skt. Kirāta), Tosali, Avaraṃta (=Skt. Aparānta), Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana (?), Damila (?), Palura (?), and the Isle of Taṃbapaṃṇi (Ceylon).'

Dr. N. Dutt amending the above, suggests[2]: 'Those nuns (not monks, as Dr. Vogel writes, for the word is *theriyānaṃ*) who gladdened the hearts of the people of Kasmīra . . . Tambapaṇṇidīpa.'

Thus the point of difference between the two renderings is that according to one the *Theriyas* referred to in the text were the fraternities (of monks) of Ceylon who converted the countries named and, according to the other, they were the nuns (*theriyā*) of Ceylon who gladdened those countries.

We say that both scholars have erred on the wrong side. Both of them have failed to note that *Theriyānaṃ* occurs as an adjunct to *Ācariyānaṃ*, both of which may be combined into single expression *Theriyācariyānaṃ*, 'to the teachers represented by the Theras, exponents of *Theravāda*'. It may be noted that the Council convened by the Theras came to be traditionally known as *Theriyāsaṅgīti*. Compare, for instance,

Dīpavaṃsa :—

Therehi kato saṅgaho theriyo ti pavuccati.

Mahāvaṃsa, Ch. V, verse 1 :—

Yā Mahākassapādīhi mahātherehi ādito
katā saddhammasaṃgīti theriyā ti pavuccati.

In Chap. 38, verses 45 and 76 of the Cūlavaṃsa, two expressions '*theriyānaṃ*' and '*theravādīnaṃ*' are used as synonymous :—

v. 45.—'*aṭṭhārasavihāre ca theriyānaṃ akārayi.*'[3]
v. 76.—'*katvā Ambatthalaṃ theravādīnaṃ dātukāmako.*'

Accordingly we should take the expression *ācariyānaṃ theriyānaṃ Taṃbapaṃṇakānaṃ* to mean 'to those who were (known) to the people of Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon) as teachers of the Theriya tradition' and render the passage: 'The Right Reverend teachers, the gladdeners of Kasmīra, Gandhāra . . . . . Palūra (Dantapura) and the island of Tambapaṇṇi, (who were known) to the inhabitants of Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon) as upholders of the Theriya tradition, i.e. of Theravāda.'

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[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XX, Part I, p. 23.
[2] 'He built eighteen vihāras for the fraternities who had composed the "theravādā".'—Turnour, *The Mahāvaṃsa*, I, 256.
[3] *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VII, No. 3, p. 652.

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In other words, we incline to interpret the passage as explanatory to the expression *nānādesasamanāgatānaṃ savasādhūnaṃ mahābhikkhusaṃghasa*, which is met with in the inscriptions Nos. E. 1. 2, M. 3. 1. 4, 10. 1. 1, etc.

A clear light on this point is thrown by the *Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. XXIX, containing a vivid account of the consecration of the Mahāthūpa in Ceylon and entertainment of many bhikkhus and theras from various countries in the time of King Duṭṭhagāmani:

Nānādesā pi āgañchuṃ bahavo bhikkhavo idha
idha dīpaṭṭhasaṃghassa kā kathā va idhāgame?[1]

'A great many bhikkhus came from various countries, not to speak of those of the Saṅgha of this island who were present here (on the occasion).'

As explanatory to this verse we have a number of gāthas (*Mahāvaṃsa*, Ch. XXIX, vv. 30ff.). The leading Theras are said to have been representatives of such countries and localities as Rājagaha, Isipatana, Jetavana, Vesālī, Kosambī, Ujjeni, Pupphapura, Kasmīra, Pallavabhogga, Yonanagara-Alasanda, Bodhimaṇḍa, Vanavāsa, and Kelāsa. The list undoubtedly includes teachers who belonged to the same school of thought, viz. the *Theravāda*. It may be noted that the *Mahāvaṃsa* list includes Kasmīra, Vanavāsa, and Yonanagara which find mention in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription under review.

Thus we may safely think with Dr. Dutt that the theras of Ceylon were not the converters of the countries named. But we certainly differ from him when he maintains that the persons in view were the nuns of Ceylon.

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[1] Verse 29.

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MISCELLANEA

SVĀTMANI KĀRITRAVIRODHĀT

1. It is well known that 'The tip of a finger cannot be touched by itself', 'A man cannot mount on his own shoulder', 'The edge of a sword cannot cut itself' (Col. Jacob, *Third Handful of Popular Maxims*, Bombay, 1911, p. 3).

Bodhicaryāvatāra, Comm., ix, 17-18 : *cittaṃ cittaṃ na paśyatīti cittaṃ svātmānaṃ na jānāti / saty api vastutve svātmani kāritravirodhāt / katham iva / na cchinatti yathātmānam asidhārā tathā manaḥ . . . / yathā sutīkṣṇāpy asidhārā khaḍgadhārā tadanyavad ātmānaṃ svakāyaṃ na cchinatti . . . . svātmani kriyāvirodhāt / tathā manaḥ / asidhārāvac cittam api nātmānaṃ paśyatīti yojyam / tathā hi na tad evaikaṃ jñānaṃ vedyavedaka vedanātmasvabhāvatrayaṃ yuktam / ekasya niraṃśasya trisrabhāvatāyogat.*

2. The same formula *svātmani hāritravirodhāt* in Sthiramati's Comm. to Vasubandhu's Trimśikā (ed. S. Lévi, p. 38, l. 6) : '*na hi vijñānaṃ vipākavāsanāṃ niṣyandavāsanāṃ vā svātmany ādhattum samarthaṃ svātmani kāritravirodhāt . . . .*' The MS. has *kāritavirodhāt*, and S. Lévi has accordingly translated 'cai sou existence actuelle art contradictoire avec l'idée de ce gu'elle amait de'ja jait jaire auparavant' (p. 112). Better Jacobi (Triṃśikāvijñapti [?] des Vasubandhu, Stuttgart, 1932, p. 81) : '. . . . Weil es ein logischer widerspruch ist, dass etwas vi sich sebbrt etwas hervozbringe . . .' With the foot-note : 'Lies *kāritā* d.h. *kārin* sei'. But *Kāritra* is better than *Kāritā*.

3. The problem is whether the *citta* on *vijñāna* is really *niraṃśa* as stated by the Mādhyamika. According to the school of Asanga, the *citta* is twofold (or threefold, or fourfold, Siddlei de Hiuang-tsang, Paris, Geuthner, 1928, p. 124). There is an *aṃśa* (or a *bhāga* : *aṃśa* and *bhāga* occur) which is *darśana*, 'vision', and another which is *nimitta*, 'image, object'. Thus the *citta* is capable of knowing itself, of placing in itself the impression (or *vāsanā*, perfume, or *bīja*, gem), without mounting on its own shoulder. Thus the philosophers who maintain the *svasamvedana* and dare not deny the evident fact, that a man who has the idea of blue knows that he has this idea.—But Col. Jacob quotes two lines of Prakaraṇapañcikā, p. 63 : *Aṅgulyagraṃ yathātmānaṃ nātmanā spraṣṭum arhati / svāmśena jñānam apy evaṃ nātmānaṃ jñātum arhati* : The *jñāna* cannot know itself by a part of itself. Evidently an answer to Asanga's theory of the 'parts' of the thought.

LOUIS DE LA VALLEÈ POUSSIN.

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WERE THE BHĀRAŚIVAS REALLY PARAMOUNT SOVEREIGNS?

The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depôt, Lahore, has recently (1933) published a work entitled *History of India* (150 A.D. to 350 A.D.) by K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A. (Oxon), etc. The book was previously published in *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 1–292. The Introductory Chapter, however, appeared for the first time in the *Modern Review*, November, 1932. In this work Mr. Jayaswal has given a detailed account of the Bhāraśiva-Nāgas and the Vākāṭakas, and has remarked thus in the Introductory Chapter: 'The history of the Imperial Hindu revival is not to be dated in the fourth century with Samudragupta; not even with the Vākāṭakas a century earlier, but with the Bhāraśivas half a century earlier still. There is not a line about the Vākāṭakas in the history of Dr. Vincent Smith, *nor a line about the Bhāraśivas in any text-book*' (p. 4). By this last remark Mr. Jayaswal, I am afraid, has not done justice to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, author of the *Political History of Ancient India* (3rd ed., 1932, Calcutta University), which is a prescribed text-book in almost all the Universities of India. Mr. Jayaswal's high opinion of this book is evidenced by his letter dated January 18, 1931, printed at page 478 of *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.*, 3rd ed., 1932. The history of the Vākāṭakas was set forth by many scholars, including Dr. Raychaudhuri, before the publication of Mr. Jayaswal's work. And it must be noted that the importance of the Bhāraśiva-Nāgas was first pointed out by Dr. Raychaudhuri in the section entitled *The Nāgas and the Later Kushāns*, not only in the 3rd edition of *Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind.* (pp. 328-9) which was published in 1932, but also in the 2nd edition of that work (pp. 303-304) which was published as early as 1927 and which received appreciation from no less a scholar than Mr. Jayaswal himself. The *aśvamedha* sacrifices of the Bhāraśiva family of Bhavanāga have also been referred to by Dr. Raychaudhuri in connection with the horse-sacrifice performed by Samudragupta (2nd ed., p. 344; 3rd ed., p. 374). If Mr. Jayaswal has done injustice to Dr. Raychaudhuri, of course unwittingly, we have no doubt that he will take the steps he thinks necessary in this matter. Or, if, like the Nysaean Indo-Greeks (Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*, 3rd ed., p. 164, n. 2), Mr. Jayaswal has referred to the importance of these Bhāraśivas in a lecture delivered even before the first edition of Dr. Raychaudhuri's book was printed, he will do well to show where any gist of that lecture has been published.

But the real question is: are the Bhāraśivas to be regarded as supreme rulers of India, or, for the matter of that, of North India,

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because they performed ten *aśvamedhas* ? Similarly, is the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena I to be considered a paramount sovereign, because he celebrated four *aśvamedhas* ? If so, why is he or the Bhāraśiva prince Bhavanāga designated simply *mahārāja*, whereas Devagupta (—Chandragupta II) of the Gupta dynasty is styled *mahārājādhirāja* in the Vākāṭaka copperplate charters ? Again, one Viṣṇukuṇḍin king, Mādhavavarman, has the performance of eleven *aśvamedhas* to his credit, but he too is designated a mere *mahārāja* (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XII, p. 134). Unless Mr. Jayaswal, Dr. Raychaudhuri, or some other scholar satisfactorily answers this question, we hope we shall be pardoned if we refuse to believe that the Vākāṭakas or the Bhāraśivas were supreme rulers, simply because they performed *aśvamedhas*.

ATUL K. SUR.

AŚVAMEDHA BY SAMUDRAGUPTA

Mr. Atul Sur has raised a most pertinent query. Does the mere celebration of an Aśvamedha mean that the performer of it was a supreme ruler of India ? There is nothing in the ritual of the Aśvamedha to show that the king who wishes to celebrate it must first conquer the whole of the earth. All that is laid down is that a sacrificial steed shall be let loose, its unhampered movement being ensured by an army escorting it. But it is not stated for what period the horse is to be allowed to roam at its free will. In these circumstances it is seldom that a horse can go beyond the bounds of even a small kingdom, although the animal is always moving freely. In such cases, even a feudatory chieftain can perform a Horse Sacrifice. It is only when the horse is purposely taken to the outlying parts of the kingdom and especially of India that this Aśvamedha assumes a different aspect. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the king who aspired to be the Chakravartin performed a sacrifice called Sarvajit. See e.g. the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV, 86 and V, 1) where Raghu is represented as going to and subjugating the frontier provinces of India as a preliminary to the performance of that sacrifice. The Horse Sacrifice by itself does not presuppose the conquest of the earth. It may or may not be preceded by a *dig-vijaya*. If there is a king who aspires to the rank of the Supreme Ruler, he may combine the Aśvamedha with the *dig-vijaya* as was the fashion in the Epic period. This practice was actually followed by Yudhiṣṭhira as any one who reads the Āśvamedhika-Parvan can see it for himself. In that case the horse has to be taken deliberately from one outlying country to another.

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If we carefully study the movements of the sacrificial steed of Yudhiṣṭhira, we find that the animal goes from Hastināpura, first to the Trigarta country in the extreme N.N.W. of India, from there to Prāgjyotiṣa in Assam in the extreme east, from Prāgjyotiṣa again to Sindhu (Sind) in the extreme west, from Sindhu to the country of Maṇipura in the extreme east again, from there to Magadha and then only to the south to such countries as Kosala, Taṅgaṇa Draviḍa, Andhra, Raudra, Māhiṣaka, Kaulagiri, thence northwards to Surāṣṭra, Prabhāsa, Dvāravatī, Pañcanada and lastly to Gandhāra. If such was the itinerary of the sacrificial steed, is it possible to say that its movements were not interfered with and that it was allowed to roam at its free will? Evidently the horse was taken from one frontier province to another in order that the Aśvamedha should be combined with the *dig-vijaya*. This was really the Aśvamedha of the Epic type which was however the most difficult to celebrate. But if a horse, as a matter of fact, is let loose from a capital town without any kind of restraint for a restricted period of time, it is very doubtful whether it will ever go beyond the boundaries of even a tiny kingdom. There is therefore nothing inherently impossible in a feudatory chief also performing such a sacrifice. It is therefore no wonder if it was celebrated by the Bhāraśivas, Vākāṭakas and so forth. That they were feudatories is well pointed out by Mr. Sur. Because in the Vākāṭaka copperplate charters, whereas Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta dynasty has been designated Mahārājādhirāja, the Vākāṭaka princes themselves, and the Bhāraśiva ruler Bhavanāga have been called simply Mahārājas. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to their being subordinate chieftains.

The only question that we have to consider is: how the Bhāraśivas could perform ten Aśvamedhas, the Vākāṭaka prince Pravarasena I, four, and the Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarman, no less than eleven, even admitting that if the Aśvamedha is dissociated from a *dig-vijaya*, it is quite possible for a feudatory to perform it. In this connection it is worth taking into consideration what Vyāsa says to Yudhiṣṭhira in connection with his Aśvamedha: 'Let thy sacrifice, O the best of kings, be performed in such a way that it shall not be defective. In consequence of the large quantity of that gold (having to spend), it is called Bahusuvarṇaka (Profuse Gold Sacrifice). Increase here the *dakṣiṇā* threefold, O great king, and thy (sacrifice) shall become threefold. The Brāhmaṇs are competent for this purpose. Having then accomplished three Aśvamedhas each with profuse *dakṣiṇā*, thou shalt be freed, O king, from the sin of having slain thy kinsmen.' (*Āśvamedhika-P.*, Chap. 88, Vs. 13–15.) This is a most significant

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passage, because it clearly says that he who gives *dakṣiṇā* triple of what is enjoined, is looked upon as having performed three different Horse Sacrifices and consequently attains to the proportionate increase of merit.[1] May we not therefore infer that Pravarasena I and Mādhavavarman disbursed *dakṣiṇā* four times or eleven times more than that actually prescribed for the sacrifice and are therefore credited with having performed four or eleven Aśvamedhas respectively when, as a matter of fact, the ceremony was performed but once ?

In the historical times the Aśvamedhas are mentioned as being performed twice by Puṣyamitra (*E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 57), once by Pārāśarīputra Gājāyana Sarvatāta (*I.A.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203 ; *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 795), twice by Vediśrī Sātakraṇi (*Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60), ten times by the Bhāraśivas (*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 96), four times by Pravarasena I (*Ibid.*, p. 97), and only once by Samudragupta. Besides, we have the evidence of a seal that the same sacrifice was celebrated by one Viṣṇudeva (*J.R.A.S.*, 1893, p. 97) about 150 B.C. and the evidence of coins that it was performed by Kumāragupta I, grandson of Samudragupta (Allan's *Cat.*, pp. 68-69). Of these Samudragupta was the only prince that speaks of his sacrifice as *cir-otsann-āśvāmedh-āharttā*, 'the performer of the Aśvamedha that was for long in abeyance'. Is it a correct statement of the fact, or is it a mere empty boast ? That is the question which arises here. Fortunately for us his Allāhābād Pillar Inscription throws light upon this point. From this record it is clear that his might was felt not only in the north-west of India but also in many parts of South India. There is therefore every reason to suppose that his Aśvamedha was preceded by a *dig-vijaya* such as was no doubt the case in the Epic period. Whether such a *dig-vijaya* can be claimed by any one of the historical kings just mentioned before they celebrated their Horse Sacrifice is doubtful. It is true that some account of *vijaya*, if not of *dig-vijaya*, has been preserved for Puṣyamitra in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* drama of Kālidāsa. But here is mentioned just an encounter, with the Yavanas or Greeks on the Sindhu, of his army under his

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[1] In the *Śānti-P.* (Chap. XXIX, vs. 46-47 and 132) Bharata, son of Dushmanta, and the Ikshvāku king, Sagara, are reported to have performed a thousand Aśvamedhas each. No details are furnished about Sagara. But in regard to Bharata we are told that he dedicated 300 horses to the gods on the banks of the Yamunā, 20 on the Sarasvatī, and 14 on the Gaṅgā, that is to say, he immolated 334 sacrificial steeds. If an Aśvamedha can be trebled by trebling the *dakṣiṇā*, he acquires the merit of 334×3=1,002 Aśvamedhas. His celebration of a thousand Aśvamedhas can thus be easily explained. But it is very doubtful whether these numbers are anything but fabulous.

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grandson Vasumitra sent to escort his sacrificial steed. Whether, again, this Sindhu is the Indus or the Kālī Sindh is yet undecided. Anyhow there is no mention here of a regular *dig-vijaya* as was the case with Yudhiṣṭhira's army under Arjuna and as seems to be the case with Samudragupta whose expedition of conquest took him to the outlying parts of India. In regard to the others it is very doubtful whether in the case of Sātakarṇi his might extended much beyond South India, or in the case of the other kings except Kumāragupta, much beyond North India. All things considered, Samudragupta can alone very well claim to have celebrated an Aśvamedha of the Epic style which was in abeyance for long. Certainly it was not performed with such *eclát* by anybody except perhaps Puṣyamitra who, however, came into collision with one enemy on only one confine of his dominions and does not seem to have wielded sway over the whole of India as the Gupta Sovereign did.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

ART AS DEFINED IN THE BRĀHMAṆAS

Śilpa (Pāli Sippa) is the common Indian term to denote all arts and crafts, all creations that are striking and skilful,[1] all things demanding manual skill[2] and all branches of learning requiring intellectual instrumentality.[3] Thus all that go by the name of Divine artmanship (Devaśilpa), all that go by the name of Human artmanship (Mānuṣa-śilpa),[4] and all that go by the name of Industrial and Professional arts (Āgāriya-sippa)[5] are comprehended by one and the same term. Here the term Śilpa or Art is to be understood in the narrow sense of artmanship displayed in architecture, sculpture, and painting, and the point of inquiry is: How is this term, understood in this very sense, defined in the Brāhmaṇas?

The definition of Art as met with in the Brāhmaṇas is far from speaking well of the creative genius of Brahmanism, and the Brāh-

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[1] Sāyaṇa on Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, VI, 5. 1: *Śilpaśabdaś ca āścaryakaraṃ karma brūte . . . . Kauśalam.*

[2] Khuddakapāṭha-Commentary, Section bearing on the Maṅgala-Sutta: *Sippan ti yaṃ kiñci hattha-kosallaṃ—maṇikāra-suvaṇṇakāra-kammādi.*

[3] Sippa-sutta in the Udāna: *Gaṇana-sippaṃ, Saṅkhāna-sippaṃ, Lekhā-sippaṃ, Kāveyya-sippaṃ, Lokāyata-sippaṃ, Khattavijjā-sippaṃ.*

[4] Sāyaṇa on Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, VI, 5. 1: *Śilpaṃ, dvividham: Devaśilpaṃ Mānuṣa-śilpañ ceti.*

[5] Khuddakapāṭha-Commentary, Section on Maṅgala-sutta. Cf. Udāna-Commentary, Section on Sippa-Sutta: *Sippan ti laddhanāmaṃ yaṃ kiñci ājīvaṃ.*

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maṇas are the ancient authoritative texts in which the Brahmanist definition of Art is enunciated. In accordance with the famous dictum in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, III, 2. 1. 5,

Yad vai pratirūpaṃ tac chilpam :

'Whatever is facsimile is Art.'

The Pāli word corresponding to *pratirūpaṃ* is *patirūpaṃ*. In Pāli a clear distinction in meaning is made between *patirūpo* (masc.) and *patirūpaṃ* (neut.).[1] *Patirūpo* is that which is 'suitable, right, good, proper, e.g. *patirūpo desavāso*, and *patirūpaṃ* is that which is imitative, reproductive or counterfeit. Accordingly the Pāli word *patirūpako* means 'one bearing just the semblance', e.g. *paṇḍita-patirūpako*, 'a sham scholar'; *mittā-patirūpako*, '*one bearing the semblance of a friend*'.

The Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa, VI, 5. 1, sets forth the following definition of Art which may enable the reader to realize the underlying meaning of the Śatapatha dictum :

Śilpāni śaṃsanti devaśilpānyeteṣāṃ
vai śilpānāṃ anukṛtīha śilpam
adhigamyate. Hastī kaṃso vāso
hiraṇyam aśvatarī-rathaḥ śilpaṃ.
Śilpaṃ hāsminnadhigamyate ya
evaṃ veda yad eva Śilpāniṃ.
Ātmasaṃskṛtir vāva śilpāni.
Chandomayaṃ vā etair yajamāna
ātmānaṃ saṃskurute.

'They praise the creations of Art that are divine. Here Art [in the human sense] is understood as meaning an imitation[2] of those very creations of Art Divine. The figures of elephant,[3] the figurations in brass,[4] drapery and gold, and the mule-yoked-chariots[5] [made by human hand] are [examples of] Art [Human]. Art verily consists in these—he who knows this knows indeed the creations of Art. The fashioning of self is, to be sure, a work of Art. By this the devotee so fashions his self as to render it *Chandomaya*—rhythmical.'[6]

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[1] Childers' Dictionary, *sub voce*, *patirūpo* and *patirūpaṃ*.
[2] Sāyaṇa : *anukṛtiṃ sadṛśarūpam.*
[3] Sāyaṇa : *hastisadṛśam ākāram.*
[4] Sāyaṇa : *kaṃso darpaṇādi.*
[5] Sāyaṇa's interpretation is followed.
[6] Sāyaṇa : *Chandomayaṃ=vedamayaṃ.* The rendering of the passage as offered in the Translation of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa (Sacred Books of the Hindus Series) is a very poor show of Vedic scholarship.

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The definition of Art which is superficial at first sight leads to a point suggestive of its deeper meaning. The point is concerned with the 'fashioning of self' (*ātma-saṃskṛtiḥ*), the art of self-building. The question is of bringing a son into the world in a full-fledged form which is nothing but an art of reproducing one's own self as a separate individual who will stand out as a perfect model of bodily form and mental constitution, endowed with harmony and intelligence. The discussion of the subject in the concluding part of the chapter above referred to makes it clear that the fashioning of semen (*retaḥ*) as the seed of life is in the hands of the creative power of the Divine Being working in and through Nature, while the imparting of certain specific characters to it in its passage through the womb is possible on the part of the parents. The substance with potentialities or possible forms is given as a work of Art Divine and the methodical realization of those possibilities is the achievement of human skill and intelligence. The text of the Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa would have us understand that a purely æsthetic factor (e.g. the chanting of select hymns) may prove of a great psychical effect in producing the required artistic mood.

The definition implied is: Art consists in intelligent working up a desired form on a natural material, making manifest what is hidden or potential.

B. M. BARUA.

IDENTITY OF PIYADASI AND ASOKA

[*From Pali*]

Scholars have welcomed the discovery of the Maski copy of Asoka's Minor Rock Edict for the reason that the name *Asoka* occurs in it, setting at rest the controversy over the identification of *Piyadasi* of the inscriptions with *Asoka* of the Buddhist texts. They have at the same time regretted the lack of evidence from Buddhist literature bearing on the point. To me it is gratifying to be able to say that there is a Pali literary reference which embodies a clear tradition about the historical connection between the two names *Piyadasi* and *Asoka*. The Pali spelling of the name, of course, is *Piyadāso* (=*Piyadasso*, *Priyadarśaḥ*; cf. *ādāso*=*ādasso*, *ādarśaḥ*). The reference is to be found in Buddhaghosa's Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, Vol. II, pp. 613, 614. At p. 613, we read :—

Apara-bhāge Piyadāso nāma kumāro chattaṃ ussāpetvā Asoko nāma Dhammarājā hutvā so tā dhātuyo gahetvā Jambudīpe vitthārikā akāsi ;

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and at p. 614, we have this prediction :—

Anāgate Piyadāso nāma kumāro chattaṃ ussāpetvā Asoko nāma Dhammarājā bhavissati, so imā dhātuyo vitthārikā karissatī ti.

It is clear that *Piyadāso-Piyadasso* was the earlier name of Asoka before he ascended the throne and that *Asoka* was the name he assumed when he became king.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA.

INTERCESSION OF KINSMEN ON BEHALF OF CRIMINALS

[*From Asoka's Pillar Edict IV and the Milinda*]

With reference to the criminal sentenced to death, Asoka in his P.E. IV says that he had relaxed the rigour of the law to the extent of granting him a respite of three days, so that his relations might take steps for saving his life, *ñātakā va kāni nijhāpayisaṃti jīvitāye tānaṃ*. Here I am to point out three passages in the Milindapañha bearing on the subject. According to the first, *nijhāpayisaṃti* will mean in Pali *pasādessanti*, *khamāpessanti*, 'will appease', 'will win the pardon of'. The next reference will indicate that it was the practice on the part of influential relatives of the condemned criminal to intercede with the authorities on his behalf for the reduction of punishment. The third will show that the intercession could also be made out of pity by a person in royal favour.

1. Page 209.—Bhagavantaṃ pasādesuṃ khamāpesuṃ *nijjhattaṃ* akaṃsu.
2. Page 109.—Yathā mahārāja dhana-yasa-siri-ñāti-balena balavā puriso attano ñātiṃ vā mittaṃ vā raññā garudaṇḍaṃ dhārentaṃ attano bahuvissatthabhāvena samatthatāya garukaṃ daṇḍaṃ lahukaṃ kāreti, evam eva kho mahārāja Bhagavā . . . . . garukaṃ daṇḍaṃ lahukaṃ akāsi.
3. Page 110.—rājā evaṃ vadeyya : tena hi bhaṇe imaṃ coraṃ bahinagaraṃ nīharitvā āghātane sīsaṃ chindathā ti ; . . . . . tam enaṃ passeyya kocid eva puriso rañño santikā laddhavaro laddha-yasa-dhana-bhogo ādeyyavacano balavicchitakārī, so tassa kāruññaṃ katvā te purise evaṃ vadeyya : alaṃ bho, kiṃ tumhā-

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kaṃ imassa sīsacchedanena, tena hi bho imassa hatthaṃ vā pādaṃ vā chinditvā jīvitaṃ rakkhatha, ahaṃ etassa kāraṇā rañño santike paṭivacanaṃ karissāmī ti.

Interpreted in the light of these passages:—

(i) *ñātakā* in the inscription would broadly mean not only 'influential kinsmen', but also 'compassionate people, placed high and in royal favour';

(ii) *nijhāpayisaṃti* would signify not 'reviewing the case',[1] but 'interceding on behalf of the criminal, not only with the king but also with the royal agents (*kāni* nijhāpayisaṃti);

and (iii) the expression *jīvitāye tānaṃ* would imply rather 'the barest sparing of life and reduction of punishment' than 'release'.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA.

IDENTITY OF ASANDHIMITTĀ AND KĀLUVĀKI

[*Suggestion from Pāli*]

Asandhimittā finds mention in the Mahāvaṃsa as the second wife and the first queen consort of Dhammāsoka, Devī, the mother of Mahinda and Saṅghamittā, with whom he had made his connection while a viceroy at Ujjeni, being his first wife. Asandhimittā is said to have lived thirty years after his accession to the throne, and Tissarakkhā or Tissarakkhitā was offered the position of chief queen four years after the death of Asandhimittā.

Kāluvāki, on the other hand, finds mention in Asoka's so-called 'Queen's Edict' as his second wife (*dutiyā devī*) who deserved to be honoured as the 'mother of Tīvala' (*Tīvala-mātā*). There is a suggestion from Bühler, according to which *Kāluvāki* was a name derived from such a *gotra* name as *Kāravaya* or *Kāravaca*, met with in some of the later inscriptions. This may or may not have been so when it was inscribed by order of Asoka. So far as the meaning goes, there is no difference between *Kāluvāki* and *Kāravāci* (from *Kāravaca*), as both mean 'one of charming speech'.

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[1] The suggestion of the meaning 'will make the authorities reconsider' is due to Dr. Lüders. Dr. B. M. Barua interprets the term in the light of the Pali explanation: '*sakkhīhi attano niraparādhabhāvaṃ pakāsetvā pasādetvā*'.—*Editor.*

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Buddhaghosa in his Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, II, relates an episode of Asandhimittā and Dhammāsoka. In it she is simply called *devī*, wife or queen of Dhammāsoka [1] and not *aggamahesī*, chief-queen. She enquired of the king if there was any creature, the voice of which might be taken as exemplification of the voice of a Buddha. The reply was that the desired creature was no other than the bird Karavikā or Kalaviṅkā of the Himalayan region. She had a Karavikā of clear and sweet voice brought for her and was deeply charmed by the demonstration successfully made in her presence. In this legend of Asandhimittā's fondness for the bird Karavikā there seems to lurk a suggestion about the identity of Asandhimittā of Buddhist literature with Kāluvāki of Asoka's inscription.

B. M. BARUA.

DID ASOKA BECOME A BHIKKHU?

[*Sidelights from the Milinda*]

Asoka in his Minor Rock Edict speaks of two stages of interest he felt in Buddhism. He says that in the first one year while he was a mere upāsaka, he did not exert himself strenuously. But subsequently when for one year or more he made some sort of connection with the Samgha he strenuously exerted himself. In describing his connection with the Samgha he used an expression—'yaṁ mayā Samghe upayīte (Samghaṁ upagate)' which has been interpreted differently by Asokan scholars. According to one interpretation he was not formally ordained as a member of the Samgha but just became a bhikkhugatika (bhikkhu-like), and according to another interpretation he assumed the robes of a monk retiring temporarily from the world. Here I am concerned to examine a passage (pp. 90-91) in the Milinda which seems to throw some light on the point. The course of controversies between Milinda and Nāgasena indicates two stages in the growth of Milinda's faith in Buddhism. In the first stage he entered the arena of discussion as a capable disputant while in the second stage he became eager to proceed as an ardent believer in Buddhism with solicitude for the future safety of the good faith. As preparatory to the Meṇḍaka questions it is said that king Milinda put off his

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[1] *Asandhimittā Dhammāsokassa devī.*

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royal garments and put on yellow robes and had his head clean shaven and fulfilled the eight moral conditions, having assumed the state of a muni (munibhāvaṁ upagantvā) for a week. During seven days he abstained from all his royal duties.

Here the expression used to denote the king's temporary religious state is 'munibhāvaṁ upagantvā'. To enter on this state he had to dispense with his royal dress and had to assume the garb of a recluse and shaveling. There is no indication at all that he was formally initiated or ordained by anybody. Whatever he did, he did of his own accord.

If this has any bearing on Asoka's expression 'Saṁghaṁ upagate', we have to understand that king Asoka too was not formally initiated or ordained but he assumed the condition of a member of the Saṁgha on his own initiative.

B. C. LAW.

NATIONAL SHRINES OF THE VṚJIS

Buddha was highly impressed by the charming view of Vesālī (Vaiśālī) adorned, within and without, with six *cetiyas* (*caityas*), all of which were the time-honoured national shrines of the Vajjis (Vṛji-Licchavis). The following is the remarkable utterance of Buddha regarding Vesālī and its six shrines :—

'Vesālī is beautiful and beautiful are the Udena, Gotamaka, Sattambaka,[1] Bahuputta,[2] Sārandada and Cāpāla[3] Cetiyas.'[4]

Four of these shrines stood as landmarks on four sides of the Vṛji capital, the Udena on the east side, the Gotamaka on the south, the Sattambaka on the west, and the Bahuputta on the north.[5] If these were the four shrines situated 'without' (bahiddhā), i.e. in the outer zone of the great city, the remaining two, viz. the Sārandada and the Cāpāla (? Pāvāla), must have been situated 'within' (*abbhantarā*), i.e. in the inner zone.

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[1] Also spelt *Sattamba* (=*Saptāmba* or *Saptāmra* in the alternative).

[2] Also spelt *Bahuputtaka* (=*Bahuputra*).

[3] Spelt *Pāvāla* (?=*Pravāla*) in the Siamese edition of the Udāna-Commentary.

[4] Dīgha-Nikāya, II, p. 102; Udāna, VI, 1: *Ramaṇīyā Vesālī, ramaṇīyaṃ Udenaṃ cetiyaṃ, . . . ramaṇīyaṃ Cāpālaṃ cetiyaṃ.* Translation by T. W. Rhys Davids, quoted in B. C. Law's *Note on Cetiya.* See Geography of Early Buddhism, p. 74.

[5] Dīgha-Nikāya, III, pp. 9-10, quoted in B. C. Law's Note on Cetiya, p. 76, f.n. 6.

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As for the national importance of these age-old shrines to the Vṛjis of Vaiśālī, attention of the reader may be drawn to the Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta, Chapter I, containing the following significant passage in which Buddha laying down the seven essential conditions of national welfare of the Vṛjis, declared :—

'So long as the Vajjis will honour, extol, revere and worship whatever (national) shrines of theirs be, within and without, and will not allow the grants and practices current heretofore to fall into dissuetude, so long they may be expected to prosper and not to decline.' [1]

Now, what were these shrines of so much national importance to the Vṛjis ? According to the Pāli scholiasts, Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, the Udena-cetiya was formerly the dwelling place of the Yakkha named Udena, the Gotamaka, that of the Yakkha named Gotama, and the Cāpāla or Pāvāla, that of the Yakkha named Cāpāla or Pāvāla. The name of the Sattamba-cetiya is explained as having originated from the Seven Virgins (*Sattambā*), all daughters of the king of Kāsī, who hallowed the site by their earnest meditation. The name may, however, be explained as denoting a sacred site marked by a grove of seven mango-trees.

The Bahuputta-cetiya was, according to the Pāli scholiasts, the dwelling place of a *devatā* (benevolent spirit) who, being propitiated, could grant the boon of many sons. The sanctuary was, after all, a spreading banyan tree with many shoots, symbolical of a man's increase in family.[2]

Lastly, the Sārandada-cetiya was, according to them, the dwelling place of Sārandada Yakkha who had the power to grant wealth to the worshipper. The shrine was venerated indeed by the Vṛji-Licchavis for obtaining rare gems and precious jewels as a boon granted by its presiding deity.[3]

The commentators point out that the six sites became sacred in the eye of the local people as they were believed to have been favoured with the presence of divinities (devatā-pariggahitāni). It is not enough to suggest with Dr. B. C. Law that these *cetiyas* appear to have been *vihāras* or Buddhist monasteries. For the Pāli commentators expressly say that although on the sites of these age-old popular shrines were subsequently built *vihāras*,

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[1] *Yāvajīvañ ca Vajjī yāni tāni Vajjīnaṃ Vajjicetiyāni, abbhantarāni c'eva bāhirāni ca, tāni sakkarissanti garukarissanti mānessanti pūjessanti tesañ ca dinnapubbaṃ katapubbaṃ dhammikaṃ bahiṃ no parihāpessanti, vuḍḍhi yeva Vajjīnaṃ, pātikaṅkhā no parihāni.*

[2] *Bahuputtan ti bahupāroho eko nigrodharukkho tasmiṃ adhivatthaṃ devataṃ bahumanussā putte patthenti, tad upādāya taṃ ṭhānaṃ Bahuputta-cetiyan ti paññāyittha.*

[3] Aṅguttara-Nikāya, III, p. 167 ; Law's Note, p. 76.

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the *vihāras* themselves continued to be known by the name of the earlier shrines, according to current usage (*rūḷhiya*).[1]

The Dhammapada-Commentary mentions the Udena and Gotamaka cetiyas as examples of Tree-shrines (*rukkha-cetiyāni*).[2] The Divyāvadāna (p. 201) uses *Gautamanyagrodha-caitya* as the name for the Pāli Gotama or Gotamaka-cetiya, which leads us to take this particular shrine to have a banyan tree, believed to have been the abode of Udena Yakkha, as the main object of worship.[3] According to Buddhaghosa and Dhammapāla, a spreading banyan tree with many shoots was the centre of interest as regards the Bahuputta shrine. Similarly, the name of the Sattamba shrine is suggestive of a group of seven mango-trees as the centre of interest. But as pointed out in the preceding note, in speaking of these shrines we are not to think of the venerated trees only, apart from some structure of art and architecture, an enclosed terrace at the foot, and, in some instances, a temple near by, the trees themselves standing as natural landmarks of the sacred sites.

B. M. BARUA.

ESTIMATION OF THE PEOPLE OF ORISSA

Uḍe (a man of Oḍra or Orissa) is a term in use among the modern people of Bengal, and it means a person who speaks an unintelligible jargon. An expression is met with in the Pāli Mahācattārīsa-Sutta (Majjhima-Nikāya, III, p. 7) conveying the same meaning. It is *Okkalavassabhaññā*, variant—*Ukkalavassabhaññā*. Following the authority of Buddhaghosa the editor working for the Pali Text Society has adopted as correct reading—*Okkalā Vassa-Bhaññā*, intending to mean by *Okkalā* 'men of Utkala country' (*Okkala-janapada-vāsino*), and by *Vassa-Bhaññā* two men named Vassa and Bhaññā (*Vasso ca Bhaññā cāti dve janā*). Thus Buddhaghosa has misled the learned editor. The term is *Okkalavassabhaññā*, 'those speaking the jargon of Utkala country'. In the particular context the *aññatitthiyā* or teachers of other schools of

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[1] Udāna-Commentary on Udāna, VI, 1: *Iti sabbān' ev'etāni Buddhuppādato pubbe devatā-pariggahitāni cetiya-vohārena voharitāni. Bhagavato vihāre kate pi tath'-eva sañjānanti.* Also: *Tattha Bhagavato katavihāro pi tāya rūlhiyā Cāpāla-cetiyan ti vuccanti.*

[2] Dhammapada-Commentary, III, p. 246; Law's Note, p. 76.

[3] B. C. Law in his Note, p. 74, simply mentions the reference in the Divyāvadāna without indicating its bearing on the Pāli name.

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thought are likened to *Okkalavassabhaññā* (=*Utkalavarṣa-bhāṇayaḥ*) : *Ye pi te ahesuṃ Okkalavassabhaññā ahetuvādā akiriyavādā natthikavādā.* For *bhaññā*, cf. Udāna, Soṇa-Sutta :

Āyasmā Soṇo . . . sabbān'eva sarena
abhaṇi . . . . sarabhaññā-pariyosāne.

NOTE ON TWO JAIN IMAGES FROM SOUTH INDIA

While looking through old numbers of the 'Rupam' I have come across an article entitled 'Notes on two Jain Metal Images' appearing at p. 48 of No. 17 (Jan., 1924) by Mr. Hadway. After examining the figures in the accompanying plates and perusing the text, I find that the identification of fig. I, is erroneous as well as there are some mistakes in deciphering the inscription at the back of fig. II. As 'Rupam' is now discontinued, I think the following note may be of interest to some readers of your esteemed Journal.

FIGURE I

This image from Southern India with Kanarese inscription at the back is identified as that of Mahāvīra. This is wrong. It is an image of Pārshvanātha, the 23rd, and not of Mahāvīra the 24th Tīrthamkara. While describing, the learned writer rightly identifies the two side figures as those of Dharanendra and Padmāvati who are the guardian deities of Tīrthamkara Pārshvanāth, but those of Mahāvīra are known as Mātanga and Siddhāyikā.

As regards other details, the posture of the main image is described as Padmāsana, the hands being in Yoga Mudrā. But the image is in Ardhapadmāsana Mudrā, which includes the position of both the hands and feet and body as represented in the figure.

The writer has noticed the cobra-hood prominent in the figure, which is peculiar to the images of Pārshvanātha alone, his emblem being serpent. The cognizance of Mahāvīra is lion, but lions on the pedestal of the image are those of the throne or simhāsana on which the Jina is represented standing. Other figures under the seat are not distinct in the plate.

Now regarding the translation of the inscription on the image I am not conversant with old Kanarese and leave the task to others better acquainted with the script to determine its Swetāmbara or Digambara character.

The test of nudity alone is a very misleading factor of identification in fixing the Digambari character of an image specially if it is

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of very early origin, for early images, in case of both the sects, do not bear any signs of cloth. We come across ancient nude images of both the sects with signs of male organs especially in case of standing images. But of those consecrated later, only the Digambara images had and still have male organs exhibited, the Svetāmbaris discontinuing the practice even up till now. But it is not possible from the plate to determine the Svetāmbara or Digambara character of the image. I think there will be no difficulty in the matter if the inscription is correctly read and deciphered.

FIGURE II

Regarding the description of Ambikā Devī, there is nothing doubtful. From the date of the inscription at the back of the image, we find that it was consecrated in the V.S. 1519 but the translation by Rai Bahadur H. Kriṣṇa Shāstrī is rather erroneous owing to incorrect reading of the inscription which is in Jaina script.

The inscription runs thus round the back of the figure and should be translated as follows :—

(*Text.*)

सं० १५१९ वैशाख व० ११ शुक्रे ओसवाल ज्ञातीय नाहटा सा० श्रीधर्म्मचांद्राभ्यां श्री अबिका मूर्त्ति कारिताः ।

(*Translation.*)

In V.S. 1519 on Friday the eleventh day of the new-moon of Vaisākha the two sons of Nahata Shah Śrī Dharma Candra belonging to Oswala family caused the image of Śrī Ambikā Devī to be installed.

P. C. NAHAR.

THREE BASKETS OF KNOWLEDGE AMONGST THE MAORIS

The extension of Hindu-Buddhist influences eastwards into the Pacific have been traced up to Java and little eastwards; in fact, it does not cross the famous Wallace Line of the biologists east of Borneo. But Polynesian scholars studying the ethnology of the islands of the farthest eastern regions of the Pacific have come to the conclusion that most of the Polynesian cultural origins

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lie back somewhere on the banks of the Ganges, as Percy Smith [1] held or in the land of their forefathers in the traditional Aria-te-varingi-nui or Irihia which E. Best [2] identified with India. In fact, this greatest authority of Maori culture welcomed me in New Zealand with his autograph portrait as coming from Maori fatherland. In a recent paper Dr. E. S. C. Handy who took me to Polynesia to investigate the Indian cultural traits there summarised the 'cultural attributes which are Brahmanical and others which clearly point to Buddhism'.[3] In his classic work on Polynesian religion he had pointed out how 'the old Polynesians resembled the Vedic worshippers and their Hindu descendants'.[4]

One of the most fruitful sources of Maori antiquity is the Lore of the Whare Wannaga or teachings of the Maori college. In its first part we have the things celestial 'Te Kauwæ-runga' edited and translated by Percy Smith. The Maoris had an elaborate system of teaching which consisted of *Karakias* recited with special training and importance attached to accentuation for their effectiveness as in the case of the Vedic hymns.

Now we have curiously enough the division of knowledge amongst them into three baskets of knowledge brought from heaven to earth by their god Tane from their supreme god Io-matua in the twelfth heaven. The names of these three 'kete' or baskets are as follows [5] :—

(1) *Kete-uruuru-matua* dealing with peace, all goodness and love.

(2) *Kete-uruuru-rangi* (or *tipua*) consisting of all prayers, incantations and rituals used by mankind.

(3) *Kete-uruuru-tau* (or *tawhito*) about the wars of mankind, agriculture, tree or wood-work, stone-work, earth-work of all things that tend to the well-being, life of whatsoever kind.

These three *kete* or baskets were the three great divisions of knowledge taught in the Maori college, and each *kete* may be called a syllabus which it approaches.

Now this division into three compartments of knowledge may be shared by Hindus and Buddhists in India, there being tendencies amongst the former to speak of *Traividyá* of the three Vedas; but

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[1] Percy Smith—*Hawaiki*, Christ Church, 1910.

[2] E. Best—*Polynesian Voyagers*, Dominion Museum Monograph No. 5; *Irihiax, the homeland of the Polynesians* (Journ. of Polynesian Society Vol. 36, No. 4, pp. 330–5).

[3] E. S. Craighill Handy—*The Problem of Polynesian Origins* (B. P. Bishop, Mus. Occas. Paper, Vol. IX, No. 8, p. 15).

[4] E. S. Craighill Handy—*Polynesian Religion* (Honolulu, 1927, p. 317).

[5] *Memoirs of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. III, p. 130.

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it is in Buddhist tradition, and outside Buddhist dominion only amongst the Maoris, that we get the three baskets, *piṭaka* or *kete* of knowledge. The subject-matter of the Buddhist divisions *Vinaya*, *Sutta* and *Abhidhamma* offer also close parallelisms to the Maori traditional division. That this was the earliest Buddhist subdivision is very likely, for it was the original division in the Northern and the Southern schools as well. "L'eglise du nord de l'Inde avait d'abord, pourses livres canoniques, canserve', comme le fait encore l'eglise du Sud, la division originelle en 'Trois Corbeilles'".[1]

If as is now being generally accepted on a mass of evidence that the Polynesians migrated from India *via* Java, it is possible that Buddhist elements travelled from Indonesia to Polynesia. On the other hand, if the Polynesians had left India and Java very early, we have here the likely vestiges of a division of knowledge in three baskets in pre-Gautamic-Buddhism in India when basketry was very important and pottery had not yet been invented—the Polynesians not now possessing pottery. Buddhism thus in Eastern India would have merely taken over the traditional division into three baskets from earlier Buddhas which would have been there since a pre-historic past when as amongst the Polynesians navigation over thousands of miles was the order of the day, but metals or pottery had been unknown. As we can recover from Indonesia many elements of Indian culture which have been lost or overlaid in the main land owing to subsequent superposition, so still earlier elements which have been superposed in Java are sometimes recoverable in the still more eastern islands of Melanesia and Polynesia as has been pointed out by Rivers.

P. MITRA.

IMPORTANCE OF THE BHĀBRŪ EDICT

The historical importance of Asoka's Bhābrū (or Bairat No. 2) Edict has been discussed by many scholars. This is in the first place the only Edict which is found inscribed on a sīlāphalaka (stone-slab) [2]; secondly, this is the edict which conclusively proves the Buddhist faith of Asoka,[3] and thirdly, this is the solitary record in which Asoka has expressly recommended seven selections from a

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[1] Main Galland—*La vie du Buddha et les doctrines Bouddhiques* (Paris, 1931), p. 165.

[2] Cf. PE. 7 : '*iyaṁ dhaṁma-libi ata athi sīlā-thaṁbhāni vā sīlā phalakānivā tata kaṭaviyā ena esa cila-ṭhiti ke siyā.*'

[3] *Vide* B. M. Barua's Religion of Asoka (M.B.S. publication, Calcutta).

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collection of Buddha's words which was then known to him. The relevant portion of the text by which Asoka introduced the selections is as follows :—

'E Keci bhaṁte bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite sarve se subhāsite vā cu ekho bhaṁte hamiyāye diseyā hevaṁ sadhamme cilaṭhitīke hosatīti alahāmi hakaṁ taṁ vātave imāni bhaṁte dhaṁmapaliyāyāni Vinayasamukase Aliyavasāni Anāgatabhayāni Muni-gāthā Moneya-sūte Upatisapasine e cā Lāghulovāde musāvādaṁ adhigicya bhagavatā Budhena bhāsite [.] Etāni bhaṁte dhaṁma-paliyāyāni icchāmi kimti bahuke bhikhupāye cā bhikkhuniye cā abhikhinaṁ suneyu cā upadhālayeyū cā hevaṁ meva upasakā cā upasikā cā [.] Etenā bhaṁte imaṁ likhāpayāmi abhipretaṁ me janaṁtūti.'

'All that, venerable sirs, is said by Buddha the gifted Master is well-said indeed. If I were to point out any, (thinking)—"Thus verily the good faith will be long-enduring", I would consider it worth mentioning, venerable sirs, these discourses on the law :—

(1) Vinayasamukase (Vinaya-samukaṁso).
(2) Aliyavasāni (Ariyavāsā).
(3) Anāgatabhayāni (Anāgatabhayāni).
(4) Munigāthā (Munigāthā).
(5) Moneyasūte (Moneyya-sutta).
(6) Upatisa-pasine (Upatissapañho).
(7) Lāghulovāde musāvādaṁ adhigicya bhagavatā budhena bhāsite (Lāhulovādo—musāvādaṁ adhikicca Bhagavatā Buddhena bhāsito).

These, venerable sirs, are the discourses on the law which I wish that many bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇis should constantly hearken to and bear in mind and so also should the upāsakas and the upāsikās do the same. Venerable sirs, I cause this to be recorded in order to make my intention known.'

The above statement of Asoka hardly leaves any room for doubt that there was in his time a well known and authoritative collection of Buddha's teachings called Dhammapariyāyas. But it certainly keeps us in the dark whether that collection had any well-defined divisions justifying the application of such an appellation as Tripiṭaka or Pañcanikāya. Further, it is to be noted that Asoka adopted his own titles in most of the instances and followed a Prakrit spelling of the names in preference to that of the language in which the collection within his access was prevalent.

It is easy to raise a presumption against Pali being the language of the pre-Asokan collection of Buddha's words on the ground of

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Asoka's use of spelling of the titles of the select passages. This presumption cannot, however, prove any case against the earlier development of Pali idiom. The following argument may be sufficient to expose the unsoundness of the presumption as a proof against the antiquity of Pali. In the Pali Commentaries of the 5th century A.D. the sūtras of Pāṇini have been quoted not in Sanskrit but in Pali. The presumption may be that the rules of Pāṇini were not formulated in Sanskrit before the time of Buddhaghosa and other Pali commentators, which is absurd and historically incorrect. As the case stands, Asoka was not bound by any rule either to adopt the titles of the Suttas as these are found in the extant Pali Canon or to retain the Pali spelling if it was then current. Asoka was at liberty to translate or to suggest titles in *Sakanirutti*.[1]

The formal mode of addressing the Saṁgha and of making the members of the Order assured of Asoka's faith in the Triad, the expression of veneration for the words of Buddha, the statement of the purpose of the selections and the general wording of the Edict go rather to support a presumption in favour of the antiquity of Pali than against it. I shall cite below a few interesting parallels from the Pali Canon to make the point clear :—

(i) Bhābrū :—Priyadasi lājā Māgadhe saṁghaṁ abhivādetūnaṁ āhā apābādhataṁ ca phāsu-vihālataṁ cā.

Dīgha Nikāya, II, p. 72 :—Rājā bhante Māgadho Ajātasattu Vedehiputto Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati, appābādhaṁ, appātaṅkam lahuṭṭhānaṁ balaṁ phāsu vihāraṁ pucchatīti.[2]

(ii) Bhābrū :—e keci bhaṁte bhagavatā budhena bhāsite sarve se subhāsite vā.

Majjhima-Nikāya, I., p. 219.	Sabbesaṁ vo Sāriputta subhāsitaṁ pariyāyena
Sutta-Nipāta, Subhāsita-sutta.	Catūhi bhikkhave aṅgehi samannāgatā vācā subhasitā hoti na dubbhāsitā, anavajjā ca ananuvajjā ca viññūnaṁ.
Sutta-Nipāta, Commentary, p. 396.	Subhāsitā hotīti suṭṭhu bhāsitā ten, assā atthāvahanataṁ dīpeti.
(iii) Bhābru ..	'Hevaṁ sadhamme cila-ṭhitike hosatī ti . . . . etāni bhaṁte dhamma-paliyāyāni icchāmi kiṁti bahuke bhikhupāye cā bhikhuniye cā abhikhinaṁ suneyu cā upadhālayeyū cā.

[1] *Vide* B. C. Law, History of Pāli Literature, Introduction, p. xiv.
[2] Quoted by B. M. Barua, J.R.A.S., 1915.

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Majjhima-Nikāya, I., p. 129, Kakacūpama Sutta.	Imaṁ ca tumhe bhikkhave kakacūpamaṁ ovādaṁ abhikkhaṇaṁ manasikareyyātha, passatha no tumhe bhikkhave taṁ vacanapathaṁ anuṁ vā thūlaṁ vā yam tumhe nādhivāseyyāthāti.[1] No h' etaṁ bhante—Tasmātiha bhikkhave imaṁ kakacūpamaṁ ovādaṁ abhikkhaṇaṁ manasikarotha, taṁ vo bhavissati dīgharattaṁ hitāya sukhāyāti.

It will be seen that Asoka has made use of the earlier nomenclature *Dhammapaliyāya* (Dhammapariyāya) which is frequently met with in the suttas of the Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas.

The term Dhammapariyāya as explained by Buddhaghosa means a logical form of discourse on the law.[2]

B. C. LAW.

EDITIO PRINCEPS OF THE COMMENTARY OF VEṄKAṬA MĀDHAVA ON THE NIRUKTA

In his commentary on the Ṛgveda (X, 86. 1), Sāyaṇācārya quotes one Mādhava Bhaṭṭa. The passage is the following :—

माधवभट्टास्तु विहि सोतोरित्येषर्गिन्द्राण्या वाक्यमिति मन्यन्ते। तथा च तद्वचनम्।

इन्द्राण्यै कल्पितं हविः कश्चिन्मृगोऽदूदुषत्। इन्द्रपुत्रस्य वृषाकपेर्विषये वर्तमानः। .....

The commentary of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava on the same stanza of the hymn is the following :—

विहि सोतो :—

इन्द्राण्यै कल्पितं हविः कश्चिन्मृगोऽदूदुषत्। इन्द्रपुत्रस्य वृषाकपेर्विषये वर्तमानः। .....

A comparison of the two passages leads one to the conclusion that Mādhava Bhaṭṭa mentioned by Sāyaṇa is the Mādhava, son of Veṅkaṭa. His commentary is therefore earlier than that of Sāyaṇācārya. The latter is very much indebted to the former.

This will also prove that Sāyaṇācārya is not the only commentator of the Ṛgveda after Yāska as is commonly believed by European scholars. In this connection, we may quote the following

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[1] Credit goes to Mr. S. N. Mitra, M.A., for finding out this parallel from Pali.

[2] Papañcasūdanī, p. 18 '*Sabbadhammamūlapariyāyanti sabbesaṁ dhammānaṁ kāraṇadesanam*'.

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remarks from the Introduction to the Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, p. 78 :—

'It will be clear from this Saṅgraha of Nirukta-passages, preserved as quotations, in the works of various commentators from the sixth to the fourteenth centuries A.D. that Yāska has profoundly influenced all subsequent writers in the field of Vedic exegesis. It will also show that there have been numerous pre-Sāyaṇa commentators of the Ṛgveda and other Vedas and an unbroken, uniform, and continuous tradition of Vedic interpretation has been a common inheritance of orthodox scholars. The current belief that Sāyaṇa is the only or the most important commentator after Yāska or that the tradition of Vedic interpretation was lost before the former's time is erroneous.' These remarks were quoted with approval by Shriyut P. Vidhushekhara Bhattacārya of Shantiniketana in his presidential address at the Vedic Section of the Patna All-India Oriental Conference.

Dr. A. C. Woolner remarks in his Foreword to the Commentary of Skandasvāmin on the Nirukta, edited for the first time by Dr. Lakshman Sarup : 'In this connection, Mādhava, son of Veṅkaṭa, was introduced to the public for the first time—and intimation was given of the fact—that Sāyaṇa was not the first commentator on the Ṛgveda after Yāska as used to be supposed'. From the above remarks it will be clear that publication of the commentary of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava will be an important contribution to Vedic exegesis.

The richest MSS. material exists at Lahore. As a matter of fact, the only complete and original palm-leaf manuscripts have been secured by the Lahore Libraries. A critical edition of the complete commentary of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava is undertaken by me, Professor of Sanskrit Literature, Lahore. Collation of MSS. has already begun. The whole commentary is expected to be completed within the next four years.

The publication of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava's commentary will produce important and far-reaching results. A good deal of credit which is now given to Sāyaṇācārya will disappear. Just as Kullūka, the commentator of Manu, lost much of the credit on the publication of Medhātithi's commentary, so Veṅkaṭa Mādhava's commentary will show that Sāyaṇa has merely preserved the explanation of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava and that his comment is not his own individual interpretation but the common and the traditional exegesis for which he is indebted to Veṅkaṭa Mādhava.

Thus the publication of Veṅkaṭa Mādhava's commentary on the Ṛgveda is a necessity for the Indological studies.

LAKSHMAN SARUP.

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REVIEWS

Ajanta: The Colour and Monochrome Reproductions of the Ajanta Frescoes based on Photography. With an Explanatory Text by G. Yazdani, M.A., and an Appendix on Inscriptions by John Allan. Part II: Plates I–XLIX and Text pp. 1–70. Published under the Special Authority of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. By Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, London, 1933.

In January 1910 when I first visited the Ajanta Caves I was gratified to find that the Nizam's Government had already begun to conserve these priceless monuments of Ancient India. Most of the Caves had already been cleaned and kept neat and tidy with a custodian in charge of them. Even then it was possible to examine the Caves as closely and minutely as possible. There was hardly any accumulation of debris in any part of any Cave. There was no obnoxious smell present in any Cave. And there was hardly any Cave or any part thereof which was inaccessible owing to the crumbling of the walls or of the roof. And no visitor, whether he was an archæologist or a layman, went away from the place without a feeling of delight and a sense of having profited by an inspection of these monuments. There was, however, one thing wanting in the Caves for which the visitor felt very acutely. It was the condition of the paintings with which the Caves were decorated and for which Ajanta has rightly acquired a world-wide reputation. That was not, however, the fault of the Hyderabad Durbar. The Caves had so long been occupied by the apathetic Jogis and Faqirs that the frescoes had suffered considerably by the smoke and heat of the fires lit by them, with the consequence that the original colours perished in many places. Much damage was also done by birds and inclement weather. Nevertheless, the Hyderabad State have in recent years spared no pains, what with consultation with Italian experts and what with modern scientific processes, to arrest the further disintegration of the frescoes and also to renovate them as far as reasonable. Thus the only thing that was sadly lacking in 1910 in regard to the Ajanta Caves has now been thoroughly attended to, and the frescoes have now received a treatment at the hands of the Hyderabad Durbar which it is impossible for any civilized government of the modern day to surpass.

But this is not considered enough by the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam. They are now flinging surprises, (agreeable, of course), upon the civilized world by issuing two Parts describing Ajanta Caves, Nos. I and II. The subject of this review, however, is Part II which describes Cave No. II. And it is no exaggeration to say that it is well-nigh impossible to find any serious fault in it, whether with the Text or with the Plates. The Text consists of a description of the Cave by Mr. G. Yazdani, Director of Archæology, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions, and an Appendix on Inscriptions by Mr. John Allan of the British Museum. The description is both informative and instructive and is so written that nowhere it causes the feeling of irksomeness. The Note on the Inscriptions of Cave II by Mr. Allan is lucid and thoughtful, and leaves hardly anything to be desired. As regards the illustrations, there are eighteen coloured and thirty monochrome plates of the paintings, which are most faithful reproductions of the originals and will now surely help the intensive study of the frescoes which have suffered so long from unreliable copies. In short, this work has been done so well that scholars are looking forward to the other Parts of Ajanta most anxiously. We, however, fervently hope that there will be one publication financed by the

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State which will clearly show what position the Ajanta Caves occupy in the development of architecture, and, above all, what part the frescoes play in the pictorial art of Ancient India.

It is worthy of note that the Ajanta Caves and the frescoes are outstanding monuments of pre-Mussalman Hindu culture, and yet money is being expended in a most unstinted manner not only on their adequate and effective upkeep and conservation but also upon their critical and scientific publication and illustration by a Muslim State, whose ruler is of Turkoman descent, whose Finance Minister a Gujarati, and whose Director of Archæology, a Panjabi Mussalman. May this noble Trinity preside long over the Native State for the good of Indian Archæology in general and of Hindu Art in particular!

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

Early History of Kamrupa (from the earliest time to the end of the sixteenth century), by Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur, B.L. Published by the author, Shillong, 1933, pp. XVI–342.

The book under review aims at presenting a connected history of the ancient kingdom, known as Prāgjyotisha and Kāmarūpa, from the earliest times till the death of the Koch king Nārāyaṇa towards the end of the sixteenth century A.D. Sir Edward Gait's History of Assam, though a very good work of the later history of Kāmarūpa, has not paid much attention to the early period. The necessity, therefore, of a fuller treatment of the pre-Ahom history of Assam was strongly felt. We are glad that special attention in this direction has recently been paid by three Indian scholars,—first by Prāchyavidyā-Mahārṇava N. N. Vasu in *the Social History of Kāmarūpa*, Vols. 1–3; second by MM. Padmanath Vidyavinod in his *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvali* (in Bengali), and third by Rai Bahadur Barua in the book under review.

In the first chapter, entitled Prāgjyotisha, the author has discussed in detail the geography of the old kingdom of Prāgjyotisha or Kāmarūpa. Chapters II–VI deal with the history of Assam from the pre-historic period up to the time of the dynasty of Brahmapāla. Chapter VII is 'A Review of Cultural and Material Progress' of the country in the period ending with Brahmapāla's line. In chapters VIII–XIII, we have the history of the later kings of Kāmarūpa, the Muhammadan invasions, the kings of Kāmatā, the Chutia and Bhūān rulers and the early Koch kings. In the last two chapters has been discussed the history of the Vaiṣṇava reformation in Assam and the growth of the Assamese literature. Lastly come the four appendices and the index.

The work under review is on the whole a meritorious production; and we have read it, especially the latter half of it, with much pleasure and profit. It must, however, be confessed that the materials for the early period of the history of this province are still scanty, and some of his views are thus bound to be more or less conjectural. There are thus some points connected with this early period which are open to difference of opinion. Some of these we will now notice here.

Relying on Map No. 5 in the Cambridge History of India, the Rai Bahadur thinks it a 'mistake to associate the Puṇḍras with the stretch of country which came to be known as Puṇḍravardhana in the Gupta period' (p. 3). Cunningham however had long ago identified it with Mahāsthāna of the Bogra district on the evidence of the Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang. The Cambridge History has adduced no reason whatever to set aside this identification. That Cunningham was right is now shown by the discovery of a Mahāsthān inscription of the Mauryan age, which gives *Puḍa-nagala* (Puṇḍra-nagara) as the old name of the place. There was thus a Puṇḍra country in North Bengal long before the time of the Guptas (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, p. 83 ff.).

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We fail to understand how the Malla capital Kusinārā could be called in the 6th century B.C. 'a town in Kāmarūpa', because 'Purnea was in ancient times included within Prāgjyotisha' (p. 153). Similarly, the reference to Harshavarmadeva in a Nepal inscription as *Gauḍ-Oḍrādi-Kaliṅga-Kosalapati* may not be 'an instance of poetic exaggeration', but the author of the book perhaps goes a little too far when he says that Harsha's empire comprised all the three present provinces of Assam, Bengal, and Bihar and Orissa with the eastern part of U.P. and the northern part of Madras (p. 113). Vākpati's *Gauḍa-vaho*, however, makes no mention of Kāmarūpa, or its king. Nor do the Gaṅga inscriptions, issued from Kaliṅganagara in the middle of the 8th century, show that Harsha of Kāmarūpa had any direct control over Gauḍa, Magadha, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga. Nominal allegiance for a time only may have been shown to him severally by these rulers. In this connection we may draw the Rai Bahadur's attention to the fact that Prof. Levi's theory about the starting point of the 'Nepal Era' has been ably controverted by Kielhorn (E.I., Vol. V).

In ancient times, North Bengal no doubt sometimes formed part of the kingdom of Prāgjyotisha; but the author perhaps goes a little too far when he says that the Nidhanpur charter which was issued by Bhāskaravarman, ruler of Prāgjyotisha, granted lands in the present Purnea District of Bihar (p. 51). The lands granted, we are told, were in the Chandrapurī-vishaya and on the bank of the river Kauśikā. It is natural to take Kauśikā to be the same as the present Kausiyārā in the Sylhet District, and, further, as may be seen from the maps, there are even to-day no less than three places of the name of Chandrapura in its vicinity. It is true that an inscription of Vanamālavarman refers to a place called Chandrapari (or Chandrapurī), which lay to the west of the river Teesta (*Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali*, p. 64). But there is nothing to show that this Chandrapari or Chandrapurī is the same as the Chandrapurī-vishaya. The former, again, seems to be the name of a village only (Ibid., note 11). Mr. J. C. Ghosh has shown that the lands granted by the Nidhanpur charter were situated in the Panchakhanḍa Pargana of the Sylhet District (*I.H.Q.*, VI, p. 642). The view that the word *gaṅginikā* of the Nidhanpur grant means probably a dried up channel and is 'peculiar to Gauḍa' (p. 94) is not justifiable when we know that there are still a rivulet called Chhoṭā-Gang about 2½ miles to the NE., a place called Gāṅgnigrām, and a *bil* called Gāṅgni Bil about 3½ miles to the NNE., of Nidhanpur (see India Government Map, No. 83D/1). Moreover, the western boundary of the kingdom of Bhūtivarman, who originally granted the lands mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription, could hardly have extended up to the Purnea District, because in the time of Bhūtivarman, the Imperial Guptas were masters of the northern part of Bengal which intervenes between Purnea and Kāmarūpa. The date of Bhūtivarman or Mahābhūtivarman is supposed by the author to be *circa* 520–540 A.D. (p. 54); and according to the evidence of the Damodarpur plates (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 243; I.H.Q., VI, p. 67), the Guptas ruled in Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal at least from 443 to 545 A.D. All things considered, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa in the time of Bhāskaravarman does not seem to have extended so far westward as to include the Purnea District.

These are some of the points where it is permissible to differ from the author of the book. But they in no way detract from the exceeding value of his work. It is rather curious that after the celebrated Anundoram Borooah, the Rai Bahadur is the second Assamese officer who has cut a figure in the field of scholarship. It is sincerely hoped that unlike his predecessor he will be spared sufficiently long to publish many more works of such scholarly merit.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

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Barhut. Book I: Stone as a Story-teller, by Dr. Benimadhab Barua—(Indian Research Institute Publications, Fine Arts Series, No. 1). Calcutta: published by the Institute, 55, Upper Chitpore Road, 1934. 4to, 4 and 103 pages, two plates. Indian price: Rs. 5; Foreign price: 7*s*. 6*d*.

The reader may expect under the title 'Stone as a Story-teller', which is unfortunate and ill-chosen, a popular treatise, mainly dealing with the *jātakas* and the life-story of the Buddha as illustrated in the bas-reliefs of that famous and beautiful Buddhist monument of Barhut. He will be mistaken. Dr. Barua has spent many years of his life in the study of all the problems connected with Barhut, and the present volume, the first one of a series of three, is a most scholarly piece of work, full of discussive material, and far from being popular. The book is certainly not 'a boon to a man in the street' as the Secretary of the Indian Research Institute suggests in his Publisher's Note, for it is a learned book, and will be more welcome to scholars and students all over the world than to the casual museum visitor.

This is mainly due to the absence of illustrations. Dr. Barua promises us the illustrations in the coming third volume, entitled 'Barhut Art and Illustrations'. Yet he must forgive me my impatience about this matter. I realize that illustrations cost a great deal of money. But if his work will be what the Secretary of the Institute terms 'a gigantic effort' 'to deal with the subject in all its aspects', then the importance of adequate, first-rate illustrations should not be overlooked. I must confess that I had great difficulty in following his discussion although I read his book in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with the original monument only a few yards from me. In a work of the scope and plan of Dr. Barua's great enterprise constant reference to plates would be expected. Now, when the third volume will be published, the owner of the work will have a disconnected tale; the plates will bear no reference to the text, and the text will bear no reference to the plates. Would it not have been wiser to publish either the plates first, or a limited number of plates with every fascicle containing only a limited number of pages of the text? We have in the present volume two plates only; they are not numbered, and their description is rather misleading. The title 'A Divine Opera' is rather unfortunate; an opera is a very secular kind of play, and is a drama accompanied by music in which almost the whole or the greater part of the text is sung; it can be comic and tragic. The relief in question could better be described as a 'A Musical Performance', or 'A Dancing Scene', or the like.

All these minor matters do not detract from the essential value of Dr. Barua's important contribution to the study of Barhut. It is quite true, as is pointed out in the book, that very little has been done to elucidate archæological, iconographical, and artistic problems of this monument since the publication by that excellent pioneer, Sir Alexander Cunningham, in 1876. Dr. Barua goes into a detailed discussion of every important problem connected with Barhut, including such outstanding questions as the original shape of the *stūpa*, the date of the different parts, relative position of railing quadrants, original situation of the *toraṇas*, etc. All these problems are discussed in a scholarly and sound manner, taking into account the investigations of former scholars. The inscriptions, on which the author has already published a monograph, are given in Latin transcription, and the absence of good photographs again makes it impossible for the reader to verify or criticise these readings. As it is, the reader of the book under review will be struck by the amount of research and thought embodied in these pages, and will feel grateful to the author for the painstaking care with which he conducted his researches. It is to be hoped that Dr. B.C. Law, that excellent scholar and great patron of Buddhistic researches to whose generosity the present publication is due, will help the author in publishing further parts of this monograph, with adequate illustrations, the lack of which we have so very much regretted in the present case.

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There is one more matter we would like to mention. In the present volume the author deals exclusively with the *archæological* side of the monument. There is not a single word in the book on *art, artistic value, art* history. It is to be hoped that he will not forget in the further parts what a fundamental difference there is between archæology and art history.

Problems of foreign influence, of artistic expression, of expressive form, of perspective (true or otherwise), of composition and arrangement in space and time: these and many similar ones are problems never touched yet in Indian 'art' history. A monograph of such a size and plan, as that of Dr. Barua, should give due space to problems of real 'art history'. We wish him good luck in his vast enterprise, and hope that he will very soon bring his book to completion.

C. L. FÁBRI.

Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire, Vols. I and II, by Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. Madras, B. G. Paul & Co., 1934.

Dr. Saletore belongs to the small band of scholars who are carrying on fruitful investigations in the political and cultural history of a most eventful period of South India's chequered annals, viz. the epoch of the great rulers of Vijayanagara who for more than two centuries stemmed the tide of foreign invasion in the plains and plateaus of the Karnatic, revived the study of the *Vedas* and the *Siddhantas*, and sought to restore the *Pūrvada maryāde* of the Hindus in the fair and fertile territory lying to the south of the Kṛṣṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā. The author of the present volumes eschews as far as possible the dreary accounts of wars and factions and applies himself to an elucidation of the problems connected with the public policy and private life of the monarchs and their subjects. He has utilised evidence from various sources, epigraphic as well as literary, foreign as well as indigenous. Literary compositions that have been laid under contribution include not only Sanskrit texts on law, polity, etc., but also works written in South Indian Vernaculars. As Dr. Saletore's researches are evidently meant for a wider public than the people of the Karnatic their value would have been increased if original passages culled from South Indian texts had been translated into English. The glossary at the end of the second volume, useful as it is, minimises, but does not entirely remove, the difficulties of North Indian students in regard to some important technical terms. A discussion regarding the authenticity of works like the *Kamparāya charitam* of Gangadevi and the *Amukta mālayada* of Kṛṣṇadevarāya would also have been very welcome.

The first volume of Dr. Saletore's work gives a general description of the land of Karnāṭaka, its flora and fauna, the great cities that had the proud distinction of being its metropolis one after another. This is followed by a detailed account of the administrative and judicial system, central, provincial as well as local, of foreign policy with special reference to relations with the Muslims and the Portuguese, and finally of the army. The second volume deals with social institutions and customs with special reference to family life and caste organization, the power and prestige of the Brāhmanical hierarchy, the position of women, social legislation, public service, the spirit of co-operation in the social sphere, domestic economy, public festivals, and social recreations. In dealing with administration and social life the author first states the Hindu theories on the subject as expounded in the ancient and mediæval manuals on law and polity. He then examines the Vijayanagara conceptions of the same and describes the institutions actually referred to in contemporary epigraphs and testified to by foreign observers. He points out that many of these institutions can be traced to their Hoysala, Chola, and even

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Chalukya antecedents. Some of his statements and conclusions are certainly open to criticism and a certain amount of spade work has no doubt already been done by his predecessors. But the wealth of details with which he has enriched his narrative is truly amazing and deserves special recognition.

The author draws pointed attention to the *rôle* of the Karṇāṭaka monarchs as establishers of *Pūrvada maryāde* (ancient constitutional usage), upholders of the four established orders (*chatus-samaya-samuddharaṇa*), and protectors of *sakala-varṇāśramadharma*. He describes the free self-governing institutions of villages and districts and points out that co-operation for a common cause characterized the actions of the people in the Tamil land as well as in the Karṇāṭaka proper in early times. This spirit of co-operation, the passion for public service, and solicitude for public good were not confined to the religious leaders of Śṛngeri and other holy places, but also animated the leaders of the agricultural and commercial communities. And it was this spirit which enabled the sons of Sangama to unite the whole of Kanarese and Tamil India in a common cause to fight the battle of Hinduism and keep the Turushka intruder at bay for well-nigh three centuries. The author, however, is not a mere *praśastikāra*, and he throws a lurid light on the darker side of the picture. An important section of the first volume is devoted to a narration of the many acts of oppression perpetrated by the ruling classes and the hardships that fell to the lot of the people in those iron times. Equally instructive are the sections of the second volume which give vivid accounts of widow burning, hook-swinging, entombment of living persons, and other social practices which must have been a fruitful source of human misery.

Before we conclude our survey of Dr. Saletore's valuable work we feel it our duty to point out that some slips, inaccuracies, and overstatements have crept into these otherwise excellent volumes. Siṅghana I (Vol. I, p. 3) was *not* the *founder* of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri. Ma'bar (p. 4) is not the *West* Coast. The ruler of Vijayanagara in 1406-7 was not *Devarāya II* (pp. 209, 400, 403). An eight-fold division of the army was known to the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 59. 41 ff.), and a camel corps was maintained by the Pratihāras of Kanauj long before the composition of the extant Śukranīti (cf. Vol. I, p. 420). The statement on p. 157 of the second volume that the functions of women in Southern India seem to have been more varied than those of their sisters of the North fails to take note of the achievements of a long line of North Indian female rulers, statesmen, and philanthropists from Sungandhā and Diddā to Rāṇī Bhavānī, Sada Kour, and Jindan.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI.

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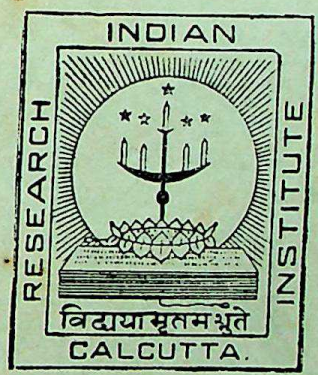

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THE JAINAS IN THE HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

By M. WINTERNITZ

It would take a fairly big volume to give a history of all that the Jainas have contributed to the treasures of Indian literature. When *Albrecht Weber* wrote his famous 'Lectures on the History of Indian Literature' (Second German Edition, 1876) he only referred in a note to the Jaina Caritras and their importance for the history of India,—with a passing reference to the Satruñjaya Māhātmya. He mentioned in a note the atomistic theory of Jaina philosophers, as found in the Bhagavatī. Besides these notes he devoted a whole page to the sacred books of the Jainas and in a long note he pointed out, what great importance the Jainas have had for Sanskrit literature, especially for grammar and lexicography. He mentioned the great Hemacandra and his Yogaśāstra which shortly before *Ernst Windisch* had made known by publishing the text with a German translation. That was all,[1]—but it was more than later writers on Indian Literature had to say about the Jainas. The brilliant and much-read book on the Literature and Culture of India by *Leopold von Schroeder*, published in 1887, devotes half a page to the sect of the Jainas without even mentioning anything about Jaina literature. The late Professor A. A. *Macdonell* in his 'History of Sanskrit Literature', published in 1900, has a few stray remarks on Jaina religion, without saying anything about the literature of the Jainas. He gives the titles of Hemacandra's grammatical and lexicographical works without mentioning that Hemacandra was a Jaina. A. *Baumgartner* in his learned compilation 'Die Literaturen Indiens und Ostasiens' (forming part of a voluminous 'Geschichte der Weltliteratur', third and fourth edition, 1902) devotes four pages to the Jainas and their literature, winding up with a quotation from E. *Washburn Hopkins*' 'Religions of India', where it is said that the Jainas have no literature worthy of that name.[2] H. *Oldenberg* in his essays on the Literature of Ancient India (Die Literatur des alten Indien), published in 1903, disposes of the

---

[1] *Weber* has well made up for this deficiency of his book (which was not his fault, but simply due to the state of knowledge at his time); for he was the very pioneer of Jaina studies by his account of Jaina literature in the 'Indische Studien', Vols. 16 and 17 (1883–85) and in his Reports on Jaina manuscripts in the Royal Library at Berlin (1888–91).

[2] E. *Washburn Hopkins*, The Religions of India, Boston, 1895, p. 296f.

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Jainas in three lines. R. W. *Frazer* in his 'Literary History of India' (1898) has well pointed out (p. 310f.) the great influence the Jainas have exercised on the Dravidian literature of the South: 'It was through the fostering care of the Jainas, that the South first seems to have been inspired with new ideals, and its literature enriched with new forms of expression.' And he quotes the words of the great Dravidian scholar Dr. *Pope* who said that the 'Jain compositions were clever, pointed, elegant, full of satire, of wordly wisdom, epigrammatic, but not religious'. But though he acknowledges the debt of Dravidian literature to the Jainas, he has nothing to say about Jaina literature and its place in the Sanskrit and Prākrit literature of India.

When I began in 1913 to write the second volume of my History of Indian Literature,[1] it was clear to me from the beginning that I should have to devote a whole section to Jaina literature. I had to avail myself of the labours of A. *Weber*, H. *Jacobi*, E. *Leumann*, G. *Bühler*, *Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar*, A. *Guerinot*, R. *Hoernle*, Joh. *Hertel*, and many others, and at least some of the most important text publications issued by the Jaina community were accessible to me. And it was only due to the limited space at my disposal that I could not treat the sacred literature of the Jainas as fully as I should have liked to do, but had to content myself with devoting to it about 70 printed pages. In the English translation of Vol. II of my 'History of Indian Literature', which has just been published,[2] I had to devote 172 pages to Jaina literature. But I have treated in these pages only the *religious* literature, while reserving the non-religious poetical and scientific literature of the Jainas to the third volume of my book. I am, however, fully aware that I was not able to do full justice to the literary achievements of the Jainas. But I hope to have shown that the Jainas have contributed their full share to the religious, ethical, poetical, and scientific literature of ancient India.

Here I only wish to give a short summary—a bird's-eye view, as it were—of the most important contributions the Jainas have made to almost all departments of Indian literature. I do not intend to speak here of the *sacred literature* as far as it is concerned with Jaina worship and dogmatics. But even this sacred literature contains much that, apart from its importance for the history of

---

[1] This was published (in German) as the second part of Vol. II of my 'Geschichte der indischen Litteratur' in 1920.

[2] A History of Indian Literature by M. W., Vol. II. Buddhist Literature and Jaina Literature translated from the Original German by Mrs. S. Ketkar and Miss H. Kohn and revised by the Author. Published by the University of Calcutta, 1933.

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religion, must be valued also from a literary point of view as part of the general literature of India.

In several books of the Jaina Siddhānta we find a number of texts, both prose and poetry, which belong to what I have called '*Ascetic Literature*'. I may be allowed to say a few words about what I mean by this term.

It is a general habit among writers on Indian literature to describe everything that is not either Buddhist or Jaina literature as 'Brāhmaṇic'. Now, I do not think, that this terminology does justice to the facts of Indian literary history. In Buddhist texts we constantly read of 'Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas', just as Aśoka in his inscriptions speaks of *samana-bambhana*, and as Megasthenes makes a clear distinction between *Brachmānas* and *Sarmánas*. This shows clearly that at least four or five centuries before Christ there were in India two distinct classes of representatives of intellectual and spiritual life. And I believe to have shown that these two classes of intellectuals have each developed a literature of their own. Even before there was such a thing as Buddhist or Jaina literature there must have been a *Samaṇa literature* beside the Brāhmaṇic literature. Numerous traces of this Samaṇa literature are to be found in the Epics and in the Purāṇas. Its characteristic features are the following: It disregards the system of castes and āśramas; its heroes are, as a rule, not gods and Ṛṣis, but kings or merchants or even Śūdras. The subjects of poetry taken up by it are not Brāhmaṇic myths and legends, but popular tales, fairy stories, fables and parables. It likes to insist on the misery and sufferings of Saṃsāra, and it teaches a morality of compassion and Ahiṃsā, quite distinct from the ethics of Brahmanism with its ideals of the great sacrificer and generous supporter of the priests, and its strict adherence to the caste system.[1]

Many pieces of this ascetic poetry are to be found in the Mahābhārata, especially in its XIIth book. One of these, for instance, is the beautiful Itihāsa-saṃvāda of Jājali and Tulādhāra (Mbhār., XII, 261–264), where the shopkeeper of Benares Tulādhāra teaches the Brāhmaṇ Jājali 'the eternal religion of love' (*dharmaṃ sarahasyaṃ sanātayam / sarvabhūtahitaṃ maitram purāṇaṃ yaṃ janā viduḥ*). I mention also the fable of the Hunter and the Pigeons (Mbhār., XII, 143–149); the legend of Mudgala (Mbhār., III, 260f.); the Vidurahitavākya (Mbhār., V, 23–40) and other sections

[1] If I am not mistaken, E. *Leumann* (*Z.D.M.G.* 48, 1894, p. 65ff.) was the first to speak of a 'Parivrājaka Literature', though not quite in the same sense as I use the term 'Ascetic Literature'. See my lecture on 'Ascetic Literature of Ancient India' in some Problems of Indian Literature (Calcutta University Press, 1925), p. 21ff.

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of the Mahābhārata in which Vidura, who is of doubtful birth,[1] propounds lessons of morality which are far more in accordance with Jaina or Buddhist, than with Brāhmaṇic ethics. These and many other passages found in the Mahābhārata and in the Purāṇas, might just as well have their place in any of the Jaina or Buddhist canonical books. In many cases verses and Itihāsa-saṃvādas of the Mahābhārata have actually been traced in Pāli Gāthās, and in Jaina books. A very remarkable example of the latter is the fine dialogue between a father and his son[2] in the Mahābhārata, XII, 175 (repeated XII, 277), which occurs also—with variants in the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa, Xff., in the Buddhist Jātaka (Nr. 509 in Fausböll's edition), and again in the *Uttarajjhayaṇasutta* (Adhy., XIV) of the Jainas. In all these texts the father—in the Mahābhārata a Veda-studying Brāhmaṇ, in the Buddhist and Jaina versions a Purohita—recommends the Brāhmaṇic ideal, according to which a man should first study the Veda as a Brahmacārin, then fulfil the duties of a householder, and only in his old age retire to the woods to lead a hermit's life; while the son[3] shuns this ideal: seeing that the world is constantly harassed by death and old age, he prefers to retire from this world at once and to seek emancipation by following the ascetic ideal. It is just possible, that this poetical dialogue is either of Buddhist or of Jaina origin, and has come to be included in the epic and Purāṇic literature at some later time. But it seems to me more likely that it belongs to a much older stratum of ascetic literature, from which both the Buddhist and the Jaina, as well as the Epic and the Purāṇic texts are derived.

The same applies to many other stories, ballads, dialogues, groups of verses, and especially single Gāthās, which we find (in different versions) both in Jaina and in Buddhist literature, and sometimes also in Epic or Purāṇic texts. Thus we find in the Mahābhārata (XII, 178, 2) the famous saying of King Janaka of Mithilā, after he had adopted ascetic life: 'How boundless is my wealth, as I possess nothing! When Mithilā is on fire, nothing that is mine will be burnt.' The same verse occurs in the Jātaka Nr. 539 g. 125, and again in the IX, Adhyayana of the Uttarajjhayaṇa, from a literary point of view perhaps the most interesting book of the Jaina canon, in the beautiful ballad of King Nami, where the ascetic ideal is contrasted with that of the warrior and ruler. This is one of the Paccekabuddha legends, which J. *Charpentier*[4]

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[1] He says himself in Mbhār., V, 40, 5 : *śūdrayonāv ahaṃ jātaḥ.*

[2] See my Hist. Ind. Lit., I, 417ff., 561 ; II, 469.

[3] In the Uttarajjhayaṇa there are two sons.

[4] Studien zur indischen Erzählungsliteratur I, Paccekabuddhageschichten. Uppsala, 1908, and Z.D.M.G., 66, 38ff.

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has traced in Buddhist and Jaina literature. These are stories of kings who have retired from the world, after having been reminded of the transitoriness of life or of the pleasures of peace of mind or of the evils of greed and lust by some insignificant event, such as the sight of a mango tree deprived of its fruits, or of two vultures fighting for a bit of meat and lacerating each other, or of a bull running towards a cow and being pierced to death by another bull. All these legends belong to the Ascetic literature of ancient India. Other legends of this kind occur in the XII Adhy. of the Uttarajjhayaṇa, which has been shown by J. *Charpentier* (*Z.D.M.G.*, 63, 171ff.) to have its counterpart in the Mātaṅga-Jātaka (Nr. 497), and again in the XIII Adhy. of the Uttarajjhayaṇa where we meet with the legend of Citta and Sambhūta, which Professor *Leumann* has long ago traced in the Buddhist Jātaka Nr. 498 and in two other Jaina versions.[1] One of the most interesting pieces in the Jaina Aṅgas is the Paësi dialogue in the *Rāyapaseṇaijja*, a Buddhist version of which is the Pāyāsisutta of the Dīghanikāya Nr. 23. The original may in this case be the Jaina dialogue, but it is also possible that both have to be derived from an older Itihāsa-saṃvāda, forming part of the ancient ascetic literature.

Both in the *Āyāraṃgasutta* and in the *Sūyagaḍaṃga* we find many verses which in form and contents could just as well be included in the Buddhist Suttanipāta or Dhammapada. These also belong to the Samaṇa literature of ancient India.

We see, then, *that in the sacred texts of the Jainas a great part of the ascetic literature of ancient India is embodied*, which has also left its traces in Buddhist literature as well as in the epics and Purāṇas. Jaina literature, therefore, is closely connected with the other branches of post-Vedic religious literature. Future research will have to show, how much of this literature is the original work of Jainas, and how much the Buddhists or other sects have contributed to it.

I have already mentioned that ascetic poetry likes to take its subjects from popular tales, fairy stories, fables and parables. Now the Jainas have always had a special liking for any kind of popular poetry, especially folk tales. *Jaina literature, both canonical and still more non-canonical, is a very store-house of popular stories, fairy tales and all kinds of narrative poetry.* It was especially Professor *Johannes Hertel*[2] who has shown, how much the Jainas

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[1] Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 5, 111ff.; 6, 1ff.

[2] In his paper 'On the Literature of the Shvetambaras of Gujarat' (Leipzig, 1922), Prof. *Hertel* says 'that during the middle-ages down to our days the Jains, and especially the Śvetāmbars of Gujarat, were the principal story-tellers of India'. See now my Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 446ff., 484ff.

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have contributed to Indian narrative literature in prose and verse. Always fond of story-telling, the Jainas were good story-tellers themselves, and have preserved to us numerous Indian tales that otherwise would have been lost to us.

Some remarkable versions of stories, known also from other sources, and many new tales are found already in the Aṅgas and still more in the Commentaries (Niryuktis, Bhāṣyas, Cūrṇis, etc.). Some interesting Jaina versions of epic and Purānic stories, such as the legend of the sons of Sagara and the descent of the Gaṅgā, occur in Devendra's commentary on the Uttarajjhayaṇa, where we also meet with a version of the Kṛṣṇa legend. The latter is already referred to in the eighth Aṅga.[1] A very curious version of the tale of Draupadī and her five husbands is found in the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, the sixth Aṅga. The most important commentaries, in which numerous and most valuable tales of all kinds are stored up, much like the stories in the Buddhist Jātaka or Dhammapada Commentaries, are those of *Haribhadra*, whom we now have to date as early as the 8th century A.D.,[2] *Śrīlāṅka* (9th cent.) *Śāntisūri* and *Devendra* (11th cent.).

Of great importance are also the *Kathānakas*, tales of a more popular character which are intended to serve at the same time the purpose of religious edification and of telling amusing stories.[3] These Kathānakas are generally written in a kind of popular Sanskrit, more or less contaminated by the vernaculars.

In later times the Jainas have also compiled great collections of tales, often with a frame story, such as the *Samyaktvakaumudī*, but also *Kathākośas*, collections of loose tales, such as *Hemavijaya's Kathāratnākara*, and others.[4]

The Jainas have not only adopted epic themes such as the Kṛṣṇa legend, the story of Draupadī, and others into their sacred writings and the commentaries on them, but they have also their own *Epics* and *Purāṇas*. The earliest poem of this kind is the Prākrit epic *Paümacariya* by the poet *Vimāla Sūri*, written 530 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa.[5] This is the Jaina 'Rāmāyaṇa', and served as a model for other adaptations of the Rāma legend, such as *Raviṣeṇa's Padma-Purāṇa* in Sanskrit (678 A.D.), and *Hemacandra's* 'Jaina-Rāmāyaṇa'.

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[1] Ariṭṭhanemi, the 22nd Jina, is a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva who thus became a hero of the Jainas. See Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 451, 458, 463, note 2, 469, 487f., 495, 504, 510.

[2] See *Muniraj Shri Jinavijaya* in Proceedings and Transactions of the First Oriental Conference, Poona, Vol. I, 1920, p. CXXIVff.; Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 479.

[3] See Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 537ff. [4] l.c. II, 541ff. [5] l.c. 489ff.

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The earliest Jaina adaptation of the Mahābhārata is the *Harivaṃśa-Purāṇa* by *Jinasena* (783 A.D.).[1]

But it is above all the legendary biographies of the 63 'Excellent Men' (uttamapurisa) which constitute the most popular substitutes for the Brahmanical Epics and Purāṇas among the Jainas. These are the works called 'Purāṇas' by the Digambara, or 'Caritras' by the Śvetāmbara Jainas.[2] The earliest of these works is the *Triṣaṣṭilakṣaṇa-Mahā-Purāṇa* of *Jinasena* and *Guṇabhadra* (between 877 and 897 A.D.). Among the Śvetāmbaras *Hemacandra's Triṣaṣṭi-Śalākāpuruṣa-Carita* (written between 1160 and 1172 A.D.) is better known. Its appendix, the *Pariśiṣṭa-Parvan* or *Sthaviravalī-Carita*, is a very store-house of tales and stories of all kinds.[3]

Numerous are the works which contain poetical life-stories of individual Tīrthakaras, especially the most popular among them, viz. Ṛṣabha, Śāntinākha, Nemi, and Parśva, besides Mahāvīra himself. Some of these works, as f.i. the *Parśvanātha-Caritra* by *Bhāvadeva Sūri* (1255 A.D.), contain a great many interesting stories, fables, fairy-tales and gnomic sayings.[4]

Semi-historical works are the so-called *Prabandhas*[5] which deal with historical personages, though they are collections of anecdotes rather than real biographies or history. Yet works like *Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi* and *Rājaśekhara's Prabandhakośa* are not without value. The anecdotes, they tell us about the famous kings Vikramāditya, Śīlāditya and Bhoja and the poets and literary men supposed to have lived at their courts, though full of anachronisms and of no real historical value, yet throw a flood of light on the life and manners of the time, especially the literary life at the courts of Indian princes.

The Jainas have not only the great merit of having preserved to us innumerable stories by including them in their religious literature. They have also shown the greatest interest in the most important works of profane narrative literature. It has been shown by Prof. *Hertel* that the most popular recensions of the *Pañcatantra* are the work of Jainas. It was probably a Jaina to whom we owe the so-called 'Textus simplicior' of the Pañcatantra, and the Jaina monk *Pūrṇabhadra* completed in 1199, the *Pañcakhyānaka* or the Pañcatantra in the 'Textus ornatior'. Another Jaina monk, *Meghavijaya*, compiled, in 1660, the *Pañcākhyānoddhāra*, which calls itself an extract from the Pañcākhyāna 'compiled for the easier grasp of boys', but has added a number of stories which

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[1] l.c. 495ff. [2] l.c. 497ff. [3] l.c. 505ff.

[4] l.c. 512ff. and cf. M. *Bloomfield*, The Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pārçvanātha, Baltimore, 1919.

[5] Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 519ff.

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are not found in other versions of the Pañcatantra. The best text of the *Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśikā* that has come down to us, is again the Jaina recension. That the most amusing collection of *mugdhakathās*, the *Bharaṭakadvātriṃśikā*, an Indian 'Book of Noodles', is the work of a Jaina author, has been rendered probable by Professor *Hertel* in his edition of the work (Leipzig, 1921).

Besides this more or less popular literature, Jaina poets have also been masters of the *ornate style* both in Sanskrit and Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa. The *Dharmakathā* or 'religious novel' is a Jaina speciality. One work of this kind, the *Taraṅgavatī* of *Pālitta*, is already mentioned in the Aṇuogadāra, and must have been written before the 5th century A.D. It was the prototype of the Prākrit poem *Samarāicca Kathā* by *Haribhadra*, and the famous *Upamitibhavaprapañcā Kathā* in Sanskrit by *Siddharṣi* (906 A.D.).[1]

But not only religious novels were written by the Jainas, but also *Campūs*[2] after the model of Bāṇa's Kādambarī, and *Mahākāvyas*, great epics in most artificial ornate style. Some of the lives of Tīrthakaras are regular Mahākāvyas, for instance the *Dharmaśarmābhyudaya* of *Haricandra*, in which the story of Dharmanātha, the fifteenth Tīrthakara, is told in the form of an epic in imitation of Māghā's Śiśupālavadha[3]; and the poems based on Kālidāsa's Meghadūta: Jinasena's Pārśvābhyudaya, Vāgbhaṭa's Neminirvāṇa, and Vikrama's Nemidūta.[4]

But the Jainas have not only written *religious* Kāvyas. The Digambara Jaina *Dhanañjaya Śrutakīrti* was ambitious enough to prove his mastership in Śleṣas by writing, a Dvisandhānakāvya *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* (between 1123 and 1140 A.D.), in which every verse must be interpreted as having two meanings, the one referring to the story of the Rāmāyaṇa, the other to that of the Mahābhārata.[5] A half-historical poem is the Dvyāśrayakāvya *Kumārapālacarita*, in which *Hemacandra* wished to display his skill both in Sanskrit and in Prākrit poetry, as well as his grammatical learning. The mahākāvya which treats the history of the Caulukyas of Aṇhilvāt and especially of Kumārapāta, consists of 20 Sargas written in Sanskrit, and 8 Sargas written in Prākrit, and the poem is also intended to serve as an illustration to the poet's works on Sanskrit and Prākrit grammar.[6] In the 13th century *Arisiṃha* wrote a

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[1] l.c. 522ff. [2] l.c. 534ff. [3] l.c. 517.

[4] l.c. 512. For other epics see l.c. 535f.

[5] It has been edited with a commentary in Kāvyamālā 49, 1895. The Rāghavapāṇḍavīya of Mādhavabhaṭṭa Kavirāja is a later work, written between 1182 and 1197.

[6] Extracts from the Sanskrit part of the poem are given by *J. Burgess*, Ind. Ant. 4, 1875. The *Prākṛta Dvyāśraya Kāvya* has been edited by *Shankar P. Pandit*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 60, 1900.

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mahākāvya *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana* in 11 Sargas in 'praise of the good deeds' of Vastupāla, the minister of the Vāghelā princes Lavaṇaprasāda and Vīradhavala, which *Bühler* [1] has shown to be of some importance for the history of Gujarat. Another Jaina poem, the *Jagaḍūcarita* of *Sarvānanda* (14th century) is of little poetical value, but has also some historical importance.[2] In the 15th century the Jaina *Nayacandra* wrote a historical poem *Hammīrakāvya*, which tells of the heroic feats of Hammīra in his fight against the Muhammedans.[3]

Lyrical and didactic poetry also are well represented in the literature of the Jainas. Jaina poets have composed Stotras both in Prākrit and in Sanskrit, some of them in the most artificial Kāvya style.[4] The only Prākrit anthology we possess, is the *Vajjālagga*, compiled by the Śvetāmbara Jaina *Jayavallabha*. The Jainas have not cultivated much the *drama*, but it is not entirely missing in their literature.[5]

Many of the poetical works of the Jainas are composed in *Apabhraṃśa*, and our knowledge of the Apabhraṃśa dialects is to a great extent derived from these works, only some of which have hitherto been published, while many more exist still in manuscripts.[6]

Most valuable contributions have been made by Jainas to Indian *scientific and technical literature*.

There are two canonical works, the *Sūriyapaṇṇatti* and the *Jaṃbuddīvapaṇṇatti*, [7] in which astronomical and geographical subjects are treated, though more from a legendary point. But the Sūriyapaṇṇatti is important as belonging, like the Jyotiṣavedāṅga, to a stage of Indian astronomy which was not yet influenced by the astronomical science of the Greeks.

As Jaina poets have written works of poetry in high-flown Kāvya style, it is only natural that Jaina scholars have also occupied themselves with the *Alaṃkāraśāstra*. There are two authors of the name of *Vābhaṭa*, probably both Jainas, who have

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[1] Das Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana des Arisiṃha, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, 1889.

[2] See G. *Bühler*, Indian Studies I, The Jagaḍūcharita of Sarvānanda, a historical romance from Gujarat, Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie, 1892.

[3] See N. J. *Kirtane*, Ind. Ant. 8, 55ff.

[4] Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 548ff., 559ff.

[5] l.c., 546ff.

[6] l.c., pp. 511, 532, 543, 570ff., 589, 637; see also *Rai Bahadur Hiralal*, Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS., Nagpur, 1926, p. XLIII ff.

[7] Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 456f. A Jaina summary of astrology is the *Jyotiṣasāroddhāra* by *Harṣakīrtisūri* (see India Office Catalogue, V, p. 1063ff. On Jaina Geography see also Count F. L. *Pulle* in studi italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica, IV, 1901, 14f., 19f., 35ff.

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written on Alaṃkāra. The earlier of the two is Vāgbhaṭa, son of Soma, who wrote the *Vāgbhaṭālaṃkāra* in Ślokas (edited in Kāvyamālā 48, 1895). He lived in Gujarat at the time of King Jayasiṃha (1093–1154). Later though perhaps not much later, is Vāgbhaṭa, the son of Nemikumāra, who wrote a *Kāvyānuśāsana-Sūtra* with a commentary of his own (edited in Kāvyamālā 43, 1894).[1] *Hemacandra* also has written an Alaṃkāraśāstra with the title *Kāvyānuśāsana* in Sūtras with his own commentary, called *Alaṃkāracūḍāmaṇi* (edited in Kāvyamālā 71, 1901).[2]

The Jainas have their own *grammatical Śāstras*. The oldest grammar, closely following that of Pāṇini, is the *Jainendravyākaraṇa*.[3] The real author of this grammar, ascribed to Jinendra, is *Pūjyapāda Devanandin* who lived between the 5th and 7th century. Later than this grammar is the *Śākaṭāyanavyākaraṇa*,[4] the grammar of Śākaṭāyana, which was written in the time of Amoghavarṣa I (814–877 A.D.). He is sometimes called 'the new Śākaṭāyana' to distinguish him from the Śākaṭāyana mentioned by Pāṇini.[5] The grammar of *Hemacandra*, called *Siddhahemacandra* or *Haimavyākaraṇa*, is nothing but an improved edition of Śākaṭāyana's grammar. Yet F. *Kielhorn*, the first authority on Indian grammar in Europe, calls it 'the best grammar of the Indian middle-ages'.[6] For it is arranged in a more practical manner and has a more practical terminology than the grammars of Pāṇini, Candragomin and Śākaṭāyana. Hemacandra wrote his grammar on the order of King Jayasiṃha Siddharāja (whence it is called 'Siddhahemacandra'), who had procured for him eight old grammatical works from the library of the temple of Sarasvatī in Kashmir. The author wrote himself two commentaries to his work, a shorter and a longer one, besides an Uṇādigaṇasūtra, a Dhātupāṭha, and a Liṅgānuśāsana.

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[1] Th. *Aufrecht* and others speak only of one Vāgbhaṭa. But A. *Weber* (Verzeichnis der Handschriften II, 3, p. 1208) has already distinguished the two Vāgbhaṭas. See *Sushil Kumar De*, Studies in the History of Sanskrit Poetics I, 204 ff., II, 308ff.

[2] *De*, l.c., p. 203f.

[3] Edited with the Commentary of Abhayanandi Muni in the Pandit, N.S., Vols. 31–34. Another commentary Śabdārṇavacandrikā, was written by Somadeva in 1205 A.D.

[4] Edited by G. *Oppert*, Madras, 1893; with a commentary of Abhayacandra Sūri, London 1913, the Sūtra with a Laghuvṛtti also in the Pandit, N.S., Vols. 34, 35. See also V. S. *Sukthankar*, Die Grammatik Śākatāyana's (Adhy. 1, Pādal) nebst Yakṣavarman's Kommentar (Cintāmaṇi), Berlin, 1921 (Dissertation).

[5] Perhaps Śākaṭāyana is only a name given to, or adopted by, the author of this grammar, to identify him with the predecessor of Pāṇini honoris causa. About the date of the grammar S. K. B. *Pathak* in Ann. Bhand. Inst., I, 1918-19, p. 7ff.

[6] Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 2, p. 24.

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The eighth chapter of the Siddhahemacandra contains the Prākrit grammar.[1] Though in the latter Hemacandra has extensively copied from the works of his predecessors, it is the most important Prākrit grammar we possess. It is very complete, and instructive also on account of the numerous examples, taken from older grammars. In his rules on Māhārāṣṭrī he quotes from the Sattasaī and the Setubandha; for the Paiśācī he gives us some passages from the lost Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya; and for the Apabhraṃśa he cites a number of otherwise unknown little songs similar to those of the Sattasaī. *Trivikrama* who wrote his *Prākṛtaśabdānuśāsana* in Sūtras with his own commentary in the 13th century, is, as he himself avows, quite dependent on Hemacandra.

The same Hemacandra is also the renowned author of *lexicographical works* which he compiled as supplements to his grammar. A synonymic Kośa is the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇināmamālā*,[2] to which he himself wrote a commentary and several appendices. One of these is the Nighaṇṭuśeṣa, a botanical glossary in 396 ślokas. He also wrote a homonymic Kośa, the *Anekārthasaṃgraha*.[3] The oldest Prākrit lexicon is the work of a Jaina, viz. the *Pāiyalacchī Nāmamālā*[4] of *Dhanapāla*, composed in 972 A.D. The Pāiyalacchī has been used by Hemacandra in his *Deśīnāmamālā*[5] to which, as to his other works, he has also written a commentary of his own.

In *philosophy* the Jainas have developed an original system, the *Syādvāda* which takes a distinct position between the Brahmanic and Buddhist philosophical systems. This has been shown very clearly by Professor *Jacobi* in his paper on 'The Metaphysics and Ethics of the Jainas', read at the third International Congress for the History of Religions in London, 1908 (Transactions, Vol. II, p. 59ff.). As Prof. *Jacobi* says, the Jaina Syādvāda or 'Doctrine of may be' is the statement of the common-sense view, as opposed both to the Vedāntic doctrine that there is only one without a second, and the Buddhist theory of transitoriness. According to Jaina metaphysics 'any metaphysical proposition is right from one point of view, and the contrary proposition is also right from another': *syād asti sarvam, syād nāsti sarvam*, 'may be that everything is, may be that everything is not'. As Jaina thinkers always sided with the common-sense views, it is only natural that they were attracted by the systems of *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika*. There is even a tradition that the Vaiśeṣika system was founded by a Jaina,

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[1] Edited by R. *Pischel*, Halle, 1877–80.
[2] Edited by O. *Böhtlingk* and Ch. *Rieu*, St. Petersburg, 1847.
[3] Edited by Th. *Zachariae*, Vienna, 1893.
[4] Edited by G. *Bühler*, Göttingen, 1879.
[5] Edited by R. *Pischel*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, No. 17, 1880.

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Chaluya Rohagutta of the Kauśika Gotra, a pupil of Mahāgiri, the eighth Sthavira after Mahāvīra. But the system alluded to in the passage of the Āvaśyaka where this tradition occurs, is that of Kaṇāda's Vaiśeṣika Darśana. And there is little doubt that Rohagupta merely adopted Vaiśeṣika theories for the purposes of his own schismatical teaching.[1] In the Jaina canon, and still more in the Niryuktis of Bhadrabāhu we find also some elements of logic.[2] But we cannot be sure whether the elements of logic found in canonical texts belong to the oldest parts of the canon that may go back to the 4th or 3rd century B.C. or to those parts of it that are nearer the time of Devarddhi (about 450 A.D.). While thus, it is not at all likely that the Vaiśeṣika and the Nyāya systems owe their origin to Jaina thinkers, it is certain that Jaina authors have made very valuable contributions to Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika studies. What the Mahāmahopādhyāya *Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa* has described as the 'Mediæval School of Indian Logic' is the logic of Jainas and Buddhists. Already *Umāsvāti* whom the Digambara Jainas place about 135 to 219 A.D.[3] in his *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* expounds a doctrine of categories and a theory of Pramāṇas (means of proof).

But the first Jaina author who has written a work on systematic logic, is *Siddhasena Divākara*. He wrote the *Nyāyāvatāra*,[4] a treatise on the means of proof (*pramāṇa*) and the methods (*naya*) of comprehending things from particular standpoints, in 32 Sanskrit Ślokas. Siddhasena Divākara is said by the Jainas to have converted King Vikramāditya to Jainism 470 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra (57 B.C.). Vidyābhūṣaṇa, however, dates Vikramāditya and consequently also Siddhasena Divākara about 533 A.D., taking it for granted that Vikramāditya of Ujjain is identical with Yaśodharmadeva of Malwa who defeated the Huns in 533 A.D. Moreover, he is 'inclined to believe that Siddhasena was no other than Kṣapaṇaka (a Jaina sage) who is traditionally known to the Hindus to have been one of the nine Gems that adorned the court of Vikramāditya'.[5] Now there is not the slightest proof for

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[1] See *Jacobi*, S.B.E., Vol. 45, p. XXXVIIf.

[2] See *Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, A History of Indian Logic, Calcutta, 1921, 161ff., 164ff.

[3] See Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 578f., and S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, l.c., 168ff.

[4] Edited with the Commentary Nyāyāvatāravivṛti and an English Translation, by *Satis Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, Calcutta, 1909; S. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, Hist. of Indian Logic, 172ff.

[5] History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic, Calcutta, 1909, p. 15. In his Hist. of Indian Logic, p. 173, he gives the date 480–550 A.D. But see my Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 477.

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Kṣapaṇaka who is known as a lexicographer,[1] being identical with Siddhasena. Nor is there any proof for Yaśodharman having adopted the title of Vikramāditya, and no king of this title is known to have lived at the time of Varāhamihira. What we know for certain is that the Gupta Kings Candragupta II (375–413 A.D.) and his grandson Skandagupta (455–480 A.D.) had adopted the title of Vikramāditya. And if we attach any importance to the Jaina tradition at all, we shall have to make Siddhasena the contemporary of one of these kings. As there is a very strong tradition about Kālidāsa having lived at the court of a King Vikramāditya, and there are good reasons for making Kālidāsa the contemporary of Candragupta II, Siddhasena would also have to be placed somewhere between 375 and 413 A.D. But all this is very doubtful, as all arguments must needs be that are based on traditions about the great Vikramāditya·who is far more a legendary than a historical personage. If we believe the tradition, according to which Siddhasena Gaṇin, who quotes Siddhasena Divākara, was a contemporary of Devardhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa (about 453 A.D.), this would agree well with the hypothesis of Siddhasena Divākara having flourished in the time of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. The Nyāyāvatāra contains all essential elements of logic which through the works on Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika have become the common property of all schools, but it shows, as Professor *Suali* thinks,[2] more particularly the influence of Vaiśeṣika and Buddhist doctrines.

The Digambaras *Samantabhadra*, *Akalaṅka*, *Prabhācandra*, and *Māṇikyanandin*, in their commentaries and treatises, probably in the 8th century, treated not only Syādvāda philosophy, but also logic.[3]

The Śvetāmbara Jaina *Mallavādin* wrote a commentary on Dharmottara's Nyāyabinduṭīkā called *Dharmottaraṭippanī*.[4] Dharmottara, and probably also Mallavādin, were contemporaries of Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir (end of 8th century).[5] It is owing to this commentary that the Jainas were interested in copying manuscripts of the Nyāyabinda and the Nyāyabinduṭīkā. Thus we are indebted to the Jainas for having preserved to us the Sanskrit originals of these important Buddhist works on logic, while the other

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[1] See Th. *Zachariae*, Die indischen Wörterbücher, in Grundriss der indoarischen Philologie, I, 3B, § 13.

[2] *Luigi Suali*, Introduzione allo studio della filosofia Indiana, Pavia, 1913, p. 38.

[3] See Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 580ff. and Vidyābhūṣaṇa, History of Indian Logic, p. 182ff.

[4] Edited by T. *Stcherbatsky*, Bibliotheca Buddhica, Vol. XI, 1909.

[5] See *Hultzsch*, Z.D.M.G., 69, 278f.

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Buddhist texts on logic have come down to us only in their Tibetan translations.

I must refer the reader to Vidyābhūṣaṇa's 'History of Indian Logic' for the other Jaina authors and works on logic. I will only mention *Deva Sūri* (1086–1169 A.D.), the author of the *Pramāṇanayatattvālokālaṃkāra* with his own commentary, called *Syādvādaratnākāra*. He vanquished the Digambara Kumudacandrācārya in a dispute on the salvation of women which took place in 1124 A.D. *Hemacandra* also wrote a work on logic, the *Pramāṇa mīmāṃsā* in Sūtras with his own commentary. A Jaina *Jayasiṃha Sūri* has written a commentary on the Nyāyasāra of Bhāsarvajna, a Brahmaṇical author, who, however, was strongly influenced by Buddhist and Jaina logic.[1] Even as late as the seventeenth century (between 1608 and 1688) we meet with a learned Śvetāmbara Jaina *Yaśovijaya Gaṇin* who wrote a great number of works on logic.[2] It was in his honour that the Jaina Yaśovijaya-pāṭhaśālā was founded, to which we are indebted for the series of publications, called the Jaina-Yaśovijaya-granthamālā, edited under the patronage of the late Śāstraviśārada Jainācārya *Śrī Vijaya Dharma Sūri*.

But the philosophical interests of the Jainas were not limited to Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika. This is shown in a remarkable way by *Haribhadra* whose *Ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya*[3] is an admirably unbiassed account of the systems of philosophy, not the *ṣaḍdarśana* as it is generally understood as meaning the six orthodox systems, but those of Buddhism, Nyāya, Sāṃkhya, Jaina, Vaiśeṣika and Pūrvamīmāṃsā, with an appendix on the materialistic system of Cārvāka. Another philosophical tract of his, the *Lokatattvanirṇaya* in Sanskrit verses,[4] is also quite impartial towards other creeds. Haribhadra even says here, that he did not consider the Venerable One his friend, nor other teachers his enemies, that he had no partiality for Mahāvīra, and no hatred against Kapila and other philosophers, and was prepared to adopt the doctrine which was the true one.[5] There is no reason to ascribe these philosophical works to a later

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[1] See *Suali*, Introduzione, p. 59f. 'The Jainas show themselves rather eclectic, and that is the reason why their philosophical literature has a theoretical and historical importance for India, which appears all the greater, the more we study their works' (*Suali*, l.c., p. 60, note 4).

[2] See S. Ch. *Vidyābhūṣaṇa*, Hist. of Indian Logic, p. 217ff.

[3] Edited, with the commentary of Guṇaratna, by L. *Suali* in Bibliotheca Indica, 1905ff.

[4] Edited and translated into Italian by L. *Suali* in Giornale Soc. As. It., 18, 263ff.

[5] See L. de *La Vallée Poussin*, Journal Asiatique, 1911, s. 10, t. XVII, p. 323ff.

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Haribhadra of the twelfth century, as *Vidyābhūṣaṇa* does,[1] who argues that the great Haribhadra whom he dates in the fifth century, could not have referred to such authors as Dignāga and Dharmakīrti. This difficulty does not exist any more, as we know that Haribhadra lived in the eighth century. Haribhadra has also proved his unbiassedness by writing a commentary on the Nyāyapraveśa of the Buddhist Dignāga.

That the Jainas showed such impartiality to other systems makes their philosophical literature so valuable to us.

There is hardly any branch of science that has not been treated by Jainas. In the Nandī and the Aṇuogadāra we meet with a long list of what is called 'false tradition' (mithyāśrutam) or 'worldly' (laukika) sciences, including amongst others the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, the Kāmasūtra, of Ghoṭakamukha, Vaiśeṣika, Buddhaśāsana, Kāpila, Lokāyata, Mathematics. These late canonical books (the Nandi is ascribed to Devarddhi, the compiler of the Canon in the 5th century A.D.) contain also entire sections dealing with such subjects as Kāvyarasa, grammar, division of time, etc.[2]

In ancient and modern times the Jainas have shown active interest in *mathematics*.[3]

In *medical science* the Buddhists seem to have had greater interest than the Jainas. But the oldest dated work on mercurial treatment of diseases is a commentary composed in 1386 A.D. by the Jaina *Merutuṅga* on Kaṅkālāya's Rasādhyāya. Between 1535 and 1668 the Jaina *Harṣakīrtisūri* compiled a collection of prescriptions, the *Yogacintāmaṇi Vaidyakasārasaṃgraha*.[4]

It is surprising, that the Jainas have paid special attention to the *Arthaśāstra*, which is a 'worldly' science *par excellence*. Jaina legends, as told in Hemacandra's Pariśiṣṭaparvan, make Cāṇakya, the minister of Candragupta Maurya, a devout Jaina. If this legend has any historical background, which I doubt, and if the author of the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra were really identical with Candragupta's minister, which I doubt even more, one might think that the famous Arthaśāstra was somehow connected with the Jainas. The fact is, that the whole tendency of the Arthaśāstra, as far as religious matters are touched, is thoroughly Brahmanical. There is only one passage where one could be inclined to think of Jaina or Buddhist influences. Here (Shama Sastri's 2nd Ed.,

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[1] Mediæval School of Indian Logic, p. 48f., Hist. of Indian Logic, p. 208.

[2] Hist. of Ind. Lit., II, 473.

[3] See D. M. *Roy* in Ann. Bhand. Inst., 8, 1926-27, p. 145ff., and *Bibhutibhusan Datta*, the Jaina School of Mathematics, in the Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society, Vol. XXI, 2, 1929, p. 115ff.

[4] See J. *Jolly*, Medicin, in Grundriss III, 10, 1901, p. 3.

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p. 409, XIII, 14, 176) we read: 'He (viz. a king who wishes to pacify a conquered country) should prohibit the killing of animals on the Cāturmāsyas for half a month, on full-moon festivals for four days, on the asterisms sacred to the King or the country for one day; and he should also prohibit the killing of female and young animals, and castration.' But this may refer merely to the pacification of a country in which part the inhabitants are Jainas or Bauddhas, though even in the Brahmanic Dharmaśāstras Ahiṃsā is proclaimed as a virtue. And the rule of Kauṭilya may mean no more than that a king should try to win the sympathies of his new subjects by showing himself as a mild and virtuous ruler.

In the Durganiveśa chapter of the Kauṭilīya (p. 55f.) we are told that in the centre of the city sheds should be erected for Aparājita, Apratihata, Jayanta, and Vaijayanta, and temples for Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, the Aśvins, Śrī and Madurā. Shama Sastri has compared to this passage the list of 'Anuttara' gods mentioned in the Uttarajjhayaṇa: Vijayas, Vaijayantas, Jayantas, Aparājitas, and Sarvārthasiddhas. And it seems to be a general opinion that Jaina deities are meant here. But if we compare the two passages, we shall see that only three of the names correspond to one another: Aparājita, Vaijayanta and Jayanta, while Apratihata has nothing corresponding in the Uttarajjhayaṇa, and Sarvārthasiddha nothing corresponding in the Kauṭilīya. There is, however, no reason at all to see in these names in the Arthaśāstra the names of Jaina deities. For Aparājita, Jayanta, and Vaijayanta are also names of Skanda and other Hindu deities, while Apratihata is an otherwise unknown name. It is most likely, as Dr. *Otto Stein*[1] has suggested, that we have to think in the Kauṭilīya passage of some Hindu war deities, whose worship in a fortress seems as appropriate, as their names 'Invincible', 'Irresistible', 'Victorious', and 'Bringer of Victory' (or 'Banner') are significant. There are also a few other passages in the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra where some technical terms (which, however, have nothing at all to do with Jaina religion) occur that are also found in Jaina Aṅgas or commentaries, as Dr. *Shama Sastri* has pointed out.[2] But the terms in question are taken from the Śilpaśāstra, which may have been known to the authors of the Jaina texts. We are not entitled to conclude from this, as Professor *Jacobi* has done,[3] 'that the Kauṭilīya must have been written near the time of the composition of the Jaina canon'. It seems to me that we have no reason to see any connexion between the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra and the Jaina literature.

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[1] Megasthenes and Kauṭilya, Wien, 1921, p. 295f.
[2] Notes to his (2nd) Edition, pp. 46, 52ff., 55–57, 59, and 61.
[3] Z.D.M.G., 74, 254f.

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It is, however, very noteworthy that the Jainas have at least two works of their own on Arthaśāstra. The first is the *Nītivākyāmṛta* [1] of *Somadeva Sūri*, the reputed author of the Yaśastilaka (written about 959 A.D.); Professor *Jolly* [2] has given a number of parallel texts from this work to the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra, and M. *Vallauri* has quoted some passages from it in his Italian translation of the first Adhikaraṇa of the Kauṭilīya.[3] From these quotations it appeared, as if the Nītivākyāmṛta had largely and unduly copied from the Kauṭilīya or were a kind of paraphrase of it. But in looking over the book as a whole, we find that it is really very different from the Kauṭilīya and very far from being a mere plagiarism. It is true that Somadeva has taken many passages literally or almost literally from the Kauṭilīya, and that in other cases he has paraphrased the words of Kauṭilīya. Somadeva probably thought that his readers would recognize the passages in question as being quoted from what must have been the standard work on Arthaśāstra at his time. If he had written in English, he would perhaps have marked these passages by inverted commas. For Indian readers this was unnecessary. Professor *Jolly* has, however, already pointed out, that the Nītivākyāmṛta differs from the Kauṭilīya in some important details.

The character of the two books is quite different. The Kauṭilīya is a pure *Arthaśāstra*, in which *dharma* is only acknowledged in so far as it may also contribute to the acquirement of *artha*, while in the Nītivākyāmṛta the term *nīti* is used not only in the sense of 'political wisdom', but also of 'moral conduct'. It begins almost like a Dharmaśāstra with the words: 'Now, then, salutation to Kingship whose fruits are *dharma* and *artha*. That from which both prosperity and final beatitude are obtained is called *dharma*. *Adharma*, however, is that which bears results contrary to this'. Liberality and ascetic exercises are recommended in the first chapter. Somadeva says (I, 27–29): 'If he bestows gifts or devotes himself to austerities only a little every day according to rule, he will surely obtain the very highest other worlds. Even atoms when accumulated grow to be Mount Meru in time. Even if only a small particle of religious merit, of learning, or of wealth, be collected every day, it grows greater even than the ocean.' And the whole work is not like the Kauṭilīya-Arthaśāstra a practical hand-book of politics and economics, but rather a Book of Good Counsels for Kings.

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[1] It was first printed, with a ṭippaṇa, Bombay, 1887-8. A new edition with commentary has been published in the Mānikyacandra-Digambara-Jainagranthamālā, No. 22, 1923.

[2] Z.D.M.G., 69, 369ff.

[3] Rivista degli studi Oriental, VI, Roma, 1915, pp. 1317ff.

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Even when in the Nītivākyāmṛta the same subjects are treated as in the Kauṭilīya, we find that Somadeva gives more general rules of conduct, where Kauṭilya insists on the *details* of political practice. What is important for Kauṭilya, is of more or less secondary importance for Somadeva. In the Chapter on War, for instance, we find nothing about all those technical details on military matters that are found in the Kauṭilīya, but only various good counsels how to wage war. Following the list of Prakṛtis exactly as given by Kauṭilya (V, 6, 96, p. 257) : *svāmy-amātya-janapada-durga-kośa-daṇḍa-mitrāṇi prakṛtayaḥ*, Somadeva treats in the chapters XVII–XXIII of the Prakṛtis in the same order. But in the contents of these chapters there is little agreement between the two texts. It is characteristic that the chapters on the fortress, the treasury, and the army are among the shortest in the Nītivākyāmṛta.

The work is written in good Sanskrit prose, only two ślokas are quoted in the whole book. The diction is clear and simple, with short and pointed sentences (but not in Sūtra style) prevailing. Many of these sentences have the appearance of proverbial sayings. I add a few gleanings from the text which may be of some interest.

There is a slight, but very characteristic difference between Kauṭilīya, p. 12 and Nītivākyāmṛta, Chap. III, p. 5f. Kauṭilīya says directly that *artha* is the most important in the *trivarga*, 'for *dharma* and *kāma* are rooted in *artha*'. Somadeva says with a slight nuance (III, 14f.) : *dharmārthakāmānāṃ yugapatsamavāye pūrvaḥ pūrvo garīyān / kālāsahatve punar artha eva dharmakāmayor arthamūlatvāt /* . 'In case of a collision between *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* every preceding one is the more important, but if time does not permit (the pursuit of all the three), *artha* only should be considered, because *artha* is the root of *dharma* and *kāma*.' [1]

The Vth chapter, corresponding to the short second Prakaraṇa Vṛddhasaṃyoga in the Kauṭilīya, is one of the longest chapters in the Nītiv., and gives a full exposition of the duties of a King, without deviating from the Brahmanical point of view, fully acknowledging the *svadharma* for the different castes and stages of life. It begins : 'He is a king who takes the place of Indra towards the well-disposed and the place of Yama against the ill-disposed. For the king's duty is to punish the wicked and to protect the learned, not shaving his head or wearing matted hair and the like (V, 1–3). The king has to fulfil his religious duties, such as the Darśapūrṇamāsa and other Brahmanical rites. He should apply himself to the study both of philosophy (*ānvīkṣikī*) and of the Veda

[1] The last clause *dharmakāmayor arthamūlatvāt* is only found in the old edition of 1887.

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(*trayī*).' 'For one who studies philosophy examines with reasons the strong and weak points of the practicable and impracticable. He does not despair in calamities, and is not spoilt by good fortune. And he obtains clearness of insight and speech. By studying the Veda he becomes exceedingly confident with regard to the duties of the castes. And he also knows the whole system of right and wrong' (V, 56f.).

The necessity of the study of the Lokāyata for the King is explained in the following words (VI, 32–39): 'The best means for carrying on the business of this world is the Lokāyata. For a King who knows the Lokāyata, strives to root out the "thorns" (i.e. the dangerous elements) of the kingdom. Surely, the action of those who are nothing but ascetics, is not irreproachable. He who is entirely given up to mercifulness is not capable of preserving even goods that he holds in his hand. Who will not despise one who is only intent on peace of mind? Peace with evil-doers is an ornament of ascetics, but not of kings. Shame upon the man who cannot show wrath or favour according to his own will and power. He is dead even when he lives, who is not brave against his enemies.'

In the VIIth chapter (on the *trayī*) Somadeva is quite in agreement with the Brahmanical Dharmaśāstras and with the Kauṭilīya (p. 7f.). But he says more about the Śūdras than Kauṭilya, and dwells also upon the duties of 'good Śūdras' (*sacchūdrāḥ*). And though on the whole he acknowledges the *svadharma*, yet he says (VII, 13f.): 'Kindness, truthfulness, abstaining from the property of others, controlling one's desires, avoiding marriage against the order (of castes), and chastity with regard to forbidden women: such is the moral law common to all men. *Like the sight of the sun, indeed, is the moral law common to all men*; but with regard to the performance of the special duties (of castes, etc.) there are fixed rules (besides this general law).'

Quite Brahmanical also is the XIth chapter on the Purohita where we read, for instance (XI, 2): 'For the minister and the Purohita are the King's parents (as it were). Therefore he should not cross them in any of their wishes.' The rules for the daily life of the King, as given in the XXVth chapter, are also essentially Brahmanic, as far as they are not merely rules of diet and hygienics. Thus we read in the Nītivākyāmṛta (XXV, 73): 'After having circumambulated a milch-cow with her calf, he (the King) should go to the judgment-seat'.[1]

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[1] Cf. Kauṭ., p. 38, l. 14f. Other passages not mentioned by Prof. *Jolly* in his paper, where we find Somadeva quoting more or less literally from Kauṭilya are: Nītiv., VII, 23f., and Kauṭ., p. 23 (cf. Manu, VIII, 304; XI, 23); Nītiv., XXX, 68f. and Kauṭ., p. 268f.; Nītiv., XXXI, 1 (marriageable age for women twelve,

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Though Kauṭilya is frequently quoted by Somadeva, his name is not mentioned in the Nītivākyāmṛta. The name of Cāṇakya occurs only once, not as a teacher, however, but only as an example in the Dūtasamuddeśa (XIII, 14), as having killed Nanda by making use of a *tīkṣṇadūta*. Very interesting are the definitions of the different kinds of spies in the Cārasamuddeśa (XIV). The list is longer than in the Kauṭilīya (parallel passages given by *Jolly*, l.c., p. 374). How independent Somadeva, in spite of verbal agreements, is from Kauṭilya, may be seen by a comparison of the *amātyotpatti* (Kauṭ., p. 13f.) with the *amātyasamuddeśa* (Nītiv., XVIII). Some of the most important differences between the Nītivākyāmṛta and the Kauṭilīya have already been pointed out by Professor Jolly (l.c., p. 377f.). Like the Smṛtis the Nītiv. (XXVIII) knows the ordeals as part of the judicial procedure, while they are not mentioned at all by Kauṭilya. The list of the twelve kinds of sons in Nītiv., XXXII, 41, agrees more with Manusmṛti, IX, 159f. than with Kauṭ., p. 146. The examples of queens who murdered their husbands found in Nītiv., XXIV, 35f. are different from those given by Kauṭ., p. 41.

Distinct Jaina teachings are very rare, e.g., XXV, 78, where the king is told not to carry on any sport which involves killing of living beings.

A characteristic feature of the Nītivākyāmṛta are the short pointed sentences some of which may be proverbial sayings. Here is a small selection of such sentences :

VIII, 6f. 'There is always dearth, where the king constantly exacts taxes. When the sea is thirsty, whence shall there be water in the world ?'

The king is warned IX, 4 to inflict punishments only for the welfare of the people, not for filling up his own treasure, for : 'Is that a king or a physician who looks for offences (or diseases) in men only for his own living ?'

X, 48 : *svāminādhiṣṭhito meṣopi siṃhāyate*, 'When set to it by his master, even a ram will become a lion'.

X, 84 : *dīpte gṛhe kūpakhananam kīdṛśam*, 'When the house is burnt down, what is the use of digging a well ?'

X, 87–91 : 'They who are friends in giving intelligent advice, in money matters and in war, are helpful men. Who is not anybody's friend at eating time ? As an unlearned Brahman is not in his place at a Śrāddha, so a fool not at a council. For can a blind man see ? And will the blind man, dragged on by the blind, find the even road ?'

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for men sixteen years) and Kauṭ., p. 154. The list of the eight forms of marriage in Nītiv., XXXI, 4ff. is the same as in Kauṭ., p. 151, but Somadeva gives more details.

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XXIV, 54f. : 'If a dog be fed ever so well, will it avoid bones and unclean food ? Even when a snake is fed with a mixture of milk and sugar, it will never give up its poison.[1] Verily, not even after a hundred lessons the ape will give up his unsteadiness.'

XXV, 38 : 'He who eats moderately, eats much.'

XXV, 53 : 'Thinking that for the strong one everything is wholesome, one should not eat poison.'

Much bloodshed would have been avoided, and the world would have been spared infinite misery, if Somadeva's wise rule had always been followed (X, 101) : *śastrādhikāriṇo na mantrādhikāriṇaḥ syuḥ, 'Military authorities should not be authorities in (political) counsels'*.

Another feature of the Nītivākyāmṛta is the frequent allusion to fables and tales. Thus an *upākhyānaka* is quoted XXIII, 11 to prove that beasts are more grateful than men : 'Once in a forest an ape, a serpent, a lion, and a royal goldsmith[2] who had fallen into a well overgrown with plants, were helped out by a certain traveller, Kāṅkāyana by name ; and in the large town this traveller met with his death from that royal goldsmith ; and (in another story) the crow (came to death) from Gautama'. This is one of the numerous stories of the grateful animals and the ungrateful man, found both in Indian and in European folklore.[3] The well-known Pañcatantra story of the man who carries a he-goat and is told by some villains, and made to believe, that he is carrying a dog

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[1] This sentence (*kṣīrāśrita-śarkarāpānabhojitaś cāhir na kadācit parityajati viṣam*) is only in the old edition (p. 92).

[2] The old edition has only °*ākṣaśālikeṣu* for °*ākṣaśālikasauvarṇikeṣu Āksaśālika* and *āksaśālikasauvarṇika* are probably synonyms, meaning the goldsmith who is appointed by the *suvarṇādhyakṣa* to work in the *akṣaśālā* ('the chamber in which the artistic work of gold and other metals is carried out'). See Kauṭ., p. 85, *Shamasas'ry's* translation, p. 97, note 5. *Akṣaśālin* or *āksaśālika* is also the title of the officials who had to engrave and preserve the copperplates, containing royal grants. *Bühler* (Indische Paläographie, Grundriss, I, 11, 1896, pp. 94, 95) translates *ākṣaśālika* by 'Archivar' ('record-officer') but it seems to be rather an official engraver or artisan in metals.

[3] In the note (Ṭippaṇa) to the old edition the story is told (it is quoted also in the new edition) : 'In a certain country an ape, a snake, a lion, and a royal goldsmith were fallen into a well, the mouth of which was hidden by grass which some wicked man had thrown over it. They were rescued by some compassionate wanderer, Kāṅkāyana by name. The animals, the ape, the snake, and the lion, offered themselves to the helpful Kāṅkāyana, took leave from him and went away. The man, however, the royal goldsmith, pleased him with a hundred deceitful speeches, won his friendship, and after wandering with him through towns and villages, he killed him, in order to rob him of his money, while he was asleep at night in an empty temple in some large town.' Cf. Jātaka, Nos. 72, 73, 482, 516 ; Kathāsaritsāgara 5, 79ff., etc. ; Th. *Benfey*, Pantschatantra (Leipzig, 1859), I, 193ff. ; Hist. Ind. Lit., II, 129, 151, 225.

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(Tantrākhyāyika, III, 5) is alluded to in Nītiv., XXVII, 6. The story of Bhavabhūti's drama Mālatīmādhava is also alluded to in one passage (XXX, 7).

It is interesting to find in the Sadācārasamuddeśa, XXVI, 26 amongst many moral rules of all kinds the old rule: 'He should not cry over the dead, for as the tears drop down, so indeed burning coals will fall down on their hearts.' Compare Mahābhārata, XI, 1, 40; Raghuvaṃśa, 8, 85; Manu, III, 229; Viṣṇusmṛti, 79. 20.

In the last chapter (XXXII, 2) we meet with the term *sāndhivigrahika* for the 'minister of foreign affairs', which does not occur in the Kauṭilīya, while *Kalhaṇa* is quite familiar with it (Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV, 137, 711; VI, 320; VIII, 1304, 2427). Among the 'Miscellanea' of this chapter we find also such things as a list of faults in poetry, eight kinds of poets, the good qualities of singing, music, and dance.

The Dharmaśāstra has always been the domain of the Brāhmans, and we could not expect the Jainas to have produced anything in this śāstra. Yet, the second work on the Arthaśāstra which we have to mention, the *Laghvarhannītiśāstra* [1] of the great *Hemacandra*, has more the character of a Dharmaśāstra than that of a Nītiśāstra, though the principal topics of the Nītiśāstra proper are not missing.

The first Adhikāra contains instructions and rules of conduct for kings, ministers, generals, and other state officials. This is little different from what we find in the Kauṭilīya and other Nītiśāstras. The second Adhikāra, too, agrees on the whole with the chapters on the six methods of politics (*ṣaḍguṇāḥ*), as described in the Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra and elsewhere; Nīti is said (II, 1, 5) to be threefold, consisting of war, punishment, and judicial procedure. The chapter on *daṇḍanīti* (II, 2) begins with a quotation from the Jaina canon, viz. the Sthānāṅga, where seven kinds of punishments are enumerated: 'Seven kinds of punishments are recorded in the Jaina tradition. These are: Expression of regret, prohibition, reproach, reprimand, confinement to a certain district, imprisonment, and corporal punishment, to which the fine is added as the eighth by the masters of politics.' This is the only passage where the authors refer to a Jaina text. And it is the most remarkable feature of Hemacandra's work, that it is written almost entirely from a Brahmanical point of view, and only in a very few places any reference is made to the Jaina creed. All the privileges of the Brāhmans, as well as the rights and duties of castes according to the Brāhmanic system, are fully acknowledged by the Jaina

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[1] Edited at Ahmedabad, 1906. The book is very rare, a new edition is much to be desired.

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author. Thus, he is in perfect agreement with the Brāhmanic Dharmaśāstras,[1] that neither capital nor corporal punishment should be inflicted on Brāhmans, but that they should be subject only to banishment. But Hemacandra claims the same privilege also for women and ascetics. He says (I, 1, 37) in the chapter on the King's duties: 'Even if they have committed a thousand crimes, a woman, a Brahman, and an ascetic should be never made to suffer capital punishment, nor cutting off of limbs, but only banishment should be inflicted on them.' The same verse is repeated, with slight variants, in the chapter on punishments (II, 2, 10).

A certain influence of Jaina ethics may be traced also in the chapter on war. Here it is said (II, 1, 19, 20) that the King should not go to war, before he has tried the three other means of defying the enemy, viz. conciliation, bribery, and creating disunion.[2] For 'doubtful is victory in battle, beyond any doubt is the destruction of human life; if therefore there are other means, the King should avoid war'. But if once he has determined upon war, the King should take care that it should involve as little loss of lives as possible, and that it should be carried on humanly. 'He should not fight with too cruel, poisoned, or treacherous weapons, nor with weapons heated in fire, now with stones, clods of earth and the like . . . . . He should not kill an ascetic, nor a Brahman, nor a coward who has thrown away his arms, nor one who is near his ruin or has met with a calamity, nor an eunuch, a naked one, one who has joined his hands (in supplication), one who is not fighting, nor one who is asleep, or who is ill, nor one who has come for refuge, nor one who holds a blade of grass in his mouth between his teeth,[3] nor a boy, nor one who is about to take the vow (for a sacrifice), nor one who has come (as a guest) to his house.'[4]

In the third Adhikāra the *vyavahāra* or civil and criminal law is treated in the same way as in Manu's law-book according to the

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[1] See Gautama, VIII, 12f.; XII, 46; Āpastamba, II, 5, 10, 16; Baudhāyana, I, 10, 18. 17f.; II, 2, 4. 1; Manu, VIII, 379f.; Nārada, XIV, 9f. and Appendix 41.

[2] *sāman, dāman, bheda.* The four expedients for defying an enemy (*sāman, dāna, bheda, daṇḍa*) are mentioned in the Dharmaśāstras (Viṣṇu, III, 38; Yājñavalkya, I, 345; Manu, VII, 159), in Kāmaṇḍaka's Nītisāra, 18, 3ff. and in later texts. Kauṭilya only alludes to them, see my paper on 'Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra', in Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume, 1926, p. 40.

[3] As a token of submission, making himself a cow, as it were, and therefore entitled to protection. Cf. R. *Pischel*, Ins. Gras. beissen (Sitzungsberichte der presuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, 1908.)

[4] II, 1, 27; 59; 61f. Similar rules occur also in the Dharmaśāstras: Āpastamba, II, 10, 11; Baudhāyana, I, 18. 11; Gautama, X, 18; Manu, VII, 90ff.; Yājñavalkya, I, 323, 325; Mahābhārata, XII, 98. 49.

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eighteen titles of law. Prāyaścitta is the subject of the fourth Adhikāra, with which the Laghvarhannīti ends. In this chapter it is interesting to find all the Brāhmanic penances, such as *pañca-gavya* and others, by the side of such prāyaścittas as the worship of Jina (*jinapūjā*) and *tīrthayātrā*, by which the pilgrimage to Jaina sanctuaries seems to be meant. On the whole, there can be no doubt, that the State of Kumārapāla, in spite of the King's inclinations towards Jinism, rested on a Brāhmanic foundation, and the Jainaśāstraviśāradas who wished to gain influence in the government were prudent enough to respect the Brāhmanic institutions and views of life. They contented themselves with tempering Brāhmanism here and there by Jaina ethics.

The Laghvarhannītiśāstra is, however, only an abridged Sanskrit version of a larger work in Prākrit, the *Bṛhadarhannītiśāstra*, which Hemacandra had written for King Kumārapāla. A quotation from the Bṛhannīti occurs in the chapter on the law of inheritance (p. 151); and at the end of the Strīgrahaprakaraṇa (p. 215) it is said that more details may be found in the Bṛhadarhannītiśāstra. Is there any hope, that manuscripts of this larger Prākrit work on politics may still be discovered ?

This short survey of the contributions of the Jainas to the literature of ancient India, cursory and incomplete as it is, will yet fully bear out the truth of the words which my Guru, the late Professor *Bühler*, has written many years ago :

'In grammar, in astronomy, as well as in all branches of *belles lettres* the achievements of the Jainas have been so great, that even their opponents have taken notice of them, and that some of their works are of importance for European science even to-day. In the south of India where they have worked among the Dravidian peoples, they have also promoted the development of these languages. The Canarese, Tamil, and Telugu literary languages rest on the foundations created by the Jaina monks. Though this activity has led them far away from their own particular aims, yet it has secured for them an important place in the history of Indian literature and civilization.'[1]

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[1] G. *Bühler*, Ueber die indische Sekte der Jainas (Almanach der Kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, 1887, p. 17f.)

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THE ANCIENT HUNGARIAN SCRIPT AND THE BRĀHMĪ CHARACTERS

By C. L. FÁBRI

Most Indian and English readers are probably unaware of the existence of an ancient Hungarian script, now well-known to specialists, and entirely deciphered. It is a so-called Runic Script, but the Magyar *rovás-írás* and the German *Kerbschrift* could better be translated by the term Notch Script. Its alphabet is as follows :—

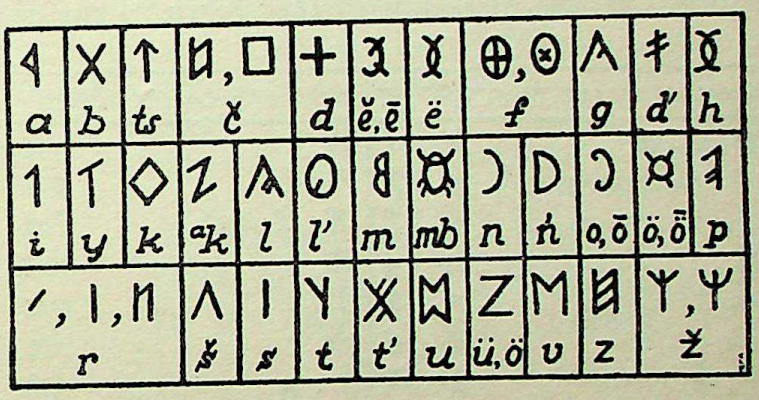

FIG. 1.

This script is mentioned as early as 1282–85 by the chronicler Simon de KÉZA and there are numerous references to it in later literature. Actually, the first document, a ' Notch Calendar ', which must have been carved in wood in the last decade of the fifteenth century, has been preserved for us in the copy of a learned Italian, MARSIGLI, who noted this text down in 1690 during a stay in Transylvania. He added a Romanised transcription under the text and this document is, therefore, of the utmost importance. There is a small number of inscriptions actually preserved, two of which are still in the churches *in situ* where they have been written up in the 16th and 17th centuries respectively.

There is an excellent summary of all that is worth knowing on the subject in an Appendix of Professor J. NÉMETH's latest work: *Die Inschriften des Schatzes von Nagy-Szent-Miklós.*[1] Dr. NÉMETH

[1] Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica II. Budapest: Körösi Csoma Society; Leipsic: Harrassowitz, 1932.

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has succeeded—with a brilliantly logical grouping of scientific facts and a systematic perseverance—in deciphering the unknown inscriptions on the famous gold and silver vessels of what has been often styled as 'the Treasure of Attila', and which has baffled the scholars for more than a hundred years. To the description of this most important discovery, Dr. NÉMETH adds an authoritative study of the Hungarian Notch Script.

The present writer is no specialist in this subject. All I know of it, is mainly derived from Dr. NÉMETH's above-mentioned paper. There seems to be, however, one point upon which an Indologist might comment, without encroachment upon the rights of the specialists and without a knowledge of those Pontic tongues (Kök-turkish, etc.) which seems to be necessary for the study of these texts. This point is the question of *the origin of the characters.*

HUNGARIAN NOTCH SCRIPT		No.	INDIAN BRĀHMĪ SCRIPT	
⊕, ⊙, ⊙	f.	1	⊙	tha
Λ, Λ, originally: Λ	g.	2	Λ	ga
Λ, later: Λ	l.	3	π (late)	la
8	m.	4	8	ma
/, I	r.	5	I	ra
Λ	š.	6	Λ	śa
Y, Y	t.	7	⅄, ⅄	ta
Z	ö, ü	8	Z	o
□, □	č.	9	d	ca
1	y.	10	⊥	ya
∃, originally: 1	p.	11	L, L	pa
4, 4	a	12	Ж, Ж	a

FIG. 2.

Dr. NÉMETH points out that this alphabet is closely related to other Turkish Runic scripts and that 'there is very little doubt that this script has reached its known shape in the neighbourhood of the Pontus'. This must have happened in the second half of the 9th century, before the Magyars came to their present home. There are inscriptions near the Yenissei River (Siberia) and near the Orchon River (Mongolia), the signs of which are closely related to the Hungarian letters, but of all known scripts nearest to the Hungarian, says Dr. NÉMETH, are the characters of the Talas Valley of Russian Turkistān. Four signs of the Hungarian alphabet, however, Dr. NÉMETH derives from Greek letters; these are the letters meaning A, F, H and L.

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Now anyone who has ever looked even cursorily at the Brāhmī characters of India must be struck immediately by the surprising similarity of the Hungarian Notch signs to those of the so-called Aśokan script. This similarity is not only superficial. There are at least eight letters in these alphabets that are almost perfectly identical, whilst some four have similar forms with identical values, and there are some letters that are fairly related in form, although the values are changed.

Our Fig. 2 shows the corresponding Hungarian and Indian forms.

As may be seen, Nos. 9, 11 and 12 are not entirely corresponding, although the similarity must be admitted especially in view of the identical values. Dr. NÉMETH explains that the two horizontal strokes both in No. 3 (L) and in No. 11 (P) are later additions; in that case the resemblance of the older forms to the Brāhmī characters is even more marked.

But there are some other letters too that can be compared, although only conjecturally, with old Indian characters :—

HUNG. NOTCH		N°	IND. BRĀHMĪ	
D	ń	13	D	dha
+	d	14	+	ka
ᚱ	i	15	L	u
ᛉ, ᛘ, ᛉ	ž	16	Ɛ	ja=dža

FIG 3.

These latter ones, of course, do not carry persuasion. But I leave it to the reader to go carefully over the comparisons offered in Fig. 2 and decide for himself whether it is probable that the signs in the two scripts for R, G, O, L, M, T and F-TH have been invented independently from each other.

Another important resemblance between Brāhmī and the Rovás Script is the fact that consonants, unless they are distinguished by diacritic marks, represent in both writings a consonant *plus* a vowel. In the case of Brāhmī every sign is read with an *a* following, *e.g.* + *ka*; in the Hungarian script it is either *e*, or often *a* that follows the consonant, *e.g.* + *de*, or *da*. Both writings use diacritic marks to express other vowels. The marking of the vowels is, however, less regular in the Rovás script than in Brāhmī; *i*, *o* and even *ü* are now and then omitted.

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The identity of this system is evident, we hope, from the few examples given in our Fig. 4.

The theory of a connexion between Brāhmī and an ancient Turkish-Hungarian script is historically not as impossible as it seems at first.

It must be remembered, as Professor NÉMETH himself informs us, that scripts of Turkistān, Central Asia, and Mongolia have been found to be closely related to the Pontic variety of this writing.

Now we should like to point out that large areas of Central Asia have been influenced at that time by Indian civilization and a portion of the population of Turkistān and Central Asia certainly was converted to Buddhism. Manuscripts written in Indian characters, both Kharoṣṭhī and a later variety of Brāhmī, were found in large numbers by exploratory expeditions in recent years. The late type of Brāhmī script was used, we might say, everywhere in Central Asia as late as the 9th-10th century A.D., and I should like to remind the reader of the important fact that Sir Aurel STEIN

HUNGARIAN		BRĀHMĪ	
⅄	ge, ga	Λ	ga
⅄	gi	Λ	gi
⅄	go	Λ	go

FIG. 4.

found Turkish 'Runic' MSS. of the Orchon type at Mīrān *together* with Indian MSS. Mīrān is an entirely Buddhistic site.

Up to the sixth-seventh century at least Buddhism was predominant in Gandhāra and Bactria where Central Asiatic tribes closely related to the Huns and the Turks have ruled but adopted Indian religion and civilisation.

Such being the historical facts, there is no reason to contradict the possibility that the origins of these Kökturkish and Talas Valley scripts (as well as the ancient Hungarian writing) must be sought for in a contact with Buddhist monks writing Brāhmī characters.

But not all evidence is exhausted with these historical arguments. There is archæological proof too for a prolonged many-sided connexion of Hungary with ancient Buddhist countries. That excellent Hungarian scholar, Professor Zoltán de TAKÁCS, has devoted a whole series of articles to this question. I am referring here only to one of his latest papers, *L'art des grandes migrations en Hongrie et en Extrême-Orient*, which he published in the *Revue des Arts*

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Asiatiques of 1931. Here he summarizes the results of many years' work, illustrates with photographs and in drawings numerous objects found in Hungarian soil showing unmistakably the influence of Hellenised and Buddhistic Īrān; Garuḍas of Gandhāra type, *e.g.* are among the typical motifs of metal objects of the Migration Period.

One must, after reading Dr. TAKÁCS's article, entirely adopt his main conclusion, *i.e.* that Hungary of the first centuries of our era was part and portion of the great Asiatic civilizations. Now that—as we believe—we have proved a connexion of the ancient Hungarian Notch script with the Brāhmī characters, there is even more reason to see the unity of Asiatic civilization extending as far west as the Danube. The Hungarians end this unity in 1001 when they adopt Christianity and sever their connexion with all that is to the East of the Carpathian mountains.

I am quite aware of the scientific difficulties that are connected with such comparisons and conjectures as offered in the present paper. But I felt induced to publish this article with the object of giving Turcologists an opportunity of searching for *the original source* of the Turkish Runic scripts.

LEYDEN,
February, 1933.

Additional Note.—The above paper was read before the 1933 Congress of Dutch Orientalists at Leyden, and the discussion which followed showed that my thesis had been accepted by the scholars present. A copy of the paper was sent to Dr. NÉMETH who also agreed to the main thesis of the paper and was kind enough to attract my attention to further literature on the subject. The most important treatise is Professor Vilh. THOMSEN's article in his *Samlede afhandlinger* (1919–1922), Vol. 3, which I have consulted. The great decipherer of the Central-Asiatic Turkish Runic scripts, however, does not offer any explanation as to the ultimate origin of these characters, so that my suggestion seems to be the first serious attempt ever offered. Exception must be made to an early attempt (1917) of Dr. Géza SUPKA whose results, I am given to understand, were unacceptable. I regret to say that my efforts to procure a copy of his original Hungarian article were in vain, so that I am unable to examine his conclusions.

CALCUTTA,
April, 1934.

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CAITANYA-WORSHIP AS A CULT

By S. K. De

It is indeed a remarkable fact that although the direct worship of Caitanya as a deity prevailed in the later history of the sect, the earlier Sanskrit sources of Caitanyaism are entirely wanting in all reference to a distinct cult of Caitanya, and they nowhere inculcate directly such a worship. Their whole object is to establish that Kṛṣṇa is the exclusive object of worship not as an Avatāra but as the supreme deity of the faith ; and they attempt to demonstrate this proposition by an elaborate system of interpretation of those older Purāṇic and sectarian texts that the Bengal school would accept as authoritative. But they make no similar attempt anywhere to establish the supreme godhead or incarnated divinity of Caitanya, probably because such an attempt would have hardly been consistent with their central position that Kṛṣṇa alone is the supreme god. They acknowledge Caitanya as an Avatāra or even as Kṛṣṇa himself, but they never try to reconcile this practical faith in Caitanya with their theoretical creed regarding Kṛṣṇa. The whole theology or emotionalism of the religious system is deduced, more or less, from older devotional texts, chiefly from the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, and we have no direct presentation of the gospel or personal teachings of its founder, nor any express theological claim regarding his supreme and exclusive divinity. The recognized theologians of the sect, the six Gosvāmins, are concerned principally with Kṛṣṇa-līlā in their serious works on theology or Rasa-śāstra and do not speak in the same way at all about Caitanya-līlā and its place in their devotional scheme.

It must not, however, be supposed that there is no reference at all to the divine personality of Caitanya or homage paid to it, but these passages occurring mostly in the poetical works or in the Namaskriyās only of the more learned treatises of the six Gosvāmins, do not make the position clear. Nor do they inculcate any such worship of Caitanya as obtained in the later history of the sect. Caitanya himself probably deprecated the natural tendency of his followers to deify him ; and even his most orthodox biography records in one place[1] (but explains it away) that Caitanya on one occasion disclaimed his identity with Kṛṣṇa. But at the same time there can be no doubt that the belief that he was an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa or even Kṛṣṇa himself certainly took form in his life-time

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[1] *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*, Madhya, xviii, 109–112.

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among the six Gosvāmins, who were his immediate disciples, even though the strictly theological position involved in this belief was never discussed by them.

Some of the Sanskrit Stotras or Stavas which Rūpa and Raghunātha-dāsa wrote clearly indicate this attitude. In the *Stavamālā* of the former Gosvāmin there are three opening Aṣṭakas in praise of Caitanya, although the rest of the work consisting of more than fifty separate Stotras describe in highly erotic imagery the different aspects of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa. In these three Aṣṭakas, however, which are called *Caitanyāṣṭakas*, the high panegyric of Caitanya forms the direct theme. In the first Aṣṭaka, we are told in one verse that the gods like Śiva, Brahmā, and others worship Caitanya, who is the resting place of the Upaniṣads, the all-in-all of the sages, the sweet sentiment of devotion itself to his devotees and the very essence of love to the Gopīs,—epithets which imply an identification of Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa himself. In another punning verse, which applies equally to Kṛṣṇa and to Caitanya, reference is made to the associates and followers of Caitanya, such as Advaita and Svarūpa, as well as to Gajapati [Pratāparudra]. Mention is also made of Caitanya's reciting of Kṛṣṇa's name, his ecstasy, his residence at the sea-side and the Saṅkīrtana processions led by him before the car of Jagannātha. The second Aṣṭaka refers, among other things, to the attitude of some deluded people who, overcome by demoniacal tendency (*asura-bhāva*), do not acknowledge Caitanya,[1] who is Kṛṣṇa in fair form (*akṛṣṇāṅga*), whose Yajña consists of Saṅkīrtana and whose human form is always overflowing with bliss in order to teach the doctrine of love and remove the sorrows of the world. It is noteworthy that the third stanza of this Aṣṭaka explains the fair complexion of Caitanya by the supposition that Kṛṣṇa, desiring to experience the sweet feeling of the Gopīs, concealed his own dark complexion by stealing the golden hue of his beloved. We shall see presently that this fancy led to the later elaboration of the doctrine that Caitanya is the incarnation of Kṛṣṇa as well as of Rādhā. The third Aṣṭaka addresses the son of Sacī directly as Mukunda, whose greatness could not be described even by men of great intelligence like [Vāsudeva] Sārvabhauma.[2]

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[1] The detractors of Caitanya are condemned in one whole section of 15 verses, entitled Caitanyābhakta-nindā by Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's preceptor, in his *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*.

[2] The name of Sārvabhauma is specially mentioned not only because he was one of the foremost veteran scholars of the day but also because he also wrote a Caitanyāṣṭaka, on which perhaps Rūpa's own Aṣṭakas were modelled. Ānandin quotes two verses from this work, one of which is again quoted as Sārvabhauma's by Sanātana and both of which are given as Sārvabhauma's in Kavikarṇapūra's *Caitanya-candrodaya* (vi, 43-44).

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Caitanya has revealed the great wealth of Bhakti-rasa which cannot be found in the Veda or the Upaniṣad and which was never divulged before in any other greater incarnations (*gurutarāvatārāntare*).

In the *Stavāvalī* of Raghunātha-dāsa, again, we have only the first two (out of about thirty Kṛṣṇaite) Stotras directly concerned with Caitanya. The first is an Aṣṭaka of the same type as those of Rūpa, while the second, consisting of 12 verses, is entitled *Gaurāṅga-stava-kalpataru*. The Aṣṭaka refers chiefly to Caitanya's life at Puri, his daily visit to the Jagannātha temple where he used to stand near the Garuḍa-column, the solicitous care of Svarūpa and the servant Govinda, his fits of frenzy at the Saṅkīrtana and his revealing of the Bhakti-doctrine which was inaccessible to the old sages and lay concealed in the Śruti. But the most remarkable statement occurs in the first verse which repeats the fancy of Caitanya's double incarnation by saying that Kṛṣṇa, having once fallen in love with his own beauty reflected in a mirror and desiring to taste his own sweetness as it was tasted by Rādhā, was born (*jātaḥ*) in Gauḍa in the one indivisible body of fair hue belonging to Rādhā who was his own (*apara-gauraika-tanubhāk*).[1] In his Saṅkīrtana Caitanya has thus merely cited with delight his own sweet names (*mudā gāyann uccair nija-madhura-nāmāvalir asau*). The *Stava-kalpataru*, on the other hand, referring to Caitanya's life of devotion at Puri at the house of [Kaśīśvara-] Miśra as well as to his Guru Īśvara Purī, his disciple Svarūpa and his servant Govinda, describes chiefly the ecstatic feelings of divine love which characterized the last phase of his life. It depicts Caitanya more as a Bhakta of passionate devotionalism than as an incarnated deity; but since the *divyonmāda*, the state of divine frenzy, has been regarded in Vaiṣṇava Rasa-theology as the characteristic of the highest Mādana Mahābhāva of Rādhā, there is possibly an implication here of the idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya.[2] In the Namaskriyā verse to his *Muktā-caritra*, however, Raghunātha does not refer to the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya, but simply regards him as an Avatāra who took birth in the womb of Śacī in order to bestow upon this world the bright nectar of his own

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[1] This conceit also finds expression in Rūpa's *Lalita-mādhava* viii, 32, where the astonished Kṛṣṇa is enamoured of his own beautiful reflection on the jewelled wall and expresses a greedy longing to enjoy it like Rādhā (*sa-rabhasam upa-bhoktum kāmaye rādhikeva*); but there is no reference to Caitanya in this connexion.

[2] But this need not be presumed or read into it, for it is probable from all accounts that Caitanya practised the Rāgānugā form of Bhakti and imagined himself as Rādhā. Raghunātha may be referring to this fact without any such theological implication of Caitanya's Rādhā-incarnation.

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Bhakti,[1] while in the body of the work itself, which deals with a fancied episode in Kṛṣṇa's career, no such reference occurs.

Although these poetical and passionate Stotras do not form a part of the regular theology of the school, they are yet composed by professed theologians; and in spite of their undoubtedly devotional character they are yet coloured a great deal by their sectarian beliefs. It is therefore interesting to note that, apart from inevitable embellishment and exaggeration, they acknowledge, even if they do not theologically propound, the divinity of Caitanya and even his identity with Kṛṣṇa. It is, however, not clear from these devout poetical utterances whether Caitanya was regarded as Kṛṣṇa himself or merely as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa. Some passages, as noted above, incline to the former view, but the term Avatāra and its derivatives distinctly occur in other passages. It is, however, evident that here we have the definite suggestion, if not the elaboration, of the doctrine of double incarnation, which later writers developed with great delight. If Caitanya is to be regarded as Kṛṣṇa himself, it was found necessary to explain how Kṛṣṇa's dark colour became transformed in Caitanya into a golden hue. Again, Caitanya's ecstatic feeling of divine love for Kṛṣṇa in an almost feminine rôle of mystically erotic passion also required explanation. It was therefore imagined, in accordance with the Mādhurya theory of the school, that Kṛṣṇa, in order to relish the supreme taste of his own Mādhurya as it was relished by his most beloved Rādhā, assumed the feelings as well as the beauty of Rādhā, so that the two became one in Caitanya. It may be noted here that one of the most approved modes of devotional realization of this sect consisted of the practice of the Rāgānugā form of Bhakti, an emotional state in which the devotee imagined himself as one of the dear ones of Kṛṣṇa and played that rôle in his longings for the deity. The orthodox records show that Caitanya himself probably began this practice, often imagined himself as Rādhā longing for her beloved Kṛṣṇa and tried to realize the same intense yearnings. We shall see presently that in this emotional practice of the Rādhā-bhāva he received support from Rāmānanda-Rāya. If it was a fact that Caitanya, for his emotional devotional purposes, imagined himself as Rādhā, it was only a step that he came to be regarded by his disciples as Rādhā herself incarnated. Rāmānanda's attitude, as reported by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja, probably indicates this final shape which the tendency took; and this conceit was undoubtedly strengthened both by Caitanya's fair complexion and his passionate ecstasies. The idea

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[1] *nijam ujjvalitaṃ bhakti-sudhām arpayituṃ kṣitau |*
uditaṃ taṃ śacī-garbha-vyomni pūrṇaṃ vidhuṃ bhaje ||

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of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya was thus probably suggested by the Rādhā-bhāva, whch his ' divine madness ' for Kṛṣṇa typified, as well as by the theological necessity of furnishing an explanation of the appearance of a fair, instead of a dark, Kṛṣṇa. But the idea is only poetically suggested ; its theological implications never appear to have been fully worked out until Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja sets it forth much later as the view of Rāmānanda-Rāya in his Bengali *Caitanya-caritāmṛta*.

In the professed theological works of the earlier Gosvāmins, however, Caitanya is referred to only in the Namaskriyās, but nowhere else in the body of these elaborate treatises his divinity or incarnated appearance is either mentioned or discussed in the same way as the divinity of Kṛṣṇa. For reasons best known to themselves these recognized theologians of the sect and authors of systematic treatises have not, except in their brief Namaskriyās, made any reference to Caitanya. While the personality and the direct spiritual realizations of the Master are silently passed over, Jīva Gosvāmin, who has given an exposition of the entire philosophy and theology of the sect in his stupendous six *Sandarbhas*, has not uttered a single word about the Caitanya-concept in itself, as well as in relation to the Kṛṣṇa-concept, with which latter concept he appears to be entirly occupied. Rūpa and Sanātana in their two *Bhāgavatāmṛtas* consider with great devotional and scholastic acumen the question of Avatāra, but they have in this connexion made no reference, either direct or illustrative, to Caitanya. Just as the Kṛṣṇa-concept has to be traced and established in the light of Bhāgavata texts, so it was necessary that the Caitanya-concept in a similar manner should find a distinct place in the authoritative philosophic and theological compendiums of the sect. If Jīva thought it necessary to write an elaborate *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*, he never thought it necessary for some unknown reason to write a similar *Caitanya-sandarbha*. This remarkable omission has, no doubt, been made good by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja in his scholastic biography of Caitanya, but Kṛṣṇadāsa's theology on this point is clearly the theology of a later date, anticipated no doubt by the six Gosvāmins but never clearly expressed. Even in the collection of Stotras mentioned above, written by the professed theologians of the sect, we have only four (out of nearly one hundred) separate poems which are devoted to the glorification of Caitanya, the rest setting forth in highly sensuous language and imagery the various phases of the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā. The realization of the Līlā or divine sport of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa indeed formed the central creed which Caitanya himself is reported to have emphasized by the erotico-religious emotionalism characterizing his own

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devotional career. But this Līlā of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is considered by the Gosvāmins only as set forth by the Bhāgavata texts and not as directly realized by Caitanya, only in itself and not in relation to the Caitanya-līlā, even though they regard Caitanya as the first founder of the emotional creed.

We find the same attitude in the dramatic and Rasa-śāstra works of Rūpa Gosvāmin. One might expect that the systematic exposition of the emotional aspects of the creed in the Rasa-śāstra should, by way of illustration at least, make some reference to Caitanya's own realization of this supreme emotion as a Rasa, but as a matter of fact this is never done either here or in Jīva Gosvāmin's *Bhakti-* and *Prīti-sandarbhas* ; and wherever illustrations are drawn they are all cited from the older Purāṇas and not from the newer living exemplification of the doctrines in Caitanya himself. The *Ujjvala-nīla-maṇi* of Rūpa is even remarkable in not containing the usual Namaskriyā to Caitanya, although there is a Namaskriyā addressed to Rūpa's elder brother and master Sanātana ; while in his *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* Rūpa pays only in one verse [1] his homage to the lotus-feet of Caitanya-deva who is Hari, and acknowledges the emotional inspiration which has stimulated even an insignificant person like himself to undertake the task. Turning to Rūpa's dramatic works, which appear to have been purposely composed to illustrate the emotional aspects of the faith, we find that they are entirely devoted to the treatment of certain aspects of Kṛṣṇa-līlā on the basis of the Purāṇic tradition. The *Dāna-keli-kaumudī*, which was probably his earliest dramatic attempt, contains even no express Namaskriyā to Caitanya but opens with two descriptive Namaskriyās to Kṛṣṇa. The Sūtradhāra, however, describes in the third verse the frenzied ecstasy of an unnamed Bhakta, which is probably drawn after Caitanya's example. The work itself, on the other hand, sets forth a supposed episode in Kṛṣṇa's amorous career, which is not found in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* or *Gīta-govinda*, but which certainly became popular in mediæval times as the Dāna-līlā and formed the theme of the Dāna-khaṇḍa of Caṇḍīdāsa's earlier Bengali *Kṛṣṇa-kīrtana*, as well as of many a later Bengali song and poem. In the two other dramatic works of Rūpa, entitled respectively *Vidagdha-mādhava* and *Lalita-mādhava*,[2] Kṛṣṇa is presented as the Vidagdha and the Lalita Nāyaka respectively of the erotico-religious sentiment, emphasizing in turns the Aiśvarya

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[1] *hṛdi yasya preraṇayā pravartito'haṃ varāko'pi* ।
tasya hareḥ pada-kamalaṃ vande caitanya-devasya ॥

[2] The titles are obviously on the model of Jayadeva's descriptive naming of each section of his *Gīta-govinda*.

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and the Mādhurya aspects of Kṛṣṇa's legendary career. The last named work opens with a suitable Namaskriyā to Kṛṣṇa, but the fourth verse pays homage to Caitanya, the son of Śacī, without however directly identifying him with Kṛṣṇa. But the second verse of the first work gives us a remarkable Namaskriyā to Caitanya which is often quoted as expressing the author's views about the founder of the sect to which he belonged. Imperfectly translated into English it runs thus :

> Let the son of Śacī shine in the hollow of my heart, the Hari, who is lighted up by an assemblage of lustre lovelier than that of gold, and who in his compassion descended at last in the Kali Age in order to bestow that wealth of his own Bhakti which was never bestowed before and which consisted of the exalted sentiment of love or Ujjvala-rasa.[1]

In this verse which is similar to, but more definite than, the Namaskriyā verse already cited above from Raghunātha-dāsa's *Muktā-caritra*, Rūpa Gosvāmin states quite expressly his belief of Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa ; but it also appears that the son of Śacī was regarded by him as an Avatāra in the Kali Age (*avatīrṇaḥ*) for the special purpose of teaching, by his own example, the secrets of Ujjvala or Madhura Rasa, by which is of course meant the religiously sublimated erotic sentiment which the Rasa-śāstra of this school established as the highest sentiment of Bhakti.

Rūpa in this attitude appears to follow the views of Sanātana whom in more than one verse he reverently addresses as his master or Prabhu. The third Namaskriyā verse of Sanātana's *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* makes it clear that Sanātana, like Rūpa, regarded Caitanya not so much as the supreme deity of the faith as the ideal devotee-incarnation, the Bhakta-Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa, who incarnated as the fair-hued ascetic son of Śacī for the purpose of himself relishing his own sweetness as it was relished by his own greatest devotee. It says[2] :

> Victory be to this son of Śacī, the Hari here in the dress of an ascetic, bearing the lustre of gold and the name of Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, who having sweetly contemplated from his own

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[1] *anarpitacarīṃ cirāt karuṇayāvatīrṇaḥ kalau*
samarpayitum unnatojjvala-rasāṃ sva-bhakti-śriyam ।
hariḥ puraṭa-sundara-dyuti-kadamba-sandīpitaḥ
sadā hṛdaya-kandare sphuratu vaḥ śacī-nandanaḥ ॥

[2] *sva-dayita-nija-bhāvaṃ yo vibhāvya svabhāvāt*
sumadhuram avatīrṇo bhakta-rūpeṇa lobhāt ।
jayati kanaka-dhāmā kṛṣṇa-caitanya-nāmā
harir iha jati-veśaḥ śrī-śacī-sūnur eṣaḥ ॥

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feelings the feelings of his own beloved towards himself, descended out of greed (to taste them) in the form of a Bhakta or devotee.

It should be noted that the word 'greed' (*lobha*) employed in this verse is probably meant, as the *Bhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* shows,[1] that Sanātana regarded Caitanya's rapture as an example of the Rāgātmikā or Rāgānugā Bhakti. If the nameless running commentary to this work is by Sanātana himself, he speaks, in his own explanation of this verse, of Caitanya as the Bhakti-rūpa Avatāra,[2] the Parama-guru, the dearest Avatāra of Śrī-bhagavat (*śrī-bhagavat-priyatamāvatāra*), who spread the sentiment of Bhakti consisting for the most part of the Saṅkīrtana of his own name (*nija-nāma-saṅkīrtanaprāya-bhakti-rasa-vistāraka*). Elsewhere in the same commentary he makes his views quite clear by saying[3] that the Gopī-bhāva was admitted in this particular Avatāra for the purpose of revealing the special excellence of Prema-bhakti. The belief is further indicated briefly in the Namaskriyā[4] to Sanātana's *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, where he pays homage in almost similar phraseology to the Bhagavat Śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya, who is full of compassion and who became an Avatāra in Gauḍa for the purpose of propagating Prema-bhakti. It is also noteworthy that these passages appear to accept the implications of the theory of dual incarnation of Caitanya, even if they do not expressly state it. But Ānandin in his commentary on Prabodhānanda's *Caitanya-candrāmṛta* attributes an eulogistic verse to Sanātana, which distinctly gives expression to this idea by saying that since the love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa is an expression of the blissful divine attribute (Hlādinī Śakti), it divided itself formerly in this world, in spite of its essential identity, into two forms, but the two have now attained a unity, called Caitanya, which is identical

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[1] See my article on the Bhakti-Rasa-Śāstra of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism in *IHQ*, viii (1932), pp. 651-52.

[2] In *Gaura-gaṇoddeśa-dīpikā* (śl. 10-11) a classification of the stages or hierarchy of Bhakta-rūpa (Caitanya), Bhakta-svarūpa (Nityānanda), Bhaktāvatara (Advaita), Bhakta (Srīnivāsa and others) and Bhakta-śakti (Gadādhara) is elaborated; but this appears to be a further scholastic development of fine distinctions. It is difficult to say if Sanātana wanted to imply any such distinction between Bhakta-rūpa and Bhakta-avatāra, for he appears to use the terms indiscriminately.

[3] *yadyapi śrī-caitanya-devo bhagavad-avatāra eva, tathāpi prema-bhakti-viśeṣa-prakāśanārthaṃ svayam avatīrṇatvāt tena tadarthaṃ svayaṃ gopī-bhāvo vyajyate* (on śl. 1).

[4] *vande śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanyaṃ bhagavantaṃ kṛpāmayam |*
prema-bhakti-vitānārthaṃ gauḍeṣvavatatāra yaḥ ||

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with Kṛṣṇa but which is diversified by the brightness of the state of Rādhā.[1]

These verses, no doubt, reveal an attitude of adoration which verges almost upon worship, but theoretically the Gosvāmins do not maintain any such worship of Caitanya as they insist upon in the case of Kṛṣṇa who alone, in their view, is the supreme deity of the faith. They appear to regard Caitanya more as an Avatāra, the Bhakta-Avatāra *per excellence*, the Kṛṣṇa incarnated as Rādhā, as it were, for a special purpose. It appears therefore that Caitanya-worship had not yet become a definite creed with these immediate disciples of Caitanya. This is even more evident from Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's *Hari-bhakti-vilāsa*, which is the most authoritative compendium of Vaiṣṇava Ācāra of the sect. The eighteen out of twenty Namaskriyās to the twenty chapters of this work express the author's deep reverence for Caitanya and apply to him such eulogistic epithets as the *bhagavat*, *jagad-guru*, *ananta-adbhuta-aiśvarya*, *tīrthottama*, *mahāścarya-prabhāvaka*, but there is nothing in them that does not apply, for instance, to one's Guru; and it is remarkable that nowhere is Caitanya directly identified with Kṛṣṇa or even spoken of as an incarnation. The contents of the work appear to confirm and support this attitude; for it is significant that this elaborate authoritative text on the ritualism of the sect gives no direction for the worship of Caitanya or his image, although it deals elaborately with the every-day service as well as the temple-ritual connected with Kṛṣṇa and his image.

There can be no doubt that the determinative creed of the Bengal sect was that Kṛṣṇa alone is the Bhagavat or the only and most perfect god. As the trend of their exclusively Kṛṣṇaite hymns, dramas and poems, as well as Śāstric works which have Kṛṣṇa as their only theme, should indicate, Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, as well as Gopāla Bhaṭṭa and Raghunātha-dāsa, adhere firmly to this creed. But this position, once accepted, would logically exclude every other claimant from the highest divine honour. It was therefore not possible from the strictly theoretical point of view to make an explicit declaration of what these personal disciples of Caitanya practically believed, namely, that Caitanya, like Kṛṣṇa himself, was the supreme deity of the creed. This inconsistency could be only reconciled by supposing, as they do suppose, that

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[1] *rādhā-kṛṣṇa-praṇaya-vikṛtir hlādinī-śaktir asmād*
ekātmānāvapi bhuvi purā deha-bhedaṃ gatau tau।
caitanyākhyaṃ prakaṭam adhunā tad-dvayaṃ caikam āptaṃ
rādhā-bhāva-dyuti-śabalitaṃ naumi kṛṣṇa-svarūpam ॥

This verse is also cited by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja anonymously at the commencement of his °*Caritāmṛta*.

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Kṛṣṇa as the supreme being of endless incarnations made his descent in the Kali Age in the form of Caitanya, but that he assumed the fair form as well as the fervid feelings of Rādhā, uniting in himself, for the particular purpose of relishing his own divine bliss, the two incarnated forms (to use a theological phrase) of the Śakti and the Śaktimat in a kind of identity in non-identity. The Gosvāmins have taken great pains to demonstrate that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat and not an incarnation, but they never make any attempt in the same way to demonstrate the creed in the case of Caitanya; for to avoid inconsistency they had to acknowledge that Caitanya was an incarnation, even if a unique incarnation, of Kṛṣṇa.

The theory of double incarnation, however, is not elaborated by the six Gosvāmins, but we can see from what is said above that the germs of the idea are already contained in the fanciful suggestions scattered throughout their poetical, if not in their theological, writings. We have already remarked that the idea of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya is attributed by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja to Rāmānanda-Rāya whom Caitanya is said to have met on the banks of the Godavari during his South Indian pilgrimage. It is possible that some such tradition existed, for Rāmānanda is called a Sahaja Vaiṣṇava by Kavikarṇapūra. But Rāmānanda's existing dramatic work, entitled *Jagannātha-vallabha*, the theme of which is the Vṛndāvana-līlā of Kṛṣṇa, makes no reference to Caitanya at all and does not bear out the allegation. The attribution of Sahajiyā tendencies may have originated from Rāmānanda's admiration and close imitation of the frankly sensuous lyrics of Jayadeva, whom the Sahajiyās claim, rightly or wrongly, as their Ādi-guru and one of the nine recognized Rasikas. But our knowledge of Pre-caitanya Sahajiyā cult is so meagre that it is impossible to come to a definite conclusion. It is remarkable, however, that Kṛṣṇadāsa's account for the first time wants to emphasize that after Caitanya met Rāmānanda, the Rādhā-bhāva in Caitanya became intensified, as if Rāmānanda revealed him to himself. From this time also commenced Caitanya's deep appreciation of Jayadeva's erotic mysticism which he is said to have constantly utilized in Rāmānanda's company at Puri. Before this meeting Caitanya appears in his Navadvīpa career chiefly as an incarnation of or identical with Kṛṣṇa, but after the meeting he is held more and more to be the embodiment not only of Kṛṣṇa but also of Rādhā. The closing years of his life at Puri, where Rāmānanda was one of his constant companions, are said to have been characterized by what is regarded as the highest emotion of the devotional state, namely, the Mādana Mahābhāva of Rādhā. That association with Rāmānanda apparently formed a turning point in Caitanya's career of Bhakti

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is indicated also by the report of Kṛṣṇadāsa that it was the spiritual insight of Rāmānanda which revealed to Caitanya that he had, for the purpose of realizing his own divine nature, usurped the complexion and devotional spirit of Rādhā in the present Avatāra.[1] We are further told that it is to Rāmānanda alone, and to no other associate or follower, that Caitanya revealed himself in the united form of both Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā.[2]

On the other hand, Prabodhānanda Sarasvatī, who was Gopāla Bhaṭṭa's preceptor, makes direct use of this doctrine in his *Caitanya-candrāmṛta*. This work, consisting of a series of 146 devotional lyrics in praise of Caitanya, may not be a recognized work of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism but it has been held in great esteem. In this work, Prabodhānanda appears to regard Caitanya as one of the greatest Avatāras of Kṛṣṇa (śl. 1 and 7), who descended to earth in the womb of Śacī for propagating the spirit of Bhakti unrevealed even to great sages of old (śl. 18). In one whole section (the tenth) of 21 verses he speaks of the greatness of the Caitanya-Avatāra, although it is maintained that he is not a partial incarnation (Aṃśa-Avatāra) like the Fish, the Boar and other incarnations of past ages (śl. 141). At the same time there are other passages which seem to indicate that Prabodhānanda believed Caitanya to be the Īśvara (śl. 37) and Hari himself (śl. 41, 57). The author, who was more a devotee than a theologian, does not appear to possess any exact theology; but whatever might be his belief or theology on this point, there is no doubt that his work is one of the earliest which directly inculcates not only adoration but worship of Caitanya.[3] He also seems to be aware of the idea of Caitanya's dual incarnation. He tells us (śl. 13) that in Caitanya we have the form of Kṛṣṇa united with that of Rādhā and bearing the beauty of the interior of a full-blown golden

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[1] राधिकार भावकान्ति करि अधिकार। निज रस आस्वादिते करिआछ अवतार॥

[2] तवे हासि प्रभु निज देखाल स्वरूप। रसराज महाभाव दुइ एक रूप॥

There appears to be no recognition of this doctrine in the earlier Bengali biography of Caitanya by Vṛndāvana-dāsa. The Nāgara-bhāva of Caitanya, emphasized by Locana-dāsa's Bengali biography, apparently develops the idea of Kṛṣṇa-incarnation in a different direction, and has hardly any connexion with the thesis of the Rādhā-incarnation of Caitanya. Jayānanda, the other Bengali biographer of Caitanya, generally steers clear of all such theological subtleties.

[3] But Prabodhānanda's pupil Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, as we have seen above, hardly lends any support to such a cult. It is possible that although the ascetic Prabodhānanda was apparently older than Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, having been his uncle and preceptor, his conversion to Caitanyaism may have taken place later when such a cult was gaining ground, and his work consequently may be of a later date; or this view may have been his personal belief.

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lotus.[1] He therefore addresses Caitanya (śl. 43) as the fair-complexioned lord of the Gopīs manifested in the Kali Age.[2]

It appears therefore that in this charming fancy of the Caitanyaite poet-devotees, most of whom were also the recognized theologians of the sect, an ingenious explanation was found of the golden hue of Caitanya's body, which would have been dark as Kṛṣṇa's had it not been for the Rādhā-element. As it appears from the works of the Gosvāmins, it was at first, more or less, a devotional poetical fancy; but it was soon developed into a fundamental doctrine, and it is probable that from this theory originated the common epithet, Gaurahari, of Caitanya, with an evident pun on the word *gaura*, which makes the appellation mean at the same time 'Gaura who is Hari' and 'the fair-complexioned Hari'.

The conception of the dual incarnation was, therefore, not unknown to the original Gosvāmins, but its theological implications are not found systematically developed until we come to the time when Bengali Caitanyaite works, which in course of time almost superseded the earlier Sanskrit sources of Caitanyaism, came to be composed. We find it set forth in its full-fledged form in the Bengali theological biography of Caitanya written by Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja about 1615 A.D. We need not consider here in detail this later theological elaboration of the idea, but the process of Caitanya's elevation from single to double incarnation, as we have already noted, can be traced in the account which Kṛṣṇadāsa records. Although there are many passages in which Kṛṣṇadāsa speaks of Caitanya as an Avatāra, the ideal Bhakta-Avatāra with the mission of Prema-bhakti, yet he expresses in unambiguous language his belief that *śrī-kṛṣṇa-caitanya prabhu svayaṃ bhagavān*, thus employing to the case of Caitanya the technical theological expression *svayaṃ bhagavān* which had been hitherto applied to Kṛṣṇa alone. In Kṛṣṇadāsa's time Caitanya-worship apparently became an accomplished fact.[3] This zealous biographer of Caitanya's, who also

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[1] *vibhrat kāntiṃ vikaca-kanakāmbhoja-garbhābhirāmam* ।
ekībhūtaṃ vapur avatu vo rādhayā mādhavasya ॥

[2] *kalau prakaṭa-gaura-gopīpatiḥ*, with an obvious pun on the word *gaura*.

[3] Some of the immediate disciples of Caitanya like Narahari-Sarkāra and Vaṃśīdāsa appear to have believed in their own way in the worship of Caitanya's image. In the *Vaṃśī-śikṣā* of Vaṃśīdāsa we are told that Vaṃśīdāsa, being convinced by means of a vision that he should propagate the worship of Caitanya's image, carved an image out of the wood of the tree under which Caitanya was born. It is also said elsewhere that Pratāparudra of Orissa had a life-sized image of Caitanya made some time before his death, but since there is no independent evidence that Pratāparudra was ever a convert to Caitanyaism, the authenticity of this story is doubtful. In any case, these are isolated and sporadic instances and do not bear witness to any theoretical establishment of Caitanya-worship as a cult.

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appears to have been a trained theologian in the school of his acknowledged Gurus Rūpa, Sanātana and Jīva, spares no pains to demonstrate, with a wealth of theological texts and arguments, Caitanya's essential identity with Kṛṣṇa, laying down emphatically that there is no other greater Tattva in the world than Caitanya who is Kṛṣṇa (*na caitanyāt kṛṣṇāj jagati para-tattvaṃ param iha*). Kṛṣṇadāsa therefore takes upon himself the task of analysing the Caitanya-concept and thus supplying an important omission of the previous theologians of the sect. He achieves this end chiefly by applying to the case of Caitanya all the divine attributes and energies of the Bhagavat-Kṛṣṇa which had been elaborated by his predecessors and which have been discussed from the theological point of view by Jīva Gosvāmin in his *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha*. Some writers even go further, and, identifying Caitanya with Kṛṣṇa, evolve a series of Caitanya's Parikaras and Pārṣadas parallel to those of Kṛṣṇa, so that each associate and follower of Caitanya becomes from this point of view an incarnation of the various associates and followers of Kṛṣṇa.

It is not necessary to consider here the arguments by which Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja establishes his position, but what is interesting for us here to note in his analysis of the Caitanya-concept is the further development of the theory of dual incarnation, in which he finds one of the principal theological justifications of the advent of Caitanya. In applying the characteristics of the already established Kṛṣṇa-concept to the analysis of the Caitanya-concept, Kṛṣṇadāsa appears to maintain that the latter concept may be regarded as a supplement to the former. The motiveless attribute of divine bliss is the *raison d'être* of Caitanya-līlā as it is of Kṛṣṇa-līlā; but while in the latter case the supreme deity enjoys the bliss as the subject (Āśraya), in the former case the bliss is enjoyed both as the subject (Āśraya) and the object (Viṣaya). In other words, Kṛṣṇa the Śaktimat in his Vṛndāvana-līlā enjoys the bliss arising from his association with his Śakti, Rādhā, but he does not enjoy the bliss, which Rādhā realizes, as inherent in himself. In the Caitanya-līlā, therefore, he combines the rôles of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā, who have separate and real existences in spite of essential identity in the supreme but hitherto unattained divine unity of the subject and object of bliss.[1] The display of the blissful divine attribute

[1] It is curious, however, to note that in the later hagiology of the sect Caitanya's intimate friend and follower Gadādhara is regarded as an incarnation of Rādhā and the Śakti of Caitanya (*Gaura-gaṇoddeśa*, śl. 11), while this honour is not accorded to either of the two wives of Caitanya. It is not denied that Caitanya is Rādhā, but since Caitanya is also Kṛṣṇa, his Śakti from this aspect is Gadādhara. As Ānandin puts it: *svayaṃ śrī-rādhikā . . . . eka-prakāśena śrī-caitanyenābhinnā,*

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(Hlādinī Śakti), therefore, is supposed to receive a further development in Caitanya than in Kṛṣṇa. The difference is merely a difference in the particular Līlā or divine sport, resulting in Caitanya's adoption of the complexion and feelings of Rādhā, as well as those of Kṛṣṇa, for a greater realization of the blissful attribute, but it does not affect Caitanya's intrinsic divine selfhood as Kṛṣṇa. The doctrine of the inscrutable Bhedābheda, which is peculiar to the school, applies also here between the Kṛṣṇa-concept and the Caitanya-concept; for there is identity so far as the intrinsic divine nature is concerned but there is a difference in the character of the divine sport.

But other theological difficulties were also perceived and had to be reconciled. In the orthodox Purāṇa lists of Avatāras and direct advents of the deity, Caitanya is not expressly mentioned, but his descent has to be presented as a case of fulfilled prophecy in order to bring conviction to the mind of the unfaithful. Then again, there is a *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* text (xi, 8, 13) [1] which apparently informs us that Kṛṣṇa appeared in the three earlier ages in three different complexions respectively, viz. White (Śukla) in the Satya, Red (Rakta) in the Tretā and Golden-yellow (Pīta) in the Dvāpara Age, but it further adds that now, i.e. apparently in the Kali Age, he appears as dark-blue Kṛṣṇa. But the same *Srīmad-bhāgavata* tells us elsewhere that the god is dark-blue in the Dvāpara (*dvāpare bhagavān śyamaḥ*, xi, 5, 25), so that the two statements appear to contradict each other. To reconcile this conflict it is maintained by an ingenious interpretation of the texts that the intention really is to indicate that the deity appeared as dark-blue in Dvāpara and not as golden-yellow, which must be the colour, as evident from Caitanya's complexion, suitable to the Kali Age. In this connexion both Rūpa and Jīva employ (without indicating that it is a quotation), as a part of their respective Namaskriyās to their *Saṃkṣepa-bhāgavatāmṛta* and *Tattva-sandarbha*, the following verse, which occurs also in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* (xi, 5, 29):

kṛṣṇa-varṇaṃ tviṣākṛṣṇāṃ sāṅgopāṅgāstra-pārṣadam |
yajñaiḥ saṅkīrtana-prāyair yajanti hi sumedhasaḥ ||

The verse has been explained by Śrīdhara, without any particular sectarian colouring, as applying generally to Kṛṣṇa; but both Rūpa and Jīva, as well as Sanātana in his *Vaiṣṇava-toṣaṇī* commentary on

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prakāśāntareṇa gadādhara-paṇḍita-svarūpā (on *Caitanyacandrāmṛta*, śl. 118). See *IHQ.*, viii (1932), p. 652, f.n. 12.

[1] *āsan varṇās trayo hyasya gṛhṇato'nuyugaṃ tanuḥ |*
śuklo raktas tathā pīta idānīṃ kṛṣṇatāṃ gataḥ ||

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the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata*, appear to take the verse as predicting in particular the advent of Caitanya in the Kali Age. According to Śrīdhara's explanation the verse emphasizes the pre-eminence of the Kṛṣṇa-Avatāra in the Kali Age.[1] The phrase *kṛṣṇa-varṇaṃ*, in his opinion, apparently refers to his dark colour, and the phrase *tviṣākṛṣṇam* is interpreted in two ways by disjoining the word differently, viz. (i) in effulgence he is not dark (*tviṣā akṛṣṇa*) as he is dark in complexion, but shines like a bright sapphire (*indranīla-maṇivad ujjvalam*), or (ii) in his bright divine presence he is Kṛṣṇa (*tviṣā kṛṣṇam*), meaning that in the Kali Age he is pre-eminently the Kṛṣṇa-Avatāra. According to Śrīdhara, again, the word *aṅga* in the verse refers to Kṛṣṇa's beautiful limbs, *upāṅga* to his natural embellishments like Kaustubha, *astra* to such weapons as Sudarśana, and *pārṣada* to his retinue consisting of Sunanda and others. The word *yajña* need not, in his view, refer to anything more than general worship (*arcanā*), and the word *saṅkīrtana* need not in the same way be taken in any narrow technical sense but should be interpreted generally as meaning the reciting of Kṛṣṇa's name (*namoccāraṇa*) and praise (*stuti*).[2]

For those who see in this verse an anticipation of Caitanya's advent it is not difficult to interpret it accordingly. Such methods of interpretative ingenuity are not unknown in Sanskrit mediæval theology or philosophy; and such feats are comparatively easy in a language like Sanskrit which affords special facilities regarding the large number of meanings which may be assigned to particular words, the different modes of splitting up compounds and the diverse ways in which the syllables comprising a word or a sentence can be disjoined. It is quite natural therefore for the predisposed Bengal Gosvāmins to find in this verse a prophecy of Caitanya's appearance and press it into sectarian service. Accordingly, they agree in splitting up the phrase *tviṣākṛṣṇam* only in one way, viz. *tviṣā akṛṣṇam* 'in brightness not dark' and making it refer to Caitanya's bright and fair complexion; while the phrase *kṛṣṇa-varṇa* is supposed to refer to the citation of the syllables (*varṇa*) of Kṛṣṇa's name by Caitanya, although the more subtle Jīva

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[1] *anena kalau kṛṣṇāvatārasya prādhānyaṃ darśayati.*

[2] Even if Saṅkīrtana here be supposed to mean the peculiar Vaiṣṇava mode of singing Kṛṣṇa's name, the occurrence of the word in this passage in the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* only indicates, apart from any sectarian interpretation, that the mode was fairly old, at least older than Śrīdhara who accepts this passage as genuine. If this is correct, then the Saṅkīrtana is probably not such an innovation introduced by Bengal Vaiṣṇavism as it is often supposed to be, although it must be admitted that Bengal Vaiṣṇavism first realized its possibilities and made it into an effective mode of propagating Bhakti.

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appears[1] to think that the phrase refers to the fact that Caitanya was inwardly Kṛṣṇa himself (*antaḥ-kṛṣṇa*) but outwardly Gaura or Caitanya, fair in complexion (*bahir gaura*, with the usual pun on the word *gaura*), with an implied allusion to the Prakaṭa and Aprakaṭa aspects of the divine sport. All interpretations of the Bengal school, however, agree that the *saṅkīrtana-prāya yajña* in the verse undoubtedly refers to the new mode of emotional worship by loud singing, music and dancing which the school made so popular. They also agree that the rest of the verse means that in this Līlā Caitanya had for his weapons (*astra*) only his companions like Nityānanda (*aṅga*), associates like Advaita (*upāṅga*), as well as followers like Gadādhara and others (*pārṣada*). What value this interpretation in itself may be judged to possess, there can be no doubt that it has an important bearing on the practical creed of Caitanyaism. But it is at the same time somewhat extraordinary that, apart from such passing references in the Namaskriyās and poetical effusions, neither Rūpa, Sanātana nor Jīva in the body of their elaborate and voluminous theological writing ever discusses, amplifies or illustrates the question from the point of view of this important bearing.

It is clear, however, from what has been said above, that the earlier Gosvāmins of Caitanyaism implicitly accept Caitanya's identity with Kṛṣṇa, even if they explicitly declare only his Avatāratva; and to explain this identity they indulge in the mystical devotional fancy of the dual incarnation of Caitanya. The accepted theory is that Kṛṣṇa's dark colour and the form of a Gopa sporting

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[1] This verse is explained at some length by Jīva at the beginning of his *Sarvasaṃvādinī* Anuvyākhyā to his *Tattva-sandarbha*. The prose passage at the commencement of this explanation gives us the relevant context that the *Śrīmad-bhāgavata* verse eulogises Caitanya, to whom an eulogistic reference is also made. In this reference of his, Jīva Gosvāmin appears to believe that Caitanya in the Kali Age is an Avatāra worthy of worship by the Vaiṣṇava, that he is the presiding deity of his own Sampradāya, that by his descent he spread the current of loving devotion for the Bhagavat, and that his Bhagavad-bhāva has been well established by the insight of endless believers in the Bhagavat. This is high praise indeed, but it is not clear if Jīva attempts here at all to establish that Caitanya himself is the Bhagavat, as he has in his *Kṛṣṇa-sandarbha* taken pains to establish that Kṛṣṇa himself is the Bhagavat. On the other hand, Jīva appears inclined to accept Caitanya as an Avatāra of Kṛṣṇa. The only other reference that Jīva makes to Caitanya occurs in the Namaskriyā to *Gopāla-campū* and *Saṅkalpa-kalpadruma*. In both these works he employs the same Namaskriyā which comprehensively includes in one Anuṣṭubh verse homage to Kṛṣṇa, Kṛṣṇa-caitanya, Sanātana, Rūpa, Gopāla-Bhaṭṭa and his own father Vallabha and which can also be interpreted so as to apply exclusively to Kṛṣṇa. The theme of both these works is of course Kṛṣṇa-līlā. In his *Harināmāmṛta-vyākaraṇa* there is a Namaskriyā to Kṛṣṇa, but not to Caitanya.

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in Vṛndāvana-līlā are real and eternal, being essential and intrinsic to his divine selfhood; but here, in Caitanya, Kṛṣṇa has apparently manifested himself differently. Here we have none of the mighty divine qualities of Kṛṣṇa but only the rapture of erotic mysticism. These facts present theological difficulties which have to be explained. They are explained by this curious fancy of the external Rādhā-incarnation containing in itself the internal Kṛṣṇa in essence. This fancy became a creed in the next generation, and the cult of Caitanya-worship became an inevitable result. It would seem strange indeed that these devout minds should exercise themselves so much on the question of colour and complexion, but this is in perfect accord with the scholastic spirit of the age as well as with the theological position of the school. The colour and complexion of Kṛṣṇa was regarded as a part of his divine essence, and any anomaly in this direction in his subsequent appearance has to be scholastically explained. The task of the later writers was to establish the supreme godhead of Caitanya, and all the theological difficulties arising out of the sacred authoritative texts must be settled by the proper scholastic method. The fact of Caitanya's fair complexion and display of ecstatic feminine emotions, which were absent in the legendary Kṛṣṇa, thus gave an opportunity of establishing as a doctrine the theory of dual incarnation, which was indeed suggested but not fully developed by the recognized earlier authorities of Caitanyaism.

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DRESS AND OTHER PERSONAL REQUISITES IN ANCIENT INDIA

[MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

By GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

'In the life of man the first and foremost are food and clothing,
To man these two are the fetter and chain,
Which bind him to the field of rebirth.'
'Clothing is enough, if your body is covered,
Food is sufficient, if you do not die of hunger.'—*Buddha.*

General

Here I am to present a succinct account of dress and other personal requisites that were in use among the people of Ancient India, and to indicate man's indebtedness to plants for the materials of clothing and beautification. The materials derived from sources other than the vegetable kingdom are left out of consideration.

The Vedas bring man before us perfectly well dressed, caring for dress and creating an art of making dress. It is clear that the Vedic Indian was ordinarily in the habit of putting on a *vastra* (cloth),[1] a *vasana* (garment, may be a shirt),[2] an *uttarīya, adhivāsa* (overgarment),[3] or *pravara*, or *pravāra* (covering),[4] and a *uṣṇīṣa* (turban).[5] The women used to put on a *nīvi* (undergarment),[6] *paridhāna* (garment),[7] an *adhivāsa* (a veil, *atka* and *drapi*) [8] and an *uṣṇīṣa* (turban).[9] The garments used to be coloured[10] or uncoloured (*pāṇḍva*).[11] Besides the above, there are scattered references to clothing in general (*vāsas*) [12] throughout the Ṛg-Veda.

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[1] R.V., i. 26. 1 ; 134. 4 ; iii. 39. 2 ; v. 29. 15 and so on ; A.V., v. 1. 3 ; ix. 5. 25 ; xii. 3. 21, etc.

[2] R.V., i. 95. 7 ; A.V., viii. 2. 16 ; Chānd. Up., viii. 8. 5 ; Kauś. Up., ii. 15.

[3] R.V., i. 140. 9 ; 162. 16 ; x. 5. 4.

[4] Bṛhad. Up., vi. 1. 10.

[5] A.V., xi. 2. 1 ; Ait. Brāh., vi. 1 ; Śat. Brāh., iii. 3. 2, 3 ; iv. 5. 2, 7 ; xiv. 2. 1, 8.

[6] A.V., viii. 2. 16 ; xiv. 2. 50 ; Taitt. Saṃ., vi. 1. 1, 3 ; Vāj. Saṃ., iv. 10, etc. ; Śat. Brāh., i. 3. 3, 6 ; iii. 2. 1, 15 ; v. 2. 1, 8 ; Kāt. Śrau. Sūtra, xiv. 5. 3.

[7] A.V., viii. 2. 16 ; Bṛhad. Up., vi. 1. 10.

[8] R.V., i. 140. 9 ; 162. 16 ; x. 5. 4.

[9] A.V., viii. 2. 16 ; xiv. 2. 50, etc.

[10] Śāṅkh. Āraṇya. xi. 4.

[11] Śat. Brāh., v. 3. 5, 21.

[12] R.V., i. 34. 1 ; 115. 4 ; 162. 16 ; vii. 3. 24 ; x. 26. 6 ; 102. 2, etc. ; for details see also Vedic Index, II, pp. 291–293.

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The importance of cloth as a cardinal necessity of civilization was realized by the Vedic Indians and the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa holds that 'all civilized persons would wear clothing of some sort'.[1]

Vātsyāyana, the putative author of the Kāmasūtra, prescribes the same dress for the *nāgaraka* with the addition only of a handkerchief. He tells us that 'the nāgaraka wears two garments, a *vāsa* or *vastra*, and an *uttarīya* or a wrap for the upper part of the body. This upper garment was sometimes very highly scented with rich perfumes or flowers. He must always carry a handkerchief (*karpaṭa*) with himself for removing perspiration (सातत्याच्च संवृतकक्षाखेदापनोदः).[2]

According to Buddhist texts, the robes of Bhikkhus consisted of the *saṅghāṭi* (double cloak), *uttarāsaṅga* (upper garment), *antarāvāsa* (inner garment)—these three were collectively known as *cīvara; nivāsana, prati-nivāsana* (both petticoats), *saṅkakṣikā, prati-saṅkakṣikā* (side-covering cloths), *kāya-proñkhana* and *mukha-proñkhana* (towels for wiping the body and face), *keśa-pratigraha* (shaving cloth), *kaṇḍupraticchada* (cloth for itching) and *bhesajapariṣkāracīvara* (garment for medicament); and that for bhikkhunis or nuns consisted of: *saṅghāṭi, uttarāsaṅga, antarvāsa, saṅkakṣikā* and a *skirt*.[3]

Style of dressing.

The manner of wearing robes has been faithfully recorded by Yuan Chwang. He says that 'the men wind their garments round their middle, then gather them round their armpits and let them fall down across the body, hanging to the right. The robes of the women fall down to the ground; they completely cover their shoulders. On their heads the people wear caps with flower wreaths and jewelled necklets. In North India, where the air is cold, they wear short and close-fitting garments. The dress and garments worn by non-believers are varied and mixed. Some wear leaf and bark garments.'

'The Shamanas have only three kinds of robes. The cut of the three robes is not the same, but depends on school. The *sang-kio-ki* covers the left shoulder and conceals the two armpits. It is worn open on the left and closed on the right. It is cut longer than the waist. The *ne-fo-se-na* has neither girdle, nor tassels. When putting it on it is plaited in folds and worn round the loins with a cord fastening. Nothing is said about *seng-kia-chi-saṅghāṭi*. The

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[1] S.B.E., XXVI, p. 9; XLIV, p. 69.

[2] Kāmasūtra, I. iv. 6—*Sādhāraṇamadhikaraṇam*; see also, Chakladar, Social Life, pp. 156, 159.

[3] Cf. Pātimokkha, 18–24; 28–30; 45, 54; M. vii, viii, passim; Cu. v, 29; of women, Cu. x, 10 (M. viii, 29); S.B.E., XIII; and I-Tsing, Chs. X–XII, Necessary food and clothing, pp. 54 and 78.

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schools differ as to the colour of this garment: both yellow and red are used.'[1]

The companions of Alexander noticed the same style of dressing, and the costume of the masses at the present time differs in no respect from what the Greek writers indicate in their descriptions.[2] And why? Undoubtedly the dress of the Indians is best suited to the climatic conditions of the land. Colonel Meadows Taylor, an army officer, who lived in India for a long time, in appreciation of Indian dress, writes: 'a form of dress (Indian) than which anything more convenient to walk, to sit or to lie in, it would be impossible to invent'. (Edinburgh Review for July, 1867.)

About the dress of women of India we may quote Dr. Mitra who writes: 'After a careful survey of the sculptures extant, and the notices to be met with in ancient Sanskrit records, I am disposed to believe that the bulk of the women of the country wore the *sāri*, and added thereto a bodice; that respectable women put on a jacket over the bodice, and covered the whole with a scarf or *chādar*, and that some habited themselves with the petticoat or the drawers along with the bodice, the jacket and the scarf'.

Evolution of dress

The dress of the Indians must have gone through certain stages of evolution before it reached a final shape. The first dress of man seems to have consisted of leaves and grasses matted together, and hung round the waist. There are references in the Vedic texts to the wife of a sacrificer putting on a garment of *kuśa* grass.[3]

In the Vinaya texts we have mention of garments made of grass, of bark and of leaves (*phalaka*).[4] In the Vessantara-Jātaka we read :—

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[1] Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. I, Bk. II, 7. pp. 75-76.

[2] Arrian noted in his Indika (Ch. XVI): 'They wear an undergarment of cotton which reaches below the knee half way down to the ankles, and also an upper garment which they threw partly over their shoulders and partly twist in folds round their head'. Nearchos (McCrindle II. XV, 20) notes that the 'natives wore a cloth which reached to the middle of the leg, a sheet folded about the shoulders and a turban rolled round the head'. See also Indo-Aryan, Vol. I, pp. 177, 185-186, 199.

The recently discovered statuettes at Mohenjo-Daro (circa 3500 B.C.) show that the dress of the Indus people (male) though preserved in a very incomplete state, consisted of two garments: 'a skirt or kilt fastened round the waist, and a plain or patterned shawl which was drawn over the left and under the right shoulder, so as to leave the right arm free'. Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus civilization, Vol. 1, p. 33.

[3] Śat. Brāh., v. 2. 1, 8; Taitt. Saṃ., vi. 1. 9, 7; ii. 2; Ait. Brāh., i. 3, etc.; Vāj. Saṃ., ii. 32; xi. 40. Commenting on this Dr. Das writes, 'this is a relic of byegone ages when probably grass dress was used'. Rig-vedic culture, p. 211.

[4] Mahāvagga, viii. 28. 2; S.B.E., Vol. 17.

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'Maddi who once Benares cloth and linen used to wear,
And fine kodumbara, how bark and grasses will she bear?'[1]

Yuan Chwang notes that some of the non-believers wore leaf and bark garments.[2]

In the next stage the *valkala* or bark was used for the purpose of clothing. In the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (ii. 5. 3, 5) and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa (i. 4. 7, 6) *valkala* in the sense of bark cloth has been used. It used to be utilized as material for clothing because it was cheaper than wool and easily available. The most interesting instance that will occur to every reader is that of the Epic hero, Rāma, with his consort Sītā and his brother Lakṣmaṇa who put on bark as cloth during their long exile of fourteen years in the forest. The other instances are of Gaurī in the Kumārsambhava and Śakuntalā in the Śakuntalā of Kālidāsa, where they put on bark clothes when they lived in the forest. It must also be noted that the cloths, if they can be said to be cloths, put on by ascetics are invariably *valkala*: a variety is, in some cases, with intermixture of skins of tiger, deer and the like. According to Heredotos: 'The(se) Indians wear (also) a garment made of rushes which when they have cut the reed from the river, and beaten it they afterwards plait like mat and wear it like corselet'.[3]

In the third stage, we meet with fully developed garments. Among the terms used in the Vedas in connection with garments, we have *suvasana* (splendid garment,[4] well dressed[5]) *paridhāna* (dyed garments),[6] *peśas* (embroidered garment of a female dancer),[7] *vādhūya* (bridal garment),[8] and *vātāpana* (wind guard).[9] This is a sure indication that the art of weaving reached a high degree of perfection. The following quotations from the Ṛg-Veda will make the point clear:—

'. . . . . and like a wife desirous to please her husband, Ushas puts on becoming attire and smiling as it were displays her charm', I. 124. 7.

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[1] Fausböll, No. 547. Cambridge Eng. Ed., Vol. VI.

[2] Beal—Records, Vol. I, Bk. ii. 7, p. 76. This byegone relic is not, however, altogether byegone. We have still living specimens of humanity in the jungles of various parts of India who use the same material for dress. Roxburgh: Flora Indica, p. 508 (Cal., 1874); Mrs. Spier: Life in Ancient India, Intro., p. 22; Dalton: Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, p. 155; Mitra: Indo-Aryan, Vol. I, pp. 195-196.

[3] McCrindle, I, iii. 98.

[4] R.V., vi. 51. 4; ix. 97. 50.

[5] R.V., i. 124. 7; iii. 8. 4; x. 71. 4, etc.

[6] A.V., viii. 2. 16; Bṛhad. Up., vi. 1, 10.

[7] R.V., i. 92. 4, 5; Vāj. Saṃ., xix. 82. 89; xx. 40; Ait. Brāh., iii. 10, etc.

[8] R.V., x. 85. 34; A.V., xi. 2. 4.

[9] Taitt. Saṃ., vi. 1. 1, 3.

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'This is the altar which we have decorated for the (Agni) as a wife attached to her husband puts on elegant garments (to gratify him)', IV. 3. 2.

'Exhibiting her person like a well-attired female she (Dawn) stands before our eyes (gracefully) inclining like (a woman who has been) bathing . . . .', V. 80. 5.

'Ushas, the daughter of Heaven, tending to the West, puts forth her beauty like a (well-dressed) woman . . . . .', V. 80. 6.

Spinning and Weaving

The art of spinning and weaving developed at this period was very much the same as it is to-day. The weaving apparatus consisted of a *tasara* (shuttle),[1] a *vemān* (loom),[2] a *mayukha* (wooden peg for keeping the web stretched),[3] and lead as weight to extend it.[4] Such terms as *otu*, *paryāsa* (woof),[5] and *prachīnātana*, *tantu*, *tantra* (warp),[6] point to the same conclusion. Like what we find in modern Assam, the art of weaving was the special concern of the women in the Vedic period.[7] In the Aṅguttara Nikāya, too, we find instructions relating to this art are given to the married daughters of Menduka Seṭṭhi. The necessary adjunct to dress making, that is, the *sūchi* (needle) is also mentioned in the Vedic texts.[8]

Art of Washing

Connected with the art of weaving, was the subsidiary art of washing. We come across with such Vedic terms as *mala* (soiled garment),[9] *malaga* (washerman),[10] *vāsaḥpalpūtī* (washer of clothes)[11]—which go to show that this art also developed at this period. We have no means, however, to ascertain what substance or substances they used to wash their clothes with.

Dress was then very much valued, being regarded as an important sign of civilization, and it seems that the practice of pre-

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[1] R.V., x. 130. 2.
[2] Vāj. Saṃ., xix. 83.
[3] R.V., vii. 93. 3; x. 130. 2; A.V., x. 7. 42.
[4] Vāj. Saṃ., xix. 80.
[5] R.V., vi. 9. 2, 3; A.V., xiv. 2. 51; Taitt. Saṃ., vi. 1 1, 4, etc.
[6] R.V., x. 134. 5, etc.
[7] R.V., ii. 3. 6; ii. 38. 4; v. 47. 6, etc.; A.V., x 7. 42; xiv. 2. 51; *sirí* R.V., x. 71. 9; *vayatrī*, Pañch. Brāh., i. 8. 9; *vāya*, R.V., x. 26. 6, etc.
[8] R.V., ii. 32. 4; A.V., xi. 10. 3; Vāj. Saṃ., xxiii. 33; Taitt. Brāh., iii. 9. 6, 4; Ait. Brāh., iii. 18. 6; Śat. Brāh., xiii. 2. 10, 2, etc. See Vedic Index, 2 vols.

Spinning and weaving was a useful industry at all periods of Indian history. This is evident from the finding at Mohenjo-Daro, of 'numerous spindle whorls in the houses; and that it was practised by the well-to-do and the poor alike is indicated by the fact that the whorls are made of the more expensive faience as well as of the cheaper pottery and shell. For wormer textiles, wool was used; for lighter ones, cotton'. Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, p. 32.

[9] R.V., x. 136. 2; A.V., vi. 115. 3; vii. 89. 3; x. 5. 24, etc.
[10] A.V., xii. 3. 21.
[11] Vāj. Saṃ., xxx. 12; Taitt. Brāh., iii. 4. 7, 1.

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senting rich and well-made dress by, and to, important persons on important occasions was greatly in vogue (R.V., X. 107. 2). Commenting on the passage 'I have fabricated acceptable and pious works like elegant well-made garments' (R.V., V. 29. 15), Wilson says: 'If the rendering be correct, this shows the custom of presenting honorary dresses to be of Indian origin and of considerable antiquity'.[1] Dr. Mitra quotes another verse from the Ṛg-Veda (VI. 47. 23) where the idea of a *khilat* again recurs. He further mentions that 'gifts of "elegantly adorned and well-dressed female slaves" are recited in a subsequent book'.[2] Physicians, after a successful treatment, were used to be presented with a garment (R.V., X. 97. 4).[3]

Dress came to be so intimately associated with man's civilization as to influence his very thoughts and expressions. The very similes and metaphors make use of it even in the Ṛg-Veda, as is evident from the expressions like :—

A holy man says: 'Care consumes me . . . . as a rat (gnaws a weaver's) threads', I. 105. 8.

'Day and Night, are interweaving in concert, like two famous female weavers, the extended thread (to complete) the web of the sacrifice', II. 3. 6.

'She (Night) enwraps the extended (world) like a (woman) weaving (a garment), II. 38. 4.

Materials

Wool, silk, cotton, and flax were the materials. Cotton and flax were the most common materials used for the purpose of making cloth.

The Śukranīti speaks of preparation of threads and ropes (IV, iii. 174), and the weaving of fabrics (IV, iii. 175) by various threads.[4] The Arthaśāstra shows that there was a separate department of Government in charge of the Superintendent of Weaving whose duty it was to see to the manufacture of *sūtra* (threads), *varma* (coats), *vastra* (clothes) and *rajju* (ropes). In this department widows, cripple women and girls were employed, and they were rewarded for good work by presentations, such as scents, garlands, and some other prize of encouragement.[5]

The Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra mentions four kinds of material out of which clothes could be made (क्षौम-शाण-कार्पासौर्णान्येषां वसनानि), i.e.

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[1] Ṛg-Veda, III, p. 277. [2] Indo-Aryan, I, p. 168.

[3] Present of garment as a reward is also recorded in the Vinaya texts (M. VII). King Pajjota presented Jīvaka Komarabhacca with *siveyyaka* cloth 'which was the best, the most excellent and the first, and the most precious and the noblest of many cloths and of many thousands of cloths' (S.B.E., XVII).

[4] S.B.H., 13, p. 159. [5] Ch. 23, pp. 140–142.

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kṣauma cloths were made out of the fibres of the bark of *Kṣuma* (Atasī-flax); the cloth called *śāṇa* from the bark of Śaṇa (hemp) which yields the best fibre, *kārpāsa* cloth from cotton fibres, and *ourṇa* cloths from the hairs of lamb.[1] In the Mahāvagga (M., VIII. 3. 1) six kinds of robes are allowed to the bhikkhus: that made of linen, and those of cotton, silk, wool, coarse cloth and hempen cloth.[2] Yuan Chwang also mentions that the garments of the Indians were made of *kiau-she-ye* (kauseya), of cotton, of *ts'o-mo* (kṣauma) which is a sort of hemp, besides those made of *kambala* and *karāla* (animal hair).[3]

The Amarkoṣa mentions 4 sources of fibres out of which cloths were made, namely, त्वक्-फल-कृमि-रोमाणि (12), or in other words, barks of plants, such as flax, hemp, etc. (वाल्कं क्षौमादि); fruits, such as cotton, etc. (फलं (तु) कार्पासं बादरं); worms or insects—sources of silk (कृमि) and hairs, i.e., wool (रोम).[4] Hemacandra mentions त्वक्-फल-कृमि-रोमभ्यः सम्भवत्वाच्चतुर्विधं. Yājñavalka Saṃhitā describes *kṣauma* cloth as *aṁśupatta* (made of fibres, स श्रौफलैरंशुपट्टम्, १।११।१६). It is further explained in the Mitākṣarā as अंशुपट्टम-वल्कलतन्तुकृतम्, i.e., *aṁśu* cloths made of bark fibres.[5] Besides linen and hemp, the Arthaśāstra mentions the fibres derived from Nagavrikṣa (?) Likucha, Vakula and Vata,[6] out of which cloths used to be made.

Kṣauma cloth

Coming to the Kṣauma cloths themselves the Arthaśāstra notes that the cloth 'which is manufactured in the country (called) Vaṅga, is white and soft fabric; that of Pāṇḍya manufacture is black and as soft as the surface of a gem; and that which is the product of the country Suvarṇakuḍya is as red as the sun, as soft as the surface of the gem woven while the threads are very wet and of uniform or mixed texture'.[7] वाङ्गकं श्वेतं स्निग्धं दुकूलं, पौण्ड्रकं श्यामं मणिस्निग्धं, सौवर्णकुड्यकं सूर्य्यवर्णं मणिस्निग्धोदकवानं चतुरस्रवानं व्यामिश्रवानं च। एतेषामेकांशुकमध्यर्धद्वित्रिचतुरंशुकमिति। तेन काशिकं पौण्ड्रकं च क्षौमं व्याख्यातम्।

These are regarded as varieties, very much prized and indispensable on ceremonial occasions. Among the important author-

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[1] II, x. 2. 10 (S.B.E., 29).
[2] S.B.E., 17, p. 197.
[3] Beal's Records, Vol. II. 7, pp. 75-76.
[4] Colebrooke Edition (1807), p. 167
[5] Quoted from 'Prāchīna Śilpaparicaya' by Girish Vidyāratna.
[6] They were used respectively in the making of garments called—Māgadhika, Paundraka and Suvarṇakuḍya, pp. 93-94, Eng. Ed. (1915).
[7] Bk. II, Ch. XI. 80, p. 93.

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ities mentioning it we may quote passages from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Śakuntalā. Thus :

मङ्गलालापनै-र्होमैः शोभिता क्षौमवाससः—Bālakaṇḍa 77/10.

कृष्णा च क्षौमसंवीता कृतकौतुकमङ्गला—Mahābhārata.

क्षौमं केनचिदिन्दुपाण्डुतरुणा माङ्गल्यमाविष्कृतम् । Śakuntalā.[1]

Cotton cloth

Cotton cloths are the next to be dealt with. The Arthaśāstra[2] notes : 'The best cotton cloths are from Mādhura (Madura), Aparāntaka (Konkan), Kaliṅga, Kāśī, Vaṅga, Vātsaka (Kauśambī) and Māhiṣaka (Mahismati)-माधुरमापरान्तकं कालिङ्गकं काशिकं वाङ्गकं वात्सकं माहिषकं च कार्पासिकं श्रेष्ठमिति । The art of making cotton cloths reached high perfection in India and it formed the principal item of export. It attracted the attention and elicited the admiration of the Greeks so much so that they used to compare it with 'sloughs of serpents' or 'vapour from milk' and used to describe it as 'those fine textures the thread of which could not be followed even by the eye'.[3]

Let us here examine some foreign sources pointing to India as the original home of cotton cloth. Old Testament says that it comes from India (Ezekiel, XXVII. 24) ; so also the Greek writers, namely, Heredotos (iii. 106), Arrian (Chap. XVI), Nearchos (II, XV. 20), Theophrastus (179—quoted by Pliny, XII. 24), Strabo (Ancient India, XV. 20. 71) and Q. Curtius Rufus (McCrindle, p. 185).[4]

Mrs. Mannings commenting on this topic observes : 'Cotton in its manufactured state was new to the Greeks who accompanied Alexander the Great to India'.[5] 'It is difficult to conceive', says Dr. Muir, 'that cotton though not mentioned in the hymns (of the Vedas) should have been unknown when they were composed, or not employed for weaving the light cloth which is necessary in so warm a climate'.[6] Dr. Heeren says that, 'the coloured cloth and rich apparel brought to Tyre and Babylon from distant countries, were partly of Indian manufacture will scarcely be doubted after what has already been said of the extent of the Phœnician and

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[1] From 'Prāchīna Śilpa Parichaya'.

[2] Bk. II, Ch. XI, p. 93. Buddhaghosa describes the ancient Madura as *Madhura-suttapaṭṭana.*

[3] Ancient India, p. 65, Aiyangar. We learn from Śārṅagadharapaddhati that cotton with fibres as read as burning fire (ज्वलदनलोपम), as yellow as the feather of a parrot (शुकपक्षनिभं) and as blue as the sky (खनीलं) used to be cultivated in India. Upavanavinoda, Sl. 97–99.

[4] Ancient India—McCrindle.

[5] Ancient and Mediæval India, Vol. II, pp. 356–358.

[6] Sanskrit Texts, V, p. 462.

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Babylonian commerce'.[1] Finally, Dr. Watt writes: 'Ancient scriptures, sculptures, painting, literature, all point to the conclusion that Indo-Aryans used cloth made of cotton and that weaving and spinning were not only known but the art of starching and weighing a textile was also practised and that even dyeing was known, and that the art attained a perfection which was admired by foreigners.[2] But all these doubts have now been set at rest by the discovery of 'scraps of a fine woven cotton material' in the debris of the houses recently unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro. The Babylonian and Greek names for cotton, *sindhu* and *sindon* respectively, point to the same conclusion.[3]

As for the other two sources, namely, silk and wool we have not to deal with them as they do not come within our province.

Dyeing

The subordinate art of dyeing came into vogue together with weaving. The Śukranīti (IV, iii. 171) mentions 'the dyeing by the application of inferior, middling and other colours, is one of the 64 kalās'.[4] The Vinaya texts give the following six sources of dye for robes: dye made of roots, made of trunks of trees, made of bark, of leaves, of flowers, of fruits. The dye is extracted from the raw material and the robes are dyed in a dyeing trough (M., VIII. 10. 1).[5] The Arthaśāstra enjoins the Superintendent of Forest Produce to cultivate *kiṁśuka*, *kusumbha* and *kuṁkuma*—as materials for the production of dyes (p. 122).[6] From the Mahābhārata it appears that people had a special liking for a particular colour for their dress. Arjuna is represented as saying: 'Collect the white clothes of Āchāryya and Śāradvata, the yellow ones of Karṇa, the blue ones of Aśvatthamā and the king'. Even the gods and goddesses, heroes and heroines had particular surnames on the basis of the colour of their clothes. Thus we have Pītāmbara, or the yellow-clothed One, is given to Krishna, Nīlāmbara, or the blue-clothed One, to Balabhadra, and so forth.

Seasonal clothes

The details as to the type of clothes to be put on at particular seasons, such as Grīṣma, Varṣā, Śarat, etc. are also prescribed. Thus Suśruta recommends for

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[1] Historical Researches, III, p. 363, quoted from Indo-Aryan, I, p. 169.

[2] Commercial Products, IV, pp. 43-44.

[3] Annual Rep. Arch. Sur. India (1926-1927), Sec. II, p. 55. Also Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization, Vol. I, p. 33.

[4] S.B.H., XIII, p. 158.

[5] Cf. also M., viii. 29, where the Bhikkhus are allowed to put on robes of a blue, light yellow, crimson, brown, black, brownish yellow, or dark yellow colour; robes with skirts which had flower on them; who wore jackets and turbans.

[6] Cf. तेन रक्तं रागात् कषायेण रक्तं वस्त्रं काषायम्। माञ्जिष्ठम्। ४।२।१ पाणिनि।

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the *grīṣma* (hot) season light clothes scented with finest sandal powder, sandal paste and garlands of flowers of water lilies and lotuses (11); for *varṣā* (rains)—warm clothes and fine aguru paste (6); for *śarat* (autumn)—clean and thin clothes (amalalaghu) scented with sandal paste or with camphor, as well as garlands of autumnal flowers (7); and so forth.[1] Pāṇini refers to a particular cloth वर्षाभ्यष्टक् (पा० ४।३।१८। वार्षिकं वासः। काशिका) to be put on during rains (cf. Pātimokkha, 24 where robes for the rainy season are mentioned),[2] and another for autumnal season सर्व्वत्रान् तलोपश्च (पा० ४।३।१८। हैमनं वासः। काशिका।).

Types of clothes for females

Elaborate directions are given relating particularly to the females putting on types of clothes. Thus women with husbands are directed to put on clothes of red colour (or border), widows are forbidden to wear them altogether, and maidens are enjoined to put on white cloth:

धारयेदथ रक्तानि नारी चेत् पतिसंयुता।
विधवा च न रक्तानि कुमारी शुक्लवाससि। मत्स्य पु:

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Connected with this are instructions given to women against exposing their navels and breasts, and they are also enjoined to bring their clothes down to their ankles: न नाभि दर्शयेत् कुलवधूरागुल्फाभ्यां वासः परिदध्यात्। न स्तनौ विवृतौ कुर्य्यात्। शङ्खलिखित-आह्निकशास्त्र। Cf. Amarkoṣa 21, p. 169.

It must be noted that ladies used something like a bodice as an undergarment, called *kañchuka*. Bodice and undergarment became an imperative necessity for all decent women न स्यात् कर्म्मणि कञ्चुकी। आह्निकतत्त्व। विविशुस्ते सभां दिव्यां सोष्णीषा धृतकञ्चुका। महाभारत।[3]

One authority enjoins that a woman without a bodice should be debarred from participating in the preparation of śrāddānna (funeral cake):

सितार्द्रवाससा युक्ता मुक्तकेशी विकञ्चुकी।
शिरोऽस्नाता व्याधिता स्त्री पाकं कुर्य्यान्न पैटकम्॥

An important item to be connected with the female dress is the veil or *abaguṇṭhana* (निवीतं प्रावृतं). A complete idea of the female dress prevalent in the post-Vedic India may be obtained

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[1] Uttaratantra, Ch. 64. 'On seasonal cloth' (1–20). Eng. Transl., Vol. III, pp. 396–403. Rules of Health—Svastha Vṛttādhyāya.
[2] S.B.E., XIII, p. 28.
[3] Quoted from Indo-Aryan.

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from two quotations, one from the Kādambarī, and the other from the Lalitavistāra. In the Kādambarī the dress of the Caṇḍāla-kaṇyā from the Deccan is thus described : आगुल्फालम्बिना नीलकञ्चुकेनाच्छन्न-शरीराम् उपरिरक्तांशुकरचितावगुण्ठनाम् । In the Lalitavistāra we read that king Śuddhodhana ordered that all those who would attend on Māyādevī on her journey to the garden of Lumbinī, should wear clothes, soft and fine, coloured with pleasant dyes and smelling sweet, with the best of the scents.[1]

वरसुरभिसुगन्धां भावरंगाम् विचित्राम् ।
वसन-मृदुमनोज्ञां प्रावृणोथा उदग्राः ॥ L.V., vii. 80.

The *Kathina* ceremonies as described in the Mahāvagga (M., vii) show what perfection the art of sewing reached in ancient India. In this ceremony a stock of cotton cloth was 'provided by the faithful to be made up into robes for the use of the Saṃgha during the ensuing year. The whole of this cotton cloth must be dyed, sewn together and made into robes: the robe is marked for the purpose of measurement, washed, cut out (according to measurement for each robe), pieced together, sewn, made strong (in the seams), strengthened by a braid, or by a binding along the back, or by being doubled in parts, and dyed (M., VII. 1. 5).[2] By the time of the Śukranīti (IV, iii. 183) the knowledge and practice of sewing of covers (coats and shirts) became an art.[3]

Purification of Unwashable clothes

For the purification of clothes which cannot be washed the following directions are given by Manu and in the Agnipurāṇa :—

Silk and woollen stuffs should be treated with alkaline earth; blankets with powdered *ariṣta* (nimba) fruit, *aṁśupaṭṭas* with *vilva* fruit and linen cloth with (a paste of) yellow mustard—(M., v. 120).[4] The Agnipurāṇa prescribes *vilva* fruit for *aṁśupaṭṭas*, white mustard for linen cloth and mere sprinkling of water in which flowers and fruits are dipped, for woollen stuffs.

The perfection reached in the art of making dress and things relating to dress, is further reflected in the subsidiary art of washing. Unluckily we have no materials relating thereto, but we have two injunctions, one in the Arthaśāstra,[5] and the other in the Laws of

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[1] Social Life—Chakladar, p. 157.
[2] S.B.E., XVI, pp. 154-155. Cf. also M., viii. 12. 2 ; viii. 29, C. x. 10.
[3] S.B.H., XIII, p. 159.
[4] S.B.E., XXV, p. 190.
[5] Bk., IV, i. 201, 'the cloth to be as white as a jasmine flower', p. 29. Eng. Ed.

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Manu [1] which show that it was advanced enough to receive the attention of the State.

(*a*) UṢṆĪṢA—HEAD-DRESS

Head-dress was common in ancient India [2] and even in modern India some kind of head-dress is put on by people on ceremonial, or on important occasions, or even when one goes out, except in Bengal, Orissa, and Assam.

The object for which this head-dress is meant is nicely put forth by Suśruta.[3] He says it should be used to protect the head from sun, air, dust, rain, sweat and cold—पवित्रकेशमुष्णीषं वातातपरजोपहम् । वर्षानिलरजोघर्म्महिमादीनां निवारणम् ॥

A typical description of the head-dress may be obtained from the Kādambarī where it is said : अतिधवलजलधरच्छेद-शुचिना दुकूलपट्टपल्लवेन कृतशिरोवेष्टनः ।

The necessity of a head-dress is emphasized by the practice of making brides and bridegrooms put on a very elegant kind of head-dress called *mukuta*—a practice which is universal with the Hindus all over India, including Bengal, Orissa, and Assam, where head-dress is not ordinarily used.

The items that we have to note now do not strictly speaking constitute dress proper, but they are so often used in connection with dress as to constitute the inseparable adjuncts of dress as it were. These are Umbrellas, Shoes and Sticks.

The Śukranīti (III. 8–10) enjoins that 'one should always . . . . . have umbrellas, shoes, etc.; and at night, on occasions connected with death, one should be a stick-bearer and have a head-dress'. It is clear then that the above-mentioned items were very much in vogue at the time when the Śukranīti was composed. Another authority runs almost precisely in the same strain. The Viṣṇupurāṇa (II. 21) enjoins that one should have the umbrella to protect one's body from the sun and the rain, a stick during travelling at night and through a wood, and have shoes for general relief to the body.

वर्षातपादिके छत्री दण्डी रात्र्यटवीषु च ।
शरीरत्राणकामो वै सोपानत्कः सदा व्रजेत् ॥

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, VIII. 396.

[2] A.V., XV. 2. 1 ; Ait. Brāh., VI. 1 ; Śat. Brāh., III. 3. 2, 3 ; IV. 5. 2, 7 ; XIV. 2. 1, 8, etc.

[3] Suśruta Saṃhitā, Nidānasthāna, Ch. 24.

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(*b*) CHATRA—UMBRELLA

Both Bṛhatsaṃhitā[1] and Yuktikalpataru[2] devote a chapter each on umbrella. Both of them classify umbrella into two classes: viz., one meant for sovereigns (*viśeṣa*) and another for ordinary people (*sāmānya*). The object of using umbrellas by ordinary people, according to the author of the Bṛhatsaṃhitā, is to protect the body from the cold and the sun. अन्येषां च नराणां शीतातपवारणं तु चतुरश्रम्। समवृत्तदण्डयुक्तं छत्रं कार्य्यन्तु विप्राणाम्॥ ६॥

Umbrellas were universally used both by men and women and there are subclasses within the classes mentioned above. Thus kings and queens, princes and nobles, commanders, priests and other different classes of citizens had each its particular type of umbrella. As for females putting on umbrella, the practice is not in common use among the Hindus, at any rate, now. But it used to have been a fashion in ancient days. The goddess, Gaṅgā, is described as having a white umbrella spread over her head (श्वेतछत्रोपशोभिताम्), and Māheśwetā, the heroine of the Kādambarī, describes her as one having an umbrella over her head (इत्यम्भूते च व्यतिकरे छत्रग्राहिणी मामवोचत्). As for kings putting on umbrella, it is a most invariable insignia of Royalty. According to Yuktikalpataru[3] the following are the Royal equipments :—

छत्रध्वजसिंहासनयानादिभ्यो यदन्यत् स्यात्।
राज्याङ्गं तदुपकरणं तस्माल्लोके विशेषास्तु॥ ३३
चामराश्चाथ भृङ्गारं चसकञ्च प्रसाधनीम्।
वितानञ्चाथ शय्या च व्यजनं दर्पणाम्बरम्।
एतन्नवकमुद्दिष्टं राजोपकरणाख्यया॥ ३४

Umbrella was regarded as the symbol of kingly authority and the paramount power of India used always to be described as एकच्छत्र सम्राट, or, the Emperor having the sole use of the Royal Umbrella.

The umbrella, according to the Yuktikalpataru, used to be composed of six parts, viz. *daṇḍa* (stick), *kanda* (neck), *śalākā* (spokes), *rajju* (thread), *vastra* (cloth) and *kīlaka* (hinge)—

दण्डः कन्दं शलाकाश्च रज्जुवस्त्रञ्च कीलकम्।
षड्भिरेतैः सुसन्दिष्टैश्छत्रमित्यभिधीयते॥ ४४७

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1 अथ छत्रलक्षणं व्याख्यायते—Ch. 72, pp. 922–924.
2 अथ छत्रयुक्तिः— Ch. 43, pp. 62–67.
3 अथोपकरणयुक्तिः— Ch. 39, p. 72.

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As for the king's umbrella the stick and the neck are to be made of pure wood, spokes are to be made of bamboo of pure origin, both the thread and the cloth are to be of scarlet colour; another variant is that the stick and neck are to be made up of sandal wood, the thread and cloth to be pure white, and the nice umbrella thus made must be decorated with a golden pitcher at the top.

विशुद्ध काष्ठस्य तु दण्डकन्दौ तथा शलाका अपि शुद्धवंशजाः ।
रज्जुश्च रक्ता वसनञ्च रक्तं, छत्रं प्रसादं नृपतेर्वदन्ति ॥ 454
चान्दनौ दण्डकन्दौ चेत् सुशुक्ल रज्जुवाससी ।
छत्रं मनोहरं राज्ञां स्वर्णकुम्भोपशोभितम् ॥ 455, and so on.

The main stick of the umbrella of ordinary people is made of the following eight kinds of timber: Campaka, Panasa, Śāla, Śriphala, Candana, Vakula, Nimba, and Vajravāraṇa :—

चम्पकः पनसः शालः श्रीफलश्चन्दनस्तथा ।
बकुलश्चाथ निम्बश्च बज्रवारणमित्यपि ॥ 474
चान्दनः छत्रदण्डस्तु सर्व्वेषामेव युज्यते ॥ 475

As to the last kind, i.e. Vajravāraṇa, the commentator says that वृक्षेषु स्नुही, नारिकेलः, तुलसी च एतान् गृहोपरि आर्य्याः प्राञ्चो रक्षितवन्तः । लौहे—अयस्कान्त-चुम्बकौ त्रिशूलाकारौ, etc.[1]

Umbrellas also were used to be given as gifts, and they are so used to-day, as gifts on sacrificial, ceremonial and on other religious occasions. The Mahābhārata in the दानधर्म section 'enjoins the gifts of white umbrellas, having a hundred spokes as a religious act calculated to ensure the donor a long residence in the heaven of Indra, respected by gods and the brāhmaṇas'.

छत्रं हि भरतश्रेष्ठ यः प्रदद्यात् द्विजातये ।
शुभ्रं शतशलाकं वै स प्रेत्य सुखमेधते ॥
स शक्रलोके वसति पूज्यमानो द्विजातिभिः ।
अप्सरोभिश्च सततं देवैश्च भरतवर्षभ ॥[2]

The formula consecrating the gift of umbrella on the occasion of śrāddha runs: 'this umbrella is given to the Brāhmin for the protection in general': आवरणार्थं तच्छत्रं ब्राह्मणाय प्रदीयते ।[3] One of the

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[1] Yuktikalpataru, p. 65.
[2] Quoted from Indo-Aryan, I, p. 264.
[3] For the origin of the practice of the gift of umbrella see Mahābhārata Anuśāsana Parva, Chs. 95 and 96, pp. 2022-2023. Kaliprasanna Sinha Edition.

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texts requires the gifts of earth, rice, water, gold, silver, cloth, scents, garlands, fruits, umbrella, betel-leaf and a seat—as twelve gifts constituting a perfect body of gifts without which no worship is complete.

भूम्यासनं जलं चान्नं वस्त्रं ताम्बूलमेव च ।
गन्धश्छत्रं पादुका च शय्या भृङ्गी च द्वादश ॥

Or, भूमिरन्नं जलं हेमं रजतं वस्त्रमेव च ।
गन्धो माल्यं फलं छत्रं ताम्बूलमासनं तथा ।
द्वादशैतानि दानानि कर्म्माङ्गानि विदो विदुः ॥

Another formula used in connection with the worship of the Mother Goddess, Durgā, runs: 'Oh mother, I am giving unto thee an well-made umbrella for protection against the rain and the sun; please, do accept it and oblige'.

ॐ छत्रं सुनिर्म्मितं देवि! वृष्टि-रौद्र-निवारकम् ।
मया निवेदितं भक्त्या छत्रञ्च प्रतिगृह्यताम् ॥

The Vinaya texts mention two kinds of *chattah* (sunshades; Cu., v. 9. 5; 23. 2, 3): both are figured in the most ancient Buddhist sculptures. The old commentary on the corresponding rules for the nuns (Bhikkhuṇī-vibhaṅga, Pacittiya, lxxxiv. 2. 1) says that sunshades are either white or made of matting, or made of leaves (talipot palm), they are either maṇḍala-baddham, or śalākā-baddham (S.B.E., XX, p. 134). As to the etiquette to be observed in their wearing the same texts (p. 65; Cu., viii. 1. 1) note that 'it was a sign of courtesy or of respect to put down a sunshade when entering an Ārāma.' (M., v. 12 and 61st and 62nd Sekhiyas—S.B.E., XX, p. 272).

(c) UPĀNAHA—FOOTWEAR

Footwears were in common use in ancient India both as a matter of luxury and as a necessity. First mention of footwear is to be found in the Taittirīya Saṃhitā (V. 4. 4, 4; 6. 6, 1, etc.)—कार्ष्णौ उपानहा उपमुञ्चति ।

Next the Gobhila Gṛhyasūtra (III. 1. 6) requires that the student should not put on shoes within the village of his residence (अन्तर्ग्राम उपानहोर्धारणम्), but may use them outside it. Suśruta gives not only a description but also an explanation of the necessity of having shoes: 'if any one often travels barefooted, he feels out

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of sort, his senses fail, vision becomes impaired and his expectation of life is reduced '.[1]

Footwears were of two types, viz. those made of wood are called पादुका, and those of grass or leather, called उपानह। Śilpa-śāstra prescribes that images with feet must have shoes: उपानहौ प्रकर्त्तव्यौ स्वपादप्रतिमौ तथा। पादुके च तथा कार्य्ये अन्यथा दुःखशोकदौ। And the materials to be used for such purposes, according to the Devi-purāṇa, are :—

मणिरत्नमयी कार्य्या हेमरूप्यमयीपिवा।
चन्दनेनापि कर्त्तव्या पादुका प्रतिमापिवा॥
श्रीपर्णा श्रीद्रुमा वापि देवदारुमयीपिवा।
षडङ्गुला च सा कार्य्या पादुका पूजयेत् सदा॥

As for the materials used for making shoes, besides wood and grass, we may note coir. In the Kādambarī we see विशाखिका शिखरनिबद्ध-नारिकेलफलवल्कलमयधौतोपानद्युगोपेताम्।

Wooden footwears are exclusively used by the *sannyāsis* and orthodox members of the priestly classes who have an aversion to animal leather. In villages wooden footwear, called *khaḍam*, is the ordinary form commonly in use by the people.

The accounts regarding the shoes and sandals given in the Vinaya texts, are elaborate, complete and more in detail. Thus footwears are broadly classed into slippers and sandals (p. 66; Cu., V. 12) and boots (M., V. 2. 3). These are again divided into various kinds (M., V. 8). They are used to be lined inside (M., V. 1. 30; 13. 13), and are of various colours, such as blue, yellow, red, brown, black, orange or yellowish (M., V. 2—*Nīlika Ummāra-puppha-vaṇṇa; pītika-kaṇikāra-puppha-vaṇṇa, lohitakajayasumana-puppha mañjeṭṭhika, mañjeṭṭhi-vaṇṇa eva; kaṇha-atariṭṭhaka-vaṇṇa, mahāraṅgaratta-śatapada-piṭṭhi-vaṇṇa, mahanamaratta-sambhinna-vaṇṇa, paṇḍapalāsa-vaṇṇa; kurundiyam pana paduma-puppha-vaṇṇā'ti* (B)—and the boots are also described as variously coloured (M., V. 2. 3—*chitra'ti vichitra*).

They are made of *tiṇa* grass, *muñja* grass, of *babbaja* grass, of the leaves of the date palm, of *kamala* grass and of wool (M., V. 8. 1 and 3—*hintāla pāduka, khajjura pāduka*,[2] etc. See also Jātaka, Fausböll, No. 1, 119, 149, 178; IV. 42).

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[1] Suśruta Saṃhitā, IV, xxiv.
[2] S.B.E., XVII, pp. 14–23; cf. also M., i. 25. 8; v. 1. 29; 8. 3; v. 12, etc.

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(*d*) YAṢṬHI—STICK

Stick is the final adjunct of dress; this is also used on religious and ceremonial occasions. On stick the Suśruta has this: 'He (the bearer) becomes courageous, patient, forbearing. He can stand erect, and is not troubled by fear'.[1] Sticks are generally made of wood of various plants, and of cane. From the fact that yaṣṭhi or *daṇḍa* is used for punishing offenders, the criminal administration of a government in ancient India used to be designated as *Daṇḍanīti* for

दण्डः संरक्षते धर्म्मं तथैवार्थं विधानतः ।
राजदण्ड भयाल्लोकाः पापाः पापं न कुर्व्वते ॥[2] 103-104.

Conclusion

Thus in course of this article we have tried to trace the evolution of dress in India beginning from the earliest times we know of. The word dress has been taken not in a narrow but in a wide and comprehensive sense including not only the wearing apparel but also adjuncts like head-dress, umbrella, footwear and stick.

Dress is a very important factor of human civilization differentiating man from the nude brute, and, therefore, this story of its evolution is very vital to the history of civilization of mankind. Along with dress came into being the art of spinning and weaving, dyeing, washing and purification of clothes giving birth to several classes of persons engaged in these occupations. We have referred to these things briefly in proper places. The dress of the Indian men and women, it seems, has been a product of the soil eminently suited to the climate, and the art and style of dressing appears to have received thoughtful, scientific and æsthetic consideration, there being prescriptions for particular types of clothes to be put on during particular seasons of the year, and there being rules governing the manner of putting on clothes, especially on the part of women.

Coming to the materials for dress we find that most of them belong to vegetable kingdom. Thus *Kuśa* grass and leaves were utilized for the purpose of dress in the earliest stage, *valkala* (bark of trees) in the next, and last of all we come to *flax* and *cotton* which have continued to yield materials for cloth down to to-day. Plants again supplied the materials for dyeing, there being six sources, namely, *roots*, *trunks of trees*, *barks*, *leaves*, *flowers* and *fruits*. Plants, too, yielded materials for purification and cleaning of precious and unwashable clothes. Plants supplied most of the materials out

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[1] Suśruta Saṃhitā, IV, xxiv.
[2] For details see Yuktikalpataru—Ch. on Daṇḍa Yukti, p. 15.

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of which umbrellas used to be made and footwears were mainly made of grasses, coir and wood. Last of all come sticks which were invariably of plant-products.

Thus the survey of this field of investigation alone suffices to increase the sense of man's indebtedness to the plants and plant-products for dress which is the first and last sign of his civilization.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE BṚHATKATHĀ AND ITS ALLEGED RELATION TO THE MUDRĀRĀKṢASA

By C. D. CHATTERJEE

Dhanika, in his *Avaloka*,[1] the commentary on Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka*, states that the *Bṛhatkathā* is the source of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, and cites the following verses in support of his statement :—

'*Tatra Bṛhatkathāmūlaṁ Mudrārākṣasam*—

(i) "*Cāṇakyanāmnā te nātha*
Śakaṭāla gṛhe rahaḥ ।
Kṛtyāṁ vidhāya sahasā
Saputro nihato nṛpaḥ ॥

(ii) *Yogānandayaśaḥ*[2] *śeṣe*
Pūrvanandasutas tataḥ ।
Candraguptaḥ kṛto rājā
Cāṇakyena mahaujasā" ॥

Iti Bṛhatkathāyāṁ sūcitam.'

But in reality, these two verses occur in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra from which they appear to have been quoted *verbatim*.[3] It is in view of this fact that we should correct '*iti Bṛhatkathāyām*' of *Avaloka* into '*iti Bṛhatkathāmañjaryām*', and while correcting it, we must bear in mind that the original *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya was written in Paiśācī and not in Sanskrit.[4]

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[1] *Avaloka* on i. 68 of *Daśarūpaka*, Nirnaya Sagar Press Ed., p. 34.

[2] Read *Yogananda*°.

[3] The corresponding verses in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* are as follows :—

'*Cāṇakyanāmnā te nātha Śakaṭālagṛhe rahaḥ* ।
Kṛtyāṁ vidhāya saptāhāt saputro nihato nṛpaḥ ॥ (216).
Yoganande yaśaḥ śeṣe Pūrvanandasutastataḥ ।
Candragupto dhṛto rājye Cāṇakyena mahaujasā' ॥ (217).

Bṛhatkathāmañjarī, Nirnaya Sagar Press Ed., p. 24. Dr. Sylvain Lévi's reading, '*Candragupto vṛto rājā*' (217*b*), seems to be better (*Cf.* Lévi's edition, p. 47).

[4] A different opinion is, however, maintained by Prof. Félix Lacôte. According to him, at a period relatively remote, the name '*Bṛhatkathā*' made one think only of Kṣemendra's book. As there is no apparent similarity between the story of the king Nanda, Candragupta, and Cāṇakya as given in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and that to be found in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the opinion of the learned Professor is clearly inadmissible. Besides this, the difference in the names of the two works is fatal. *Cf. Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā* by Prof. F. Lacôte (Paris, 1908). Translated into English by Rev. A. M. Tabard, '*Essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhatkathā*' (Bangalore, 1923), p. 16. [References in the following pages follow the English edition.]

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It is, however, difficult to admit that Dhanika himself has quoted these two verses from the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*. With regard to the date of that work, the consensus of opinion is that it was composed by Kṣemendra about the same time as his *Bhāratamañjarī*, i.e. about 1037 A.D.[1] In the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa*, an important rhetorical work in Sanskrit, which was written by king Bhoja of Malwa (1018–1060 A.D.) about 1025 A.D., Dhanika has been quoted anonymously no fewer than sixteen times by way of illustration.[2] It is evident, therefore, that the *Avaloka* was composed sometime before 1025 A.D., and, thus, it must have been earlier than the earliest possible date of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* by at least a decade, if not more.[3] In view of this anachronism, we cannot but admit that the verses in question as well as the concluding remark, '*iti Bṛhatkathāyāṁ sūcitam*', are later interpolations.

Some scholars are of opinion that the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya is the source of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, as stated by Dhanika in his *Avaloka* ('*Tatra Bṛhatkathāmūlaṁ Mudrārākṣasam*').[4] But there is no cogent reason to suppose that the story of Nanda (Yoga-Nanda), Candragupta (son of Pūrva-Nanda), and Cāṇakya, as included in the terrestrial story of Vararuci, was derived by Viśākhadatta, or even by Kṣemendra and Somadeva, from the original *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya.[5] Prof. Félix Lacôte in his '*Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*' contends that there was a Kashmirian recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* which was the original of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[6] and Dr. Keith too is disposed

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[1] Kṣemendra was a contemporary of the Kashmirian kings, Ananta (1029-1064 A.D.) and Kalaśa (1064–1089 A.D.) of the First Lohara Dynasty. It is now admitted on all hands that the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, like the *mañjarīs* of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, was composed by the poet towards the beginning of his literary career. Lévi, S., *Journal Asiatique*, 1885, ii. pp. 400–402; 1886, i. pp. 217–219; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1928), p. 276; *Cf.* Bühler, *Indian Antiquary*, i. pp. 302–309.

[2] Col. Jacob, *J.R.A.S.*, 1897, p. 304; *Cf. Daśarūpa* by G. C. O. Haas, Intro., p. xxiii, n. 2, and p. xxxiii, n. 2.

[3] According to Prof. Dhruva, Kṣemendra, the author of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, was junior to the commentator Dhanika by about a century and a half. (!) *Cf. Mudrārākṣasa*, ed. by Dhruva, 2nd Ed., Intro., p. xix. (Poona, 1923).

[4] Ghosh, A., *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vi. (1930), pp. 275-276.

[5] For an effort to extract historical data relating to Candragupta's relation with the Nanda family from the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, on the supposition that they were based on the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, see Deb, H. K., *J.B.O.R.S.*, iv. (1918), pp. 91ff.; see also Ghosh, A., *Ind. Hist. Quar.*, vi. (1930), pp. 275-276; Chaṭṭopādhyāya, K., *ibid.*, p. 283; Deb, H. K., *Proc. and Trans., First Oriental Conference*, ii. p. 364, note 42; *Ind. Hist. Quar.*, viii. pp. 474–477.

[6] Lacôte, *Essay*, pp. 19–34, *et. seq.*

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to accept his opinion.[1] In that work, Lacôte has also observed that the legend of Vararuci, as we find in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, is a purely Kashmirian work and was incorporated for the first time into the Kashmirian *Bṛhatkathā*.[2]

While we agree with the French *savant* that Kṣemendra and Somadeva have based their works on the recension and not on the original *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, we cannot reconcile ourselves to the other theories advanced by him, namely, that the legend of Vararuci is a purely Kashmirian work, or that it was incorporated into the Kashmirian *Bṛhatkathā* for the first time. The absence of that legend from the *Nepālamāhātmya*, upon which he relies so much, does not necessarily prove that it was incorporated into the *Bṛhatkathā* in Kashmir. Nor does his assumption of the Kashmirian origin of Vararuci's legend appear to have any sufficient basis. As some of the theories started by Prof. Lacôte have an important bearing on the point at issue, namely the validity of Dhanika's statement, which has hitherto remained unchallenged, we must form an idea of the different stages in the growth of the *Bṛhatkathā* in the light of its extant recensions and other literary data.

A critical comparison of the available Sanskrit recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā*[3] reveals the following stages in the growth of that work and their limitations :—

(i) In the *original*, or the *first* stage of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the

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[1] *History of Sanskrit Literature* (Oxford, 1928), p. 275.

[2] Lacôte, *Essay*, pp. 30–34.

[3] The extant Sanskrit recensions are the following :—

(i) *The Kathāsaritsāgara*. It was composed by Somadeva somewhere between 1064 and 1082 A.D. In the colophon of this work, Kalaśa, who ascended the throne of Kashmir about 1064 A.D., has been described as the reigning king and his father Ananta, who abdicated the throne in favour of his son, as still living. Somadeva composed this work for the sake of diversion (*cittavinodahetoḥ*) of the old queen-mother Sūryavatī, 'who used to take the trouble of listening to the *śastras* daily' (colophon, v. 11). This pious lady performed '*satī*' by immolating herself in the funeral pyre of her husband Anantarāja, in the year 4157 of the Laukika Era, i.e. 1081-1082 A.D. (*Cf. Rājataraṅgiṇī*, vii. 452–478).

(ii) The *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*. It was composed by the Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra about 1037 A.D. (*v. supra*).

(iii) The *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha*. The author of this work is Budhasvāmin who, according to Prof. Lacôte, should be assigned to the eighth or ninth century (*Essay*, p. 110). The work was first discovered by Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasād Śāstrī in 1893, who found it among the old Nepalese manuscripts which had come into the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (*J.A.S.B.*, lxii. 1893, I, No. 3, pp. 245ff.) According to Paṇḍit Hara Prasād, the work is anterior even to the twelfth century.

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celestial as well as the terrestrial story either of its author Guṇāḍhya or of his alleged contemporary Vararuci, could have no place.[1] Accordingly, there was no '*Kathāpīṭha*' in this work, and the opening verses of the '*Kathāmukha*'—if this had been actually the designation of its first chapter, were either formal or invocatory in character. The legend of Naravāhanadatta formed the principal narrative of this work, with which were connected a number of sub-narratives of different dimensions which, however, did not include any version of the *Pañcatantra* or that of the *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā*.[2]

The language of this work was Paiśācī, and the author was Guṇāḍhya himself, who lived somewhere in the first three centuries of the Christian era.[3]

The work as preserved, which is of course only a fragment, has 28 *sargas* and 4,539 *ślokas*, but no portion at the beginning seems to have been lost. Although the manuscripts of this work are from Nepal, its origin in that country is not warranted otherwise by the surviving portion. In view of this fact, it is reasonable to suppose that the work was composed not in Nepal but in India, though the provenance of the manuscripts leads us to a different conclusion.

(iv) The *Kathāsāra* and (v) the *Kathāprakāśa*. These only help us in a critical study of the text of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.

[1] Lacôte, F., *Essay*, pp. 20ff.

[2] *Vide infra*.

[3] There is much diversity in the opinion of scholars regarding the age of the author of the *Bṛhatkathā*. According to Bühler, Guṇāḍhya belonged to the second century A.D. or even to the second half of the first century A.D. (*Detailed Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, p. 47, *J. Bom. Br. R.A.S.*, 1877). Weber is inclined to place him about the 6th century A.D., because of the fact that Daṇḍin is the oldest author who has mentioned the *Bṛhatkathā* (*History of Indian Literature*, p. 213 n., 4th Ed.). Speyer, basing his arguments on the evidence of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, assigns Guṇāḍhya to the fifth century A.D. as the most suitable period and is not prepared to consider him as living before 300 A.D. (*Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, pp. 45ff.). Macdonell maintains the same opinion as Bühler (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 376). In the opinion of Keith, the author of the *Bṛhatkathā* cannot be later than 500 A.D. He, however, does not find any strong reason to place Guṇāḍhya in the first century A.D. (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, 1928, p. 268). Lacôte is inclined to place him in the middle of the third century A.D. and contends that he was anterior rather than posterior to Hāla (*Essay*, pp. 26–28). According to Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Guṇāḍhya lived at the court of Hāla in the first century A.D. (*Essay*, *Foreword*, pp. 1-2). The same opinion is also maintained by Pandits Durgāprasād and Kāsināth Pandurang Parab (*Kathāsaritsāgara*, Nirnaya Sagar Press Ed., 3rd edition, *Preface*, p. 1).

The age of the author of the *Bṛhatkathā* is, thus, a crux. If we take all the opinions together, it will range from the beginning of the first century A.D. to the end of the sixth century A.D., and the reasons upon which they are based are so widely divergent that to find out a factor common to them is, indeed, to square the circle. The opinion of Prof. Lacôte that Guṇāḍhya was anterior to Hāla, is far from convincing. It is based upon the assumptions that the internal characteristics of the legend of Guṇāḍhya lead us to believe him to have been anterior,

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(ii) In the *second* stage, the legend of Guṇāḍhya, representing him as a demi-god in his previous life, was added to the *Bṛhatkathā* as its Introduction (*Kathāpīṭha*). The legend had its origin somewhere in the Gangetic basin or in Malwa and was at first in the nucleal state. We may consider it to be the *first* recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*.

Before the legend of Guṇāḍhya acquired the form as given in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and before the legend of Vararuci had originated, the *Bṛhatkathā*, containing the legend of its author as its Introduction, must have migrated to Nepal. The legend, which was then in a crude form, had to submit undoubtedly to a process of change in that country to adapt itself to its new setting. On the strength of the available evidence, it may be concluded that the form of that legend was not considerably altered in Nepal. The only authentic Nepalese version of the legend of Guṇāḍhya accessible to us, is to be found in the *Nepālamāhātmya*.[1]

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and that *Saptaśataka* (*Sattasaī*) being an anthology, a later period should be assigned to Hāla, its alleged author. There is neither any definite indication in the legend that Guṇāḍhya was anterior to the Sātavāhana king mentioned in the Kashmirian recensions, nor is it an established fact that, in the evolution of a literature, the anthologies make their appearance at a later period. That Guṇāḍhya lived at the court of a certain Sātavāhana king may be taken to be a fact, because it has been actually mentioned in the later recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā* (*K.S.S.*, I, vi. 69ff.; *B.K.M.*, I, iii. 16ff.), and, besides, no evidence to the contrary has been discovered so far. It is unscientific and, indeed, unscholarly to reject all traditions relating to the ancient authors as untrustworthy or unworthy of consideration and, in this particular case, the tradition is too strong to be consigned easily to the waters of oblivion. In the present state of our knowledge, it is impossible to say anything beyond the fact that Guṇāḍhya composed his work during the reign of a certain king belonging to the Sātavāhana branch of the Śātakarṇi dynasty, which lasted from *c.* 28 B.C. (*Cf. Political History of Ancient India*, Raychaudhuri, 3rd Ed., pp. 277–279) to about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Dr. Keith's objection to place Guṇāḍhya in the first century A.D., is due to his peculiar notion of the evolution of Prakrit poetic literature, which is not entertained by others (*Cf. History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 268). It may be mentioned here that the short inscriptions of the Sītābengā and Jogimārā caves on the Rāmgarh Hill (Surgujā State), belonging to about the second century B.C., present unquestionable evidence of the existence of Prakrit poems even in that age (Bloch, *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-4, pp. 123ff.; *Z.D.M.G.*, xlviii. pp. 455–457; Lüders, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxiv. 1905, pp. 199-200; *Z.D.M.G.*, xlviii. pp. 867-868; Burgess, *Ind. Ant.*, xxxiv. 197-199; Boyer, *Mélanges Lévi*, pp. 121ff.; *Cf.* Jayaswal, *Ind. Ant.*, xlviii, p. 131). And if a Paiśācī *kāvya*, like the *Bṛhatkathā*, makes its appearance in the first century A.D. it would only signify the continuity of the use of Prakrits for *belles-lettres* of the same type, some of which have altogether disappeared, while others have been partly absorbed by the later anthologies, as we can reasonably infer.

[1] *Cf.* Lévi, S., *Le Népal*, i. 201–205; Lacôte, *Essay*, pp. 217–228 (*Nepāla māhātmya*, Cantos xxvii-xxx).

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The legend of Vararuci has no place in this work, as we can reasonably expect.

There is no positive evidence to show that the *Bṛhatkathā-ślokasaṁgraha* of Budhasvāmin, which appears to be an abridged Sanskritized version of the original *Bṛhatkathā*, is also of Nepalese origin, though the manuscripts of that work are from Nepal.[1] Neither the legend of Guṇāḍhya nor that of Vararuci is to be found in it.[2]

(iii) The *third* stage was characterized by an enlargement of the Introduction by linking the legend of Vararuci with that of Guṇāḍhya. The incorporation of this new theme into the *first* recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* took place either in the basin of the Ganges or in Malwa, but not certainly in Kashmir. It shows a wide acquaintance with local traditions and topographical details not expected from a writer who was widely separated from the neighbourhood of the scenes the legends represent. On the contrary, there is nothing either in that legend or in any portion of any extant recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*, which might be suspected to be of Kashmirian origin.

The *second* recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* in Paiśācī was very probably of the aforesaid type. What the other additions were, besides the legend of Vararuci, it is, of course, frankly impossible to say for want of evidence. We, however, expect the full text of Udayana's legend in this recension.

(iv) The *fourth* stage of the *Bṛhatkathā* was marked by a further enlargement of the legends of Guṇāḍhya and Vararuci by the incorporation of many smaller episodes into them, and the reduction of the original theme, the adventures of Naravāhanadatta, into a topic of subordinate interest by giving undue prominence to the sub-narratives as well as by inserting satisfactorily a new version of the two great legend-complexes, namely the *Pañcatantra* and the *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā*, which were then extremely popular in Northern India. The legend of Udayana too appears to have been curtailed rather drastically, obviously to make room for the voluminous extraneous matter which came to be interpolated.

It was this form of the *Bṛhatkathā* which migrated to Kashmir and subsequently became the basis of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*.[3]

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[1] Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 272.

[2] The name of Guṇāḍhya has been found to occur *once* only in that portion of the *Bṛhatkathāślokasaṁgraha* which has been recovered from Nepal (*Sarga*, xiv. 60). Text, ed. by Lacôte, p. 168.

[3] There is no reason to suppose that Kṣemendra and Somadeva have based their works on a common recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* available in Kashmir. A critical comparison of their works reveals a number of glaring discrepancies which

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We may consider this enlarged edition to be the *third* recension of the Paiśācī *Bṛhatkathā*.

(v) The *fifth* stage of the *Bṛhatkathā* was very much akin to the *fourth* but presented certain changes in the arrangement of the main narratives and the minor episodes. The other noteworthy features, whereby we can assume its separate existence and distinguish it from its immediate predecessor, are (1) a somewhat different version of the *Pañcatantra*, and (2) a number of minor episodes which are either absent or differently presented. This revised edition, which also migrated to Kashmir, may be considered to be the *fourth* recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* and the basis of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. Its language was Paiśācī and its title was very probably *Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara*.[1]

Prof. Lacôte suggests a common original for both the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, in spite of the discrepancies to be noticed in them in the arrangement of the main narratives and some of the smaller episodes. He is further of opinion that this

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cannot be easily ignored. For instance, the order in which the main themes of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* from the *lambaka* vi to xviii, both inclusive, are arranged, is entirely different from that of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*. Again, *lambaka* viii of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* is equivalent to *lambaka* xi of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* in addition to *lambaka* xiv, *taraṅga* i, *ślokas* 3–13 (inclusive). These are, however, not all. The version of the *Pañcatantra* as preserved in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is considerably different from that of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, which is also the case with a number of smaller episodes to be found in them. An apt illustration of this fact is, perhaps, the story of Udayana's possession of that wonderful lute as given in the *Kathāmukha*. Thus, according to the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Udayana rescues the snake Vasunemi (the brother of the snake-king Vāsuki) from the hands of a *śabara* (forester) and receives from the former a lute of miraculous power as a present (II, i. 74–82). But, according to the other work, he saves the life of a snake named Kinnara, who was caught by a *śabara*, pays a visit to the subterranean world accompanied by the former and, in course of his stay there, marries his sister Lalitā, who was a Vidyādharī in her previous life. She conceives and in consequence gets rid of a curse inflicted upon her and becomes a Vidyādharī once again, the state from which she had fallen. The happy pair part at last by mutual consent; she goes back to her celestial abode, and he comes back to the terrestrial world bringing along with him a lute of melodious tone, betels, and a wreath of flowers, which he received from the snake Kinnara as presents (II, i. 54–60). Sometimes a whole episode as preserved in one work, is to be found missing in the other. As an illustration, it may be pointed out here that nowhere in the *Kathāsaritāgara* is to be found the story of Yoga-Nanda, Vararuci, the potter, and the porter, which we come across only in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* (VII, i. 578–583). These are some of the textual discrepancies which cannot be explained by the literary *modus operandi* of either Kṣemendra or Somadeva. They point but to one thing, namely the existence of *two* different recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā* in Kashmir in the eleventh century, on which the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* were severally based.

[1] *Cf.* Lacôte, *Essay*, pp. 48–51, and p. 93.

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original had its origin in Kashmir and should, therefore, be considered to be the Kashmirian *Bṛhatkathā*. The works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva, however, do not support this hypothesis in any way.

(vi) In the *sixth*, which was probably the last stage in the growth of the Paiśācī *Bṛhatkathā*, the Introduction (*Kathāpīṭha*) was further amplified by inserting deftly some popular topics of legendary character. As an illustration, it may be pointed out that the episode relating to the toilet of Gaurī, which Bāṇa mentions as occurring in the *Bṛhatkathā*,[1] was to be found in this stage of that work. We are not to expect it, at any rate, in the *fifth* stage of the *Bṛhatkathā*, because in that case, Somadeva, whose *Kathāsaritsāgara* is but a faithful representative of its original,[2] would have reproduced or at least referred to it. Likewise, the episode relating to the 'Dalliance of Hara' (*Haralīlā*), to which Bāṇa also refers as occurring in the same work, was possibly to be found in detail in this stage of the *Bṛhatkathā* and not in the *fifth*, where it was in the nucleal state, as evidenced by the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[3] It is also extremely doubtful whether these two episodes were to be found in the *fourth* stage of the *Bṛhatkathā*, because in that case Kṣemendra would have reproduced them in a concise form, whereas, in reality, he has not made even the faintest allusion to either of them. Whether the main narratives of the *Bṛhatkathā* underwent any change in this—the *fifth* recension, or not, is a point on which nothing can be said definitely for want of information.

We have noticed above some of the stages in the growth of the *Bṛhatkathā* so far as one could anticipate them from a critical study of the extant Sanskrit recensions and the evidence available from other sources. It, however, must not be concluded that we have been able to discover all the landmarks, indicating the various stages, or even the more important ones. We are not in a position to

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[1] *Cf. Harṣacarita*, Intro. *śloka*, No. 18, and the comment of Śaṅkara thereon. The *śloka* runs as follows :—

'*Samuddīpitakandarpā kṛta-Gaurīprasādhanā* ।
Haralīleva no kasya vismayāya Bṛhatkathā' ॥

(For Kālidāsa's description of the toilet of Gaurī, *vide Kumārasambhava*, Canto vii, 6–26).

[2] For a full discussion of this subject, *vide Essay*, pp. 93–99. *Cf.* p. 20 (lines 7–9).

[3] *Cf. Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, i. 42-43.

'*Tatastīvreṇa tapasā krīto 'haṁ dhīrayā tvayā* ।
tacca tatsaṁcayāyaiva mayā soḍhaṁ tava priye ॥
Itthaṁ me pūrvajāyā tvaṁ kimanyatkathyate tava ।
ityuktvā virate Śaṁbhau Devī kopākulābravīt' ॥

It is ridiculous to suppose that Bāṇa considered a laconic description of *līlā* of this kind to be the cause of *vismaya*. A poet of his calibre is expected to possess, at any rate, a strong sense of perception !

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say anything with certainty on this point till at least one Paiśācī recension comes to light. That the *Bṛhatkathā* was extremely popular with the mass, is evident from a number of Sanskrit works, some of which were actually based upon it. Again in the *Kādambarī*, for instance, we are told that there were scholars at Ujjayinī who made a special study of the *Bṛhatkathā* as there were others who were interested in the *Purāṇas*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and the *Mahābhārata*.[1] But 'no man can walk abroad save on his own shadow'.[2] Although this piece of information relates itself to Ujjayinī and to an unknown period, we have reasons to believe that it is a reminiscence of the author's own experience, and that most of the cities in Northern India could produce at least one such expert in *Bṛhatkathā* in his days, the city referred to not being an exception in this matter. This unique specimen of the Indian literary art had its admirers all over this country and even beyond,[3] who were, evidently, not in favour of circumscribing its scope. The inclusion of a version of the *Pañcatantra* and that of the *Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā* may be cited as illustrations thereof.[4] It was for those erudite enthusiasts working in the name of Guṇāḍhya that this highly fascinating work had to submit to a continued process of change till it came to acquire its final shape, which can no longer be ascertained. If the *Bṛhatkathā* had, thus, reached the high watermark of popularity, a number of recensions would be called for as a consequence. This is exactly what has happened in the case of the historical or semi-historical *kāvyas* like the *Purāṇas*, the epics like the *Rāmāyaṇa*[5] and the *Mahābhārata*,[6] and the didactic fables like the *Pañcatantra*[7] and the *Tantrākhyāyika*,[8] which are known to us only through the recensions.

From what we have seen above, it is evident that there were at least four recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā* in Paiśācī, besides the original text of Guṇāḍhya, composed in the same language.[9] Considering, however, the immense popularity of the work, and

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[1] *Kādambarī* ed. by P. Peterson, p. 51.

[2] Raleigh, Prof. Walter, *Shakespeare*, p. 7.

[3] Lacôte, *Essay*, p. 15; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 266.

[4] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, X, iv. 11 to X, ix. 254 (*Pañcatantra*); XII, viii. 59 to XII, xxxii. 41 (*Vetālapañcaviṁśatikā*).

[5] Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 303ff.

[6] *ibid.*, pp. 281–290.

[7] Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 246–248.

[8] *ibid.*, pp. 259–262.

[9] These do not include the Paiśācī recensions—if there had been any, of Nepal and Kashmir.

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the data furnished by the *Harṣacarita*,[1] we may presume the existence of a *fifth* Paiśācī recension, though, for the paucity of evidence, it is difficult to stress this point. One of the Paiśācī recensions, very probably the *fifth* one, was in prose, while others were in verse.[2] A *Bṛhatkathā* in Paiśācī prose was at least known to Daṇḍin and Jinasena.[3] All the recensions in Paiśācī, including the original text, are now lost, and it is extremely doubtful whether any one of them was actually in existence after the twelfth century.[4] Of the recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā* in Sanskrit, only three are extant, but the legend of Guṇāḍhya is traceable in two other works, namely the *Nepālamāhātmya*[5] of anonymous authorship, and the *Haracaritacintāmaṇi*[6] of Rājānaka Jayaratha (12th cent.), an inhabitant of Kashmir. Epigraphic evidence, however, points to a fourth recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* in Sanskrit, but the work itself is now

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[1] *Vide supra.*

[2] This is an additional proof of the existence of the fifth recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*. The original of the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and that of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, namely the third and the fourth recension, were undoubtedly in verse.

[3] *Kāvyādarśa*, i. 38; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 268. According to Dr. Barnett, Daṇḍin belonged to the sixth century A.D. (*J.R.A.S.*, 1905, p. 841).

In the *Ādipurāṇa*, the celebrated Jaina scholar Jinasena (*c.* 825 A.D.) has used the words '*bṛhatkathā*' (great story) and '*guṇāḍhya*' (rich in virtues) to indicate through *śleṣa* the equality of his original, the *Gadyakathā* of Kavi Parameśvara, with the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya (verse 115). Principles of analogy demand that this *Bṛhatkathā* too should be a *gadya* (prose) -*kathā* like the original of Jinasena, which was undoubtedly in prose, as evidenced by its title. Mr. Kāmta Prasād Jain admits that the *Gadyakathā* of Kavi Parameśvara was similar to the well-known *Bṛhatkathā* in many respects and that Jinasena was aware of its existence (*Ind. Hist. Quar.*, v. p. 547), and Mr. Venkatasubbiah adduces good reasons to believe that the work of Guṇāḍhya, referred to in the *Ādipurāṇa*, was a recension in Prakrit and not in Sanskrit (*Ind. Hist. Quar.*, v. pp. 34-35). It is possible, therefore, that the same prose recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* was known to both Daṇḍin and Jinasena (see below).

[4] Some fragments of Paiśācī prose, which are to be found in the Prakrit Grammar of Ācārya Hemacandra (1088–1172 A.D.), are supposed by Pischel to have been derived from the *Bṛhatkathā* (*De grammaticis Prācriticis*, 1874, p. 33ff.; *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, p. 28 and n. 11). It is possible that they have been taken from the fifth recension of that work which, as we have noted above, was in prose.

According to the grammarian Mārkaṇḍeya (17th cent.), the *Bṛhatkathā* was composed in Kekaya-Paiśācī. There is hardly any good reason to believe that he actually consulted either any Paiśācī recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* or the original of Guṇāḍhya. It appears that he borrowed the example: *Kupaci=Kvacit* (*Bṛhatkathāyām* '*Kupaci pisālam*', Ch. xix. 9), from some Prakrit Grammar of his predecessor (*Cf.* Grierson, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 122; *contra J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p. 391).

[5] Lacôte, *Essay*, pp. 217–228.

[6] Kāvyamālā Series, No. 61, Ch. 27.

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lost. Mr. Narasimhachar, to whom we owe this interesting reference,[1] brings to our notice that in two copperplate inscriptions, the Gaṇga king Durvinīta is described as the author of a Sanskrit version of the *Vaḍḍakathā*,[2] i.e. *Bṛhatkathā*, which was probably compiled during the first half of the sixth century A.D. Those inscriptions also ascribe to this king the authorship of three Sanskrit works, including a commentary on the *Kirātārjunīya*, Canto xv, and it may be mentioned here that, in the *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, he is represented as the patron of a poet named Dāmodara, who was once supposed to be the same as Bhāravi, the author of the *Kirātārjunīya*.[3] The curious scepticism which has marked the attitude of one European scholar towards the authorship of the *Kirātārjunīya* commentary mentioned above, rejects the epigraphic evidence relating to the Sanskrit version of the *Vaḍḍakathā* as dubious.[4] But as the reference is to be found in two different inscriptions, and as no flagrant anachronism, or glaring literary inconsistency is involved by its acceptance, we are constrained to admit the suspicion of that learned scholar as entirely baseless. According to the calculations of Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil, the Koṅgaṇi-mahārāja Durvinīta ruled from A.D. 605 to 650[5]; and it is, therefore, fair to suppose that the Sanskrit version referred to in the inscriptions, had its origin either in the first or in the second quarter of the seventh century.

From what we have stated above, it will be seen that, so far as the late origin of the story of the king Nanda and Candragupta, and its incorporation into the *Bṛhatkathā* at a later period are concerned, we are perfectly in agreement with Prof. Lacôte, our fundamental difference being, barring the literary matter at issue, the locality of the origin of that story. Scholars who believe in the

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 389-390; *Mysore Archæological Report*, 1912, paras. 67-69; *Epigraphia Carnatica*, xii, Tumkur 23 (Hebbur Plates); *Mysore Archæological Report*, 1916, p. 45.

[2] In colloquial Bengali, the word *vaḍḍa* (or *baḍḍa*) is commonly used in the sense of *bṛhat*. Whether it is the same as Prakrit *vaḍḍa* (Paiśācī ?) or is a mere corruption of Sanskrit *vaḍra*, is difficult to say. It is, however, possible that the former (*vaḍḍa* or *baḍḍa*) has been derived from some kind of Prakrit, while the latter (*vaḍra*) is represented in Bengali by the word *vaḷa* (or *baḷa*) which is also identical with *bṛhat* in sense (=Hindi, *baḷā*).

[3] *Cf.* De, Dr. S. K., *Ind. Hist. Quar.*, i. pp. 31ff.; *ibid.*, iii. p. 396; Śāstrī, G. Harihara, *ibid.*, iii. pp. 169ff.; Kavi, M. R., *Proc. and Trans., Second Oriental Conference*, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 193ff.

[4] Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. xvii and p. 268, n. 2.

[5] *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 109. See also p. 107; *Cf. Epigraphia Indica*, viii, App. II, p. 5.

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fantastic neo-Nanda theory, or in the Nanda ancestry of Candragupta Maurya, on the supposition that the same was suggested by the original *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya,[1] a work of high antiquity, will find that no such inference is warranted by the available literary data. The source of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, as mentioned in the *Avaloka* of Dhanika, is not the original *Bṛhatkathā*, and we are to estimate the historical value of Yoga-Nanda's story accordingly.

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A relevant question that may be asked in this connexion is: Can Viśākhadatta be said to have derived the material for his drama from those recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā*[2] which migrated to Kashmir? A solution of this question is of vital importance to Indologists, as Dhanika has definitely mentioned the *Bṛhatkathā* as the source of the *Mudrārākṣasa*. Now, a critical comparison of the plot of that drama with the story of Nanda (Yoga), Candragupta and Cāṇakya, as was once to be found in those lost recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā* and which Kṣemendra and Somadeva have faithfully reproduced in their respective works namely the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*,[3] shows that the statement of Dhanika is far from being correct and that Viśākhadatta must have derived the material from some other source. The results of the comparison are as follows :—

(i) The names of the historical persons which are common to the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, and the *Mudrārākṣasa* are only three, viz. Nanda, Candragupta, and Cāṇakya.

(ii) There is no reference whatsoever, in the works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva, to Rākṣasa, Parvata, Malayaketu, Jīvasiddhi, Bhāgurāyaṇa, Śakaṭadāsa, Candanadāsa, Siddhārthaka, the allies of Malayaketu, and other important or unimportant characters, as we find in the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

(iii) In the works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva, there are references to Prince Hiraṇyagupta or Harigupta,[4] son of Nanda (Yoga), and Śakaṭāla, the minister, whereas in the drama of Viśākhadatta even their names are not to be found.

(iv) With regard to the name of Candragupta's father, a difference is to be found between the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* on one hand, and the *Mudrārākṣasa* on the other.

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[1] Ghosh, A., *Ind. Hist. Quar.*, vi. pp. 275-276; Chaṭṭopādhyāya, K., *ibid.*, p. 283; Deb, H. K., *J.B.O.R.S.*, iv, p. 91; *Proc. and Trans., First Oriental Conference*, ii. p. 364, n. 42; *Ind. Hist. Quar.*, viii. pp. 474–477.

[2] *Vide supra.*

[3] Lacôte, *Essay*, pp. 84–108.

[4] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, v. 79, 123; *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, I, ii. 191.

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According to the Kashmirian works, he was the son of a former Nanda (Pūrva-Nanda),[1] while, according to the drama, his father's name was Maurya.[2]

(v) According to the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Candragupta ascended the throne with the help of Cāṇakya after killing the *nine* Nandas in a battle. There is no mention of the battle whatsoever in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* as well as in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, according to which, Nanda died of fever within seven days as the result of '*kṛtyā*'

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[1] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, iv. 116, v. 123; *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, I, ii. 217.

[2] *Mud. R.*, ed. by Telang, p. 114 (Act II, v. 6).

In Act V, the dramatist puts through the mouth of Malayaketu : '*Mauryo'sau svāmiputraḥ paricaraṇaparo mitraputrastavāhaṁ*' (*Mud. R.*, Act V, *v.* 19, Telang's Ed., p. 256). From this it may be assumed that, according to Viśākhadatta, Candragupta was the son of the master of Rākṣasa, who was one of the 'Nine Nandas'. The assumption is, however, not correct, because to the minister all the sons of Sarvārthasiddhi, whether by his Kṣatriya or Śūdra wife, were masters. Maurya was one of the sons of Sarvārthasiddhi, as Ḍhuṇḍhirāja and Ravinartaka inform us, and, hence, Candragupta (son of Maurya) was the son of the master in the estimation of Rākṣasa (*Cf. Mud. R.*, *Upodghāta*, *vv.* 32ff., Telang's Ed., pp. 42–44; *Cāṇakyakathā*, *vv.* 15ff.). We must also bear in mind that if we admit any one of the 'Nine Nandas' to have been the father of Candragupta, we would be indirectly attributing to him the guilt of parricide, because he and his quondam master Cāṇakya 'caused them to be slaughtered in successive order like so many animals (of sacrifice) within the very sight of Rākṣasa' ('*Nandāḥ paryāyabhūtāḥ paśava iva hatāḥ paśyato Rākṣasasya*', Act III, *v.* 27). None of the authorities, whether Brahmanical, Buddhist, or Jain, does even contemplate that the founder of the Maurya dynasty was a parricide. Such a hypothesis would be entirely inconsistent with the story of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, according to which Candragupta was '*Mauryaputra*' ('son of Maurya', Act II, *v.* 6) and not '*Nandaputra*', though he was '*Nandānvayin*' or '*Nandānvayālambin*' (*Nandānvaya evāyamiti*,* p. 196; *Nandānvayālambinā*, p. 227, Telang's Ed.). The royal house of the Nandas to which, according to the drama, he belonged, was his '*pitṛkula*' (*Nandakulamanena pitṛbhūtaṁ ghātitam* . . . . . p. 207, Telang's Ed.; *Nandakulamanena pitṛkulabhūtaṁ kṛtaghnena ghātitam* . . . . . p. 58, Dhruva's Ed.), not because any of the 'Nine Nandas' was its founder, but because their father Sarvārthasiddhi was also called Nanda (Act I, *v.* 12 : *Nandaṁ mayā sānvayaṁ*, *v.* 23 : *Nande jīvati*; Act II, *v.* 6 : *devamapāsya Nandaṁ*, *v.* 22 : *kṣīṇe'pi Nande*, etc.; *Cf. Cāṇakyakathā*, *v.* 7) and who was also of Nanda ancestry (*Nandavaṁśīyaḥ Sarvārthasiddhiḥ*, Telang's Ed., p. 68). It was this old king who after the death of his nine sons (Act I, *v.* 13; III, *v.* 27) fled from Pāṭaliputra at the instigation of Rākṣasa (pp. 125-126, Telang's Ed.) and turned an ascetic but was murdered by the assassins of Cāṇakya in his hermitage for political reasons, as the dramatist informs us (pp. 67-68, and 234, Telang's Ed.). It is, therefore, the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and their originals, the later recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā*, which have represented Candragupta to be the son of a certain Nanda, but not the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

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* *Nandānvayāya evāyamiti*, *Mud. R.*, Ed. by Dhruva, p. 53. See also p. 4.

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(incantation) performed by Cāṇakya, who also killed the prince Hiraṇyagupta or Harigupta with the help of the minister Śakaṭāla and placed Candragupta on the throne.[1]

(vi) In the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* as well as in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the king Nanda, who died from the effect of '*kṛtyā*' and was succeeded by Candragupta, is represented to have been a Śūdra.[2] But in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Nanda has been described as a king of high birth, which may signify anything but Śūdra caste.[3]

(vii) If the two ministers, Śakaṭāla and Rākṣasa, are considered to be identical, as both of them were in the service of the king Nanda, with whose death the dynasty to which he belonged came to an end, it will be seen that they were persons of entirely different character and political outlook. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, as well as in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, Śakaṭāla figures as a vindictive royal officer, guarding his own interest and, at the same time, seeking opportunities to kill his master on the faith of a false impersonation; while, in the *Mudrārākṣasa* Rākṣasa is represented as an astute politician, and an officer of unflinching devotion and

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In the *Early History of India*, p. 44, f.n. 1 (4th Ed.), we find the following remarks of Dr. Vincent A. Smith: 'K. P. Jayaswal interprets *nava-Nandāḥ* as meaning the 'new', not the 'nine Nandas'. See *J.B.O. Res. Soc.*, iv. 91–5. On this supposition they must be distinguished from Kṣemendra's *Pūrvanandāḥ*, the 'early' Nandas, namely Nanda (or Nandi) vardhana and Mahānanda (or -nandin)'. We regret to say that both Kṣemendra and Somadeva have neither used the word '*Pūrvanandāḥ*' nor referred to the 'early' Nandas directly or indirectly. They have applied the word '*pūrva*' to one Nanda only, namely the father of Candragupta, in order to distinguish him from another Nanda, namely Yogananda, the father of Hiraṇyagupta or Harigupta, and not from the *nine* Nandas, about whom there is no reference whatsoever in their works. Besides this, there is no mention in them that Pūrvananda, the father of Candragupta, was ever a king or related to the king Nanda in any way. He might have belonged to the rank and file of the society, having no connexion whatsoever with the royal house of the Nandas, and there is nothing either in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* or in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* which can debar us from making this suggestion.

[1] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, v. 119–123; *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, I, ii. 216-217.

[2] *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, I, ii. 121; *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, iv. 114.

[3] Act VI, *v.* 6, Telang's Ed., p. 273. The word to be found in the text is '*bhuvanapatimuccairabhijanaṁ*', which Ḍhuṇḍhirāja explains as, '*uccairabhijanaḥ vaṁśo yasya*'. The *Cāṇakyakathā* too tends to show that king Sarvārthasiddhi belonged to a higher caste and so also his nine sons (*Nava-Nandāḥ*), whom he had by his first wife Sunandā. His second wife was, however, a śūdra lady named Murā who bore a son named Maurya (*vv.* 7ff.). The Purāṇic tradition relating to the caste of the 'Nine Nandas' is, thus, set at naught by Viśākhadatta, Ḍhuṇḍhirāja and Ravinartaka. According to the *Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā*, the founder of the Nanda dynasty was of unknown lineage (Sinhalese Ed., p. 117, *ll.* 13-14, Colombo, 1895).

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loyalty, trying to take revenge on the enemies of his royal master even after his death.[1]

(viii) The number of the Nandas as can be ascertained from the *Mudrārākṣasa* is at least *ten* in two generations,[2] namely the *nine* Nandas and their father Nanda, also called Sarvārthasiddhi. The *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* contain references to *two* Nandas only, namely Nanda (Pūrva), father of Candragupta, and Nanda (Yoga), father of Hiraṇyagupta or Harigupta, but the relation between the two, if there had been any, has not been specified.[3]

(ix) The similarity existing between the Kashmirian works and the drama, so far as the tradition relating to the king Nanda, Candragupta, and Cāṇakya is concerned, is practically next to nothing. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*, the story ends precisely where it begins in the *Mudrārākṣasa*; and there being very few points of agreement between the two, one cannot be considered to be a legitimate part of the other.

The facts mentioned above will enable our readers to understand how far the works of Kṣemendra and Somadeva are related to the drama of Viśākhadatta. If we go into further details, more points of divergence will be noticed. As the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* are at one so far as these discrepancies are concerned, and as Somadeva definitely assures us that his work is but a faithful representative[4] of its original, we must admit that the recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā* which migrated to Kashmir (the Kashmirian *Bṛhatkathā* of Prof. Lacôte) also contained a very similar account of the Nandas, Candragupta, and Cāṇakya. There is, thus, no reason to suppose that the *third* or the *fourth* recension of the *Bṛhatkathā* was the source of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.

But in the *Avaloka*, there is a definite mention that the *Bṛhatkathā* was the source of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, and, therefore, it might be contended that the theme of the drama was possibly added in the *fifth* recension of that work. Admitting that the story of

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[1] *Cf.* '*Nedaṁ vismṛtabhaktinā na viṣayavyāsaṅgamūḍhātmanā* ।
prāṇapracyutibhīruṇā na ca mayā nātmapratiṣṭhārthinā ॥
Atyarthaṁ paradāsyametya nipuṇaṁ nītau mano dīyate ।
devaḥ svargagoto'pi śātravavadhenārādhitaḥ syāditi' ॥
Mud. R., Act II, *v.* 5.

[2] So also Ravinartaka, *Cāṇakyakathā*, *vv.* 7, 47, 51 and ff. But in the *Purāṇas* we find *nine* Nandas only in two generations. According to the Ceylon chronicles, there were *nine* Nandas in one generation, ruling one after another according to the seniority of age (*vuḍḍhapaṭipāṭiyā eva*). *Cf. Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā* (Sinh. Ed.), p. 118, *ll.* 23–26; *Mahāvaṁsa*, ed. by Geiger, p. 30 (Ch. V, 15).

[3] *Vide supra.*

[4] Lacôte, *Essay*, p. 20 and pp. 93–99.

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Yogananda, Candragupta, and Cāṇakya, as Kṣemendra and Somadeva found it in the third and the fourth recensions of the *Bṛhatkathā* respectively, was so materially altered and its main outlines were so drastically disfigured as to reduce it to the form almost similar to that of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, it baffles the wit of a scholar to conceive how it was found possible to link it to the story of the grammarian Vararuci-Kātyāyana,[1] which must have remained in the fifth recension as being an essential part of the *Kathāpīṭha*. But this linking together is by no means an easy affair. It means a thorough remodelling of that story in all its phases and aspects, and a complete subversion of the *motif* which led Vararuci and his friends Vyāḍi and Indradatta to have an interview with the king Nanda in his camp at Ayodhyā. In short, we are not to expect even the shadow of that grammarian's terrestrial story, as we find it in the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, if the theme of the *Mudrārākṣasa* were incorporated into it as a part of the main narrative. Again, it is possible for us to believe that the story of the minister Śakaṭāla and the king Yogananda underwent some change in the fifth recension of the *Bṛhatkathā*; but that it was altogether rescinded from that collection of tales, and that in its place was substituted the story of Rākṣasa, the nine Nandas, and their old father Nanda, are hypotheses which are directly opposed to all known principles of literary evolution. It is also inexplicable how the romantic story of the '*kṛtyā*', the simplest way of getting rid of the king Nanda and placing Candragupta on the throne of Magadha, as contrived by Cāṇakya, which is perfectly in keeping with the character of a work like the *Bṛhatkathā*, could possibly yield its place in a later recension of that work, to a concrete and realistic account of war and secret assassinations, stratagems and intrigues, plots and counter-plots—a complicated though a more practicable method designed to meet the same end. We fail to understand at the same time how the dull and insipid account of an intellectual warfare between the two experts in political science and their experiments of certain abstruse theories of statecraft, which serve so well the purpose of a historical drama, could find a suitable place in that storehouse of myths and legends, fictions and romances, where nothing but the marvellous alone could be present. It is, of course, idle to speculate on such probabilities and improbabilities when that recension itself is no longer extant, but we must note that

[1] Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar informs us that according to the *Bṛhatkathā*, Kātyāyana, the famous jurist, was a minister of the Nanda kings (*Mauryan Polity*, p. 306, Madras, 1932). Unfortunately, it is not the *Bṛhatkathā*, but its recensions which mention Kātyāyana the celebrated grammarian, and not the jurist, as being the minister of one Nanda king only.

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the circumstances are not wholly in favour of the main theme of Viśākhadatta's drama being present in it. Under what authority the author of the *Avaloka* has made that assertion, we do not know, but before we hold him responsible for the supply of that correct or incorrect piece of information, we must be certain that the passage in question—'*Tatra Bṛhatkathāmūlaṁ Mudrārākṣasam*', is not a later interpolation, like the two verses of Kṣemendra's *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* which trail behind it.

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THE BUDDHIST VIHĀRAS OF BENGAL

By NALINI NATH DAS-GUPTA

With the early history of Buddhism, Bengal was not so much concerned, and this constitutes the reason why the name of any part of Bengal occurs so rarely in the Pali texts of the Buddhists. But from the seventh century A.D.,[1] if not earlier, to the twelfth, the history of this religion, in some form or other, is practically confined, save Magadha, to Bengal, and also to some extent to Nepāl and Kāśmīr.

Of the Buddhist monks, we know that they generally used to lead a congregated life in the Vihāras or monasteries, which afforded them all facilities for prosecuting their higher studies, by providing them with the requisites of life. The expenses were defrayed from the revenue of land allotted to the Vihāras by some kings or noblemen from time to time or at a time, or from other sources of income. Since all the Vihāras, however, were not of equal magnitude, capacity and importance, only the greater Vihāras, which could afford accommodation to a far larger number of monks, used to serve as their colleges or universities.

Existence of a number of such colleges in the period before the establishment of the Pāla monarchy in Bengal is vouched for by Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing. According to the former, there were about twenty Saṅghārāmas with some 3,000 priests who studied both the Little and Great Vehicle in Puṇḍravardhana [2]; thirty or so Saṅghārāmas, with about 2,000 priests, all of the Sthavira school in Samataṭa [3]; ten Saṅghārāmas with about 1,000 priests in Tāmralipti [4]; and ten Saṅghārāmas or so with about 2,000 priests studying the Little Vehicle of the Sammatīya school in Karṇasuvarṇa.[5] The pilgrim also makes specific mention of the two most notable colleges, rather universities, of his time,—one in Puṇḍravardhana and the other in Karṇasuvarṇa. Of the former, he says, 'To the west of

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[1] Vaṅga finds mention in one of the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions in the list of countries which were 'gladdened' by the teachers of Theravāda Buddhism. See *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 1, p. 109.

[2] Beal's *Records of the Western World*, II, p. 195; Watters *Yuan Chwang*, II, p. 184.

[3] Beal, II, p. 199; Watters, II, p. 187.

[4] Beal, II, p. 200; Watters, II, p. 190.

[5] Beal, II, p. 201; Watters, II, p. 191. Tāmralipti became a seat of Buddhist learning even when Fa Hien visited the place in the 5th century A.D. (Beal, I, pp. lxvi-lxvii).

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the capital 20 li or so is the Po-chi-p'o (Vāśibhā) Saṅghārāma. Its courts are lighty and roomy; its towers and pavilions are very lofty. The priests are 700 in number; they study the law according to the Great Vehicle. Many renowned priests from Eastern India dwelt here'.[1] The Po-chi-p'o Vihāra was identified by General Cunningham with Vihāra or Bhāsu Vihāra, four miles to the west of Mahāsthāna in the District of Bogrā.[2] The other college or university, that of Karṇasuvarṇa, was known as Raktaviṭi, the halls of which were 'light and spacious, the storeyed towers very lofty'. 'In this establishment,' says Hiuen Tsang, 'congregate all the most distinguished, learned, and celebrated men of the kingdom. They strive to promote each other's advancement by exhortations and to perfect their character'.[3]

To I-tsing (673–687 A.D.) we owe our knowledge of the University of Bhā-rā-hā in Tāmralipti. He has left us a graphic and picturesque account of it,—its inner life, organization, discipline, splendour, and fame, and has laid particular stress to the disciplinary rules guiding the relation of the monks with the nuns residing there.[4] But we do not hear of this great Vihāra any more from any other source of information.

Next come the Vihāras of the Pāla period.

Tāranātha[5] agrees with the author of the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*[6] in assigning the construction of the Sōmapurī Vihāra to Dēvapāla, but the impression in clay of a seal found at Pāhāḍpur reads that it belonged to the community of monks who resided in the Vihāra at Sōmapura, built by Dharmapāla.[7] Tāranātha's statement that Dharmapāla built the Vikramśīla monastery is confirmed by the fact that he himself bore the epithet of Vikramaśīladēva,[8] and in the colophon of the commentary of Jinarakṣita on the Sragdharāstōtra of Sarvajñamitra of Kāśmira we have actually the wordings as 'Śrīmad-Vikramaśīla-dēva-mahāvihārīya',[9] meaning, 'of the mahāvihāra of Vikramaśīladēva'. The colophon of a MS. of the Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñapāramitā, written in the 15th year of Gopāla II's reign, also refers

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[1] Beal, II, p. 195; cf. Watters, II, p. 184.

[2] Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. of India Report*, Vol. XV, 1883, pp. 104–117.

[3] Beal, II, p. 202; cf. Watters, II, p. 191.

[4] I-tsing's *Record of the Buddhist Religion*, Tr. J. Takakasu, Ch. X; *Samasāmayika Bhārata* (Bengali), Ed. J. N. Samāddār, Vol. XI, pp. 102ff.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 366.

[6] *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*: Ed. S. C. Das, Index, p. cxxx.

[7] *Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann. Rep.*, 1926-27, p. 149.

[8] *Rāmacarita of Abhinanda*, Ed. K. S. Rāmaswāmi Shāstrī, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Intro., p. xxii.

[9] *Bhāratī* (Bengali journal), 1315, p. 2; R. L. Mitra's *Nepalese Buddhist Literature*, Cal., 1882, p. 229.

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to the Vihāra as 'Srīmad-Vikramaśīladēva-vihāra'.[1] On the other hand, in the colophon of Atīśa Dipaṅkara's Ratna-Karaṇḍōdghāṭa, a work in the Madhyamaka philosophy, the grand Vihāra of Vikramśīla is said to have been founded by Devapāla.[2] A compromise between these two *prima facie* divergent versions may easily be effected by supposing that Devapāla made super-additions to both the monasteries, Sōmapurī and Vikramśīla.

The site of the Sōmapurī Vihāra is not known with certitude, but it is probable that the self-same temple of Pāhāḍpur, which, either during or sometime before the reign of Dharmapāla, came under the exclusive domination of the Buddhists, was converted to a Vihāra by Dharmapāla.

As a University, Sōmapurī seems to have been the premier of its kind in Bengal till the rise of Jagaddal, and enjoyed there the celebrity of Vikramśīla in Magadha. Of the rules of admission, regulation of standard and character of learning imparted, as also the inner organization on it, we have no information even from tradition, but the inference is that the same were akin in many respects to those of Vikramśīla,[3] both the institutions being the achievements of one and the same royal hand.

One of the most notable celebrities of the University is Bōdhibhadra, whose titles were Ācārya and Mahāpaṇḍita, and epithet Bhikṣu Āraṇyaka.[4] Of uncertain date, but most probably prior to, or at best an older contemporary of, Atulya-pāda, alias Advayavajra (c. 1000 A.D.), who seems to have translated one of his books, Bōdhibhadra[5] is perhaps identical, as is likely to follow from his another epithet Kālasvala-pāda,[6] with Kāla-pāda and Kālamahāpāda,[7] distinctly said to be of Sōmapurī.

The name of the great monastery of Sōmapurī is found occurring in an inscription at Bōdh-Gayā incised on the base of a life-size standing figure of the Buddha, and ascribed to the tenth century.[8] A stone inscription on a pillar, in characters said to be of the eleventh century, found in the ruins of Pāhāḍpura and now deposited in the Varēndra Research Society's Museum, records that the pillar was

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1910, pp. 150-51.

[2] *Catalogue du fonds Tibétain de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, par P. Cordier, Paris, 1915, Vol. III, pp. 321-22.

[3] Cf. *History of the Mediæval School of Indian Logic* by Satish Chandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Calcutta, 1909, App. C., pp. 150–152; *Viśva-Bhāratī Quarterly*, 1924, pp. 53ff.; *Bhāratī*, 1315, pp. 2–4.

[4] Cordier, II, p. 98; III, p. 320; II, pp. 98, 320, and 250; III, 429.

[5] Cordier, II, p. 98. [6] Cordier, III, p. 511. [7] Cordier, II, pp. 116–120.

[8] *Arch. Surv. Ind. Ann. Rep.*, 1908-9, p. 158; text reproduced in *Sāhitya* (Bengali journal), 1319, p. 643.

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caused to be made by Śrī-Daśavala-garbha, for the good of animate beings.[1] If the temple of Pāhāḍpur be really the site of the Vihāra, the pillar inscription would show that the Vihāra continued its existence to the eleventh century. A fact of great interest convincing this long-forgotten University of Sōmapurī is that the great Atīśa Dīpaṅkara graced it by residing there for sometime, during when he translated, in collaboration with some others, the Madhyamaka-Ratna-Pradīpa of Bhāva-vivēka.[2]

The Vihāra of Vikramapurī, which according to the *Tangyur* was situated in Bengal which is to the west of Magadha (*vihāra de Vikramapurī du Bengale, dans le Magadha oriental*)[3], appears from the coincidence of names to have been located in Vikrampura of East Bengal (Dacca district). It also appears plausible that both the tract and the Vihāra received their names from that of Dharmapāla, alias Vikramśīla, the only known king of Bengal with the appellation of 'Vikrama', who again had for certain exercised his imperial sway over East Bengal.[4]

Dharmapāla would thus appear to have established at least three Vihāras—one in Magadha, another in Varēndra, and the third in Vaṅga. It was in the Vikrampurī Vihāra that Kumāracandra, called Ācārya Avadhūta, wrote a Tantric commentary, which was done into Tibetan by Līlā-vajra of India and Puṇyadhvaja of Tibet,[5] which renders it improbable that Līlāvajra who was a disciple of the princess Lakṣīṁkarā, daughter of Indrabhūti of Uḍḍiyāna, should be given a higher antiquity than Dharmapāla himself.

Another Vihāra that seems to have been already in existence in Bengal during the time of Dharmapāla was the Traikūṭaka Vihāra, where Ācārya Haribhadra wrote his famous commentary on the *Aṣṭa-sāhasrikā Prajñā Pāramitā*.[6] The *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* distinctly locates it in Bengal.[7]

Prajñāvarman, styled as Ācārya,[8] and who is said to have been a Bengali, hailed from Kāpaṭya of Bengal,[9] if that be its correct name. His preceptor, Bōdhivarman, too, is said to have

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[1] *List of Inscriptions in the Museum of the Varēndra Research Society*, by Niradbandhu Sānyal, 1928; *Ann. Rep. of the Arch. Surv. of India*, 1922, p. 116; *Ann. Report, Arch. Surv. Eastern Circle*, 1920-21, p. 35.

[2] Cordier, III, p. 299.

[3] Cordier, II, pp. 159-60.

[4] *Vide 'Bhārata-varṣa'* (Bengali journal), Jaiṣṭha, 1341 (B.S.), pp. 962–970, on this point.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Mem. As. Soc., Bengal*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 5.

[7] Index, pp. xciv and xli.

[8] Cordier, II, p. 3, and III, p. 399.

[9] Cordier, III, p. 399.

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been of Kāpaṭya.[1] It was, therefore, the name either of a Vihāra itself or a place having had a Vihāra within.

At Dēvīkoṭ in North Bengal there also seems to have been a great monastery. Atulya-vajra, alias Advaya-vajra, belonged to Devīkōṭ,[2] as also Udhilipā and Mēkhalā, a female Buddhist ascetic.[3] Devīkōṭ is a familiar name to us in connection with the early history of the Muhammadans in Bengal.[4] It is also said to have been the citadel of the ancient city of Bāna-nagara.[5]

The Paṇḍita Vihāra in Chittagong, as referred to in the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*,[6] was evidently a great centre of Tāntric learning and culture.[7] With this monastery is associated the name of Tilipā, Tilōpā or Tailapāda, a great Tāntric scholar.

Tailapāda had a disciple in Nāḍa-pāda, known to have been a preceptor of Atīśa Dīpaṅkara, and to whom is attributed the authorship of a commentary on the *Vajrapada-sāra-saṁgraha*.[8] The account given in the Catalogue of the *Tangyur*, following the statement of its being written by Nāḍapāda to the effect that the work was exposed at the demand of Vinaya-śrī-mitra and others of Kāśmīr, belonging to the grand Vihāra of Kanaka-stūpa in the city of Paṭṭikeraka by Śākyabhikṣu Yaśōbhadra (Yaśabhadra) of Kāśmīr,[9] is not readily intelligible until we look into the *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang* and find that Nāḍapāda is the same as Yaśabhadra.[10] It does not follow from the account given that Paṭṭikeraka, wherein the Vihāra of Kanka-stūpa was situated, is a village in Kāśmīr, as was conjectured by the late MM. Hara Prasād Śāstrī,[11] but then it was from Kāśmīr that Yaśabhadra, Vinaya-śrī-mitra, and others are said to have hailed. The peculiarity of the name 'Paṭṭikeraka' is alone responsible for at once reminding one acquainted with the old Bengali ballads, celebrating the doings of King Gōpi-candra or Gōvi-candra, of the city of Pāṭikārā in Bengal.[12]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Cordier, II, p. 27.

[3] *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, Index, p. cxli and p. lxxvi.

[4] Cf. Major Raverty's tr. of Minhājuddin's *Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri*, p. 584f.; Elliot and Dowson's *History of India, as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II, p. 316f.

[5] Cunningham's *Arch. Surv. Report*, XV, 1882, p. 95; also *J.R.A.S.*, 1873, pp. 212-13.

[6] *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, Index, p. lxii.

[7] *J.A.S.B.*, 1898, p. 24; *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1312 B.S., pp. 190-91.

[8] Cordier, II, p. 68.

[9] Cf. *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1323 B.S., p. 90.

[10] Cordier, II, p. 68; and *Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang*, Index, p. lv.

[11] *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1323 B.S., p. 90.

[12] Cf. for instance, Durlabha Mallika's *Gōvinda Candēr Gān* Ed. Śiva Candra Śīl.

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The name also finds place in the early history of Burma, where Anawratha (1044–77 A.D.), noted for having expelled Tāntric Buddhism from Burma, and his grandfather, are said to have entered into matrimonial relation with the ruling house of Pa-teik-ka-rā.[1] Sir Henry Yule simply observed that it was 'a part of Bengal'.[2] Sir Arthur Phayre identifies it with 'Vikrampura which was near Dacca'.[3] Mr. Harvey would place it 'near South Maṇipura', while Mr. Tun Nyein makes it Chittagong.[4] But theory seems to have come into term with facts when it is identified with the *paragaṇā* of Paṭikārā, conterminous with Mēhērkul in the district of Tipperah.[5] The city of Paṭṭikerā is also referred to in the Maināmatī Copperplate inscription of Ranavaṅkalla Harikāladēva (1220 A.D.), which records a grant of land in a certain village in favour of a Buddhist Vihāra, built in the city of Paṭṭikerā.[6] Whether this Viḥāra was the Kanaka-stūpa Vihāra under notice cannot be determined.

The last glory of Buddhism in Bengal was the grand Vihāra of Jagaddala, the creation of Rāmapāla, the last great Pāla monarch, who installed therein the images of Avalōkitēśvara and Mahat-Tārā.[7] The Vihāra occupied a part of Rāmāvatī, the new metropolis of Bengal founded by the same Rāmapāla at the confluence of the Ganges and the Karatōyā. Besides Bibhūticandra and Dānaśīla, the most renowned scholars of Jagaddala, the names of some other celebrities of the University have come down to us. Mōkṣākara-gupta of Jagaddal composed in three chapters the Tarka-bhāṣā,[8] which testifies to the cultivation of Logic in the University. Śubhākara-gupta had lived here for sometime, during which period he wrote a Tāntric commentary.[9] It was at Jagaddal that Dharmākara translated the Saṁvara-Vyākhyā of Kṛṣṇa.[10] *Lōcāvas* from Tibet, we have ample testimony to show, flocked in number to this great seminary of learning, often with the set purpose of having the Sanskrit texts got rendered into Tibetan. The theory propounded by the late MM. Hara Prasād Śāstrī that Jagaddala was anterior to Rāmapāla,[11] is due to his confusion of the Dānaśīla of

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[1] *J.A.S.B.*, 1868, p. 107f.
[2] *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II, 3rd ed., 1903, Ch. LI, pp. 99-100, note 2.
[3] Phayre's *History of Burma*, p. 138, and *J.A.S.B.*, 1868, p. 107.
[4] Harvey's *History of Burma*, p. 326.
[5] *Navya Bhārata* (Bengali journal), 1326, pp. 184-8; Introduction to the *Maynāmatir Gān* by N. K. Bhaṭṭaśālī, p. 10; *Bāṅglā Prācīn Puthir Vivaraṇa*, published by the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad, Part 1, No. II, 1320, pp. 54-55.
[6] *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, 1933 March, pp. 283ff.
[7] *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 14.
[8] Cordier, III, p. 455. [9] Cordier, II, p. 293. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 40.
[11] *Sāhitya Pariṣad Patrikā*, 1321 B.S., p. 265.

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Jagaddala with an earlier Dānaśīla, who was contemporary of Dharmapāla and the Tibetan King Khri-ḷde-sron-b̲tsan.

Besides these Vihāras there must have been many other Vihāras, great or small, in Bengal during the four centuries of the Buddhist Pāla rule, of which no account has come to us till now. And some or many of the Vihāras of Bengal must have met the same fate of destruction as some of the Vihāras of Magadha, Vikramaśīla in particular, did.

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EDUCATION IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY—II

By K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI

Having thus defined who the good teacher is, Pavaṇandi proceeds to complete his account by pointing out who is not a good teacher and can never hope to make one. Here, as before, our author begins with some general considerations and then explains and illustrates the fundamental disqualifications by means of telling analogies. He says: 'Those who are not conspicuous for some noble quality or other, who are by nature mean-minded and disposed to be jealous, greedy, deceitful, and cowardly cannot make good as teachers'. In the abstract, such statements appear to be mere truisms; but one has only to think for a moment, and try and analyse the reasons for the pronounced failures, not alas! as few as one would wish, in the teaching line, to realize the profound truth, underlying each of these statements. In fact we may go further and say that a correct understanding of Pavaṇandi's meaning would find for his statements a wider application than is apparent at first sight. Even the good teacher has to guard himself constantly against the ever present danger of a subtle lowering of standards; there is no such rule as, once a good teacher ever a good teacher; excellence in any walk of life is not the permanent consequence of a spurt of effort; it is maintained and improved only by constant practice; it is the easiest thing in the world to run to seed.

But the peculiar demerits of the bad teacher are brought out by our author by a series of analogies. The bad teacher is first of all like a jar of Molucca-beans. The idea is this: when a jar of Molucca-beans is emptied, the beans rush out in any order; so also, a bad teacher expounds his points in a chaotic and disorderly manner, with no reference to their proper logical order, and is too fast and confused for his pupils to make anything out of his lessons. We are all familiar with this type of the totally unimpressive yet undoubtedly learned teacher. There is another type who learns with difficulty himself, and has still greater difficulty in imparting his learning to others, the teacher whose intellectual powers are not adequate to his task. For an analogy to this type, Pavaṇandi turns to the practice of preserving carded cotton in cocoanut and other shells, the shells being slowly stuffed with cotton through a small hole, the only opening in the shell; the cotton is of course taken out with even greater difficulty than it was put in. The defects pointed to by these two analogies are intellectual; two

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others are employed to stress the moral defects of the bad teacher. A variety of the palm has its stem covered all over with pinnate leaves carried on branches with sharp edges; its fruit can be gathered only when the tree sheds it, and not otherwise, as no one can climb the tree to get at the fruit. In the same way, one type of bad teacher refuses to do anything for the pupil who wants his aid systematically; the pupil has to wait on his whims. Another type is said to resemble a cocoanut tree which though watered by one man yields its fruits to another, because its stem is bent over across the fence. The fault in the teacher is, of course, not his teaching a pupil who pays him nothing or serves him in no other way, but his neglecting the pupils who do these things.

Pavaṇandi then turns to a consideration of the conditions of a successful lesson. The teacher and pupil should meet in a suitable place and at a proper time of day. The teacher should occupy a seat higher than the pupil's and begin with a prayer to his particular god. He should then concentrate his attention on the subject of the lesson, and begin to expound it, not too fast, nor impatiently, but with a loving heart, a pleasant face, and a graceful mind; he should study the pupil's capacity for assimilation and regulate the weight of the lesson accordingly.

Who may be accepted as pupils? One's own son, the son of one's teacher, the king's son, one who pays well, one who does service to the teacher, and lastly, one who has the capacity to profit by the teaching—all these may become pupils. The order in this list is noteworthy; a man's duty is first of all to his own children and those of his āchārya; even a prince of the royal family and one who comes with a good fee come only later. We should also note that ability is itself a passport to the realm of knowledge; if the teacher knows that a young man is likely to profit by a course, then it is his duty to admit him to the course, that is, even if he be a poor stranger who cannot afford to pay for his education.

Judged by the standard of ability, pupils are said to fall into three classes—the best resembling the hamsa and the cow, the middling the earth and the parrot, and the last grade evincing the qualities of a leaky jar, sheep, buffalo, and filter. Here Pavaṇandi leaves us to guess the meaning he seeks to convey by these analogies as best we may, for he does not elaborate them. The hamsa in Indian literary convention can separate milk from water and leave the water behind after drinking off the milk; likewise the best student fastens on the essential points of the lesson and gains permanent hold on them, not wasting his attention on inconsequential details. When it comes across a rich pasture, the cow grazes with avidity and then ruminates at leisure; this typifies what a good

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student seeks to do when he is thrown in the company of some great scholar ; he gathers up in his mind all the knowledge that he can, and takes his own time to assimilate it and turn it to account. The earth yields produce commensurate to the efforts to the cultivator, and the parrot just repeats what it is taught ; likewise the pupil of medium grade evinces a grasp of the subject strictly limited by the nature and intensity of the lesson to which he is treated, and repeats parrot-like whatever he has been told ; that is to say, he has very little capacity for assimilating knowledge, much less for reflection and initiative in its acquisition. It will not escape the attention of the reader that Pavaṇandi uses the analogy of the earth (yielding fruits proportionate to the cultivator's effort) twice, once to illustrate the merit of a good teacher ; again, here, to exemplify a defect of the lower grade of pupil ; he means clearly to emphasize that the same quality may be good in a teacher, but not so in the pupil ; he is a good teacher who measures his contribution in accordance with the pupil's capacity ; but he is not a good pupil who makes no contribution of his own, but simply remains a passive receptacle of just what is told him.

Lastly the worst type of pupil quickly forgets his lessons and resembles the jar with a big hole in its bottom which can never be filled with water ; the sheep wanders from one tree or shrub to another and never manages to get its full feed anywhere, so too the bad pupil goes on changing his teachers and never gets the full benefit of the instruction of any single teacher ; just as the buffalo muddies the water in the pond before it starts drinking it, this class of pupil causes a lot of mental anguish to the teacher before deriving any good from him ; the filter lets through the essential parts of the liquids like ghee or honey, and retains the impurities, so also the bad pupil misses the essentials of a lesson and fastens on the minor and relatively useless parts of it.

In the sūtras that follow Pavaṇandi proceeds to analyse the types that should in no case be accepted as pupils, the rules to be observed by the pupil during a lesson, the methods to be followed by him to improve and extend the range of his knowledge and the firmness of his hold on what he learns, and the manner in which a pupil should win the grace of his guru. It is needless to pursue the details of the discussion of these topics.

These clear cut sūtras of Pavaṇandi, then, neatly summarize the ideals of education cherished in the Tamil country in his day, and we have seen how very modern they appear in parts. The question is how far these text-book maxims were observed in practice ; we have no direct evidence here, such as the description of an eye-witness, indigenous or foreign, or anything corresponding

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to the periodical reports of modern educational associations. Epigraphy and literature furnish sufficient data to warrant the assumption that the conditions under which education was carried on in those days were quite favourable to the attainment of tolerably good results. Large classes were unknown, and the proportion of the number of teachers to that of pupils in organized centres of higher education like Eṇṇāyiram and Tribhuvani compares very favourably with what it is in many colleges to-day. Distractions were few, and learning was as much respected as it was more or less exclusive. Let us also remember this. However much the text-books may idealize the prevailing conditions, they could not have been framed without any reference to such conditions; and the language of Pavaṇandi's sūtras, the analogies employed in them, and the types of teacher and pupil described, betray evidence of much continuous and shrewd observation of real life in schools. The schools generally centred round temples and *maṭhas* in relatively later times; the inscriptions tell us more of Sanskrit schools and colleges, even in the Tamil country, than of the other type of school devoted to the cultivation of Tamil which must have existed side by side. Education in the arts and crafts was largely a matter of caste and family tradition and training; but even to such a training, the instructive analysis of Pavaṇandi was not altogether inapplicable.

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CAPTURE OF BARODA BY MAHĀRĀJĀ ABHAYA-SINGH OF MARWAR

By BISHESHWARNATH REU

It would come as a surprise to many to learn that the territory now ruled by the Mahārājā Gaekwar was once under the sway of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan and Lāṭa and that its present capital Baroda or the ancient Vaṭapadraka was given in charity by Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kakkarāja of Lāṭa, in A.D. 812, as is evident from his copperplate [1] of Śaka Samvat, 734.

Besides this at the time of the Emperor Muhammadshāh, Mahārājā Abhayasingh of Jodhpur killed Pīlājī, the founder of the present Gaekwar dynasty, and captured the fort of Baroda.

The events connected with the capture of Baroda are related as follows :—

The author of 'Sehrulmutākharīn' [2] writes :—

'When the Emperor Muhammadshāh became displeased with Raushanuddaulā (on account of the numerous complaints of bribery received against him) Samsāmuddaulā gained influence at the Mughal Court of Delhi. The latter soon appointed Mahārājā Abhayasingh as the Governor of Gujrat, and wrote to him to take charge of that province as early as possible and send back the previous governor, Sarbulandkhān, to Delhi. The Mahārājā, taking it as an ordinary task, sent his representative with the contingent of an army to carry out the order, but Sarbuland refused to hand over the province. Thereupon another representative was dispatched with a larger army to enforce the compliance of the order by the obstinate governor. But when he too failed, Mahārājā Abhayasingh himself proceeded towards Gujrat (as he was being repeatedly pressed by the emperor to do so at once [3]). Though, at first, on his arrival at Ahmedabad, with his brave Rāthōr army, a fierce battle was fought between him and the governor, the obdurate Sarbuland was soon compelled to yield ; he arrived in person with some of his followers to see the Mahārājā at his camp and to settle the terms of peace. During the discussion Sarbuland took a very submissive attitude and informed the Mahārājā that he considered him as his nephew, denied having any personal

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, page 160.

[2] Volume II, pages 462-463.

[3] This fact is proved by the letters of Kārtika Sudi 4th and Māngasira Badi 2nd, 1782 V.S., sent by Savāī Rājā Jayasingh of Jaipur to Mahārājā Abhayasingh of Jodhpur.

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animosity and added that the battle had been fought simply to save his honour.'

Soon after, when arrangements for money and transport were made, Sarbuland left Ahmedabad, and the Mahārājā took over charge of the province. This event took place in 1787 V.S. (1730 A.D.).

Mr. William Irwin and Sir Jadunath Sarkar write in the 'Later Mughals'[1] that the aforesaid battle was fought on the 20th October, 1730 A.D., that Sarbuland went to see the Mahārājā on the 22nd October, and that he left for Delhi a few days later when necessary arrangements had been made for money and transport. But the mention of these events in a letter, dated the 4th day of the bright half of Kārtika, 1787 V.S. (19th October, 1730 A.D.) of Mahārājā Abhayasingh, sent to his agent at Mughal Court, shows that all these incidents took place before this date.

The weakness of Sarbuland had given chance to Pīlājī, the representative of Khāndē Rāo Dābhāḍē, who was the commander of the ruler of Satara, to establish considerable sway over Baroda and its adjoining territories. This led Mahārājā Abhayasingh, soon after his possession of Ahmedabad, to march against Pīlājī.

A letter dated the 14th day of the bright half of Chaitra, 1787[2] (Chaitradi, 1788) V.S. (10th April, 1731 A.D.) of Mahārājā Abhayasingh to his agent at the Mughal Court states :—

'Our armies, together with those of Bājī Rāo, attacked the garrison of Tryambak Rāo Dābhāḍē and killed Panvār Mūlājī and the Mughal Momīnyārkhān, the officers of Tryambak Rāo and the Nizām respectively. We also captured the son of Pilu along with Panvār Ūdā Chimnā and Pandit. Thus a victory has been gained over the enemy and the armies of Pīlū, Kāṇṭhā, and Ānand Rāo have been driven from the field. Pīlū himself has sought shelter in the fort of Dabhoi. The fort of Baroda is being defended by his (Pīlū's) brother. But our armies have reached both the places and will soon compel the enemies to surrender. Kāṇṭhā too has fled to the Nizām.'

Another letter of the same Mahārājā, dated the 11th day of the bright half of Chaitra, 1788 (Chaitṛādi, 1789) V.S. (26th March, 1732 A.D.) addressed to his agent, relates the later events as below :—

'On Pīlū's crossing the Māhī river, our army also advanced from Chandūlā, whereupon Pīlū sent his envoys to our camp. We advised them to evacuate Baroda and Dabhoi and swear allegiance to the emperor. But Pīlū replied that he would not

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[1] Volume II, pages 207–213.
[2] This is the year commencing from Śrāvaṇa.

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humiliate himself, for not only had he preserved his independence during the time of the last three Mughal Governors but had even forced Sarbuland, who had invaded Baroda, to pay him Chauth (the fourth part of the revenue).'

'These people, instead of giving a straight battle van to van, take the enemy by surprise. As soon as the vanguard of our army advanced about five miles, Pīlū fled towards Dākōr. Apprehending that our further advance would simply mean an indecisive chase, we contrived to fix them on the spot. We sent some emissaries to negotiate with them and then dispatched a column of 2,000 cavalry on the 9th day of the bright half of Chaitra (23rd March). The emissaries killed Pīlū, and the cavalry too reached there at the appointed time. Pīlū's brother Memā and a number of his men were put to death. Seven hundred horses and a number of "Janjāls" (long rifles fired from forts) were captured along with many other articles. We are soon reaching Baroda to get it evacuated.'

These facts are further proved by a letter, dated the 13th day of the bright half of Vaishākha, 1788 (Chaitrādi, 1789) V.S. (26th April, 1732 A.D.), written by Mahārājā Abhayasingh to his said agent. It records that at that time Pīlū had 1,500 cavalry and 5,000 infantry with him, and that the Mahārājā got 800 horses as the booty.

It further states :—

'After this engagement we reached Baroda on the 8th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha (21st April). The enemy was compelled to evacuate the fortresses of Kandālī, etc. Now they have gathered, in large numbers at Kōral, a village on the Narbadā and in the fort of Dabhoi. It is reported that Tryambak Rāo's mother Umā and Panvār Ūdā are coming to their aid, but they too on their arrival will not be spared. We intend to leave Baroda to-morrow to march towards the Narbada. Up to this day we have captured 24 fortresses and those that are yet under the enemy will soon be taken possession of.'

Another letter of the Mahārājā, dated the 11th day of the bright half of Āshāḍha, 1788 (Chaitradi, 1789) V.S. (7th June, 1732 A.D.) written to his agent contains :—

'We have conquered the forts of Baroda and Jambusar and now the siege of the fort of Dabhoi is in progress.'

But owing to the approach of the rainy season the Mahārājā was obliged to raise the siege. And soon after, Umābāī, the widow of the late Khāndē Rāo Dābhāḍē, along with Pīluji's son Dāmājī, Gaekwar, invaded Ahmedabad to avenge the death of Pīluji. Owing however to the constant warfare, Gujrat was suffering from

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a severe famine[1] at that time; a treaty was, consequently, concluded between both the parties, and in 1790 V.S. (1733 A.D.), Mahārājā Abhayasingh, after appointing his representative at Ahmedabad, returned to Jodhpur.

Thus the history of Mahārājā Abhayasingh's capture of Baroda has been collected from his own original letters, which, except one, are now preserved in the Jodhpur State Museum.

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[1] A letter of Mahārājā Abhayasingh, dated the 1st day of the dark half of Bhādaun, 1789 V.S. (27th July, 1732 A.D.) addressed to his agent, shows that, at that time, owing to the famine in Gujrāt, grain was not available even at the rate of one rupee a seer.

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A CRITIQUE OF APPAYADĪKṢITA'S CONCEPTION OF MOKṢA

By ASHOKANATH BHATTACHARYA

In view of the paramount position of importance occupied by Appayadīkṣita in the domain of Vedānta philosophy and in view of the startling originality of his theory of Mokṣa (Release) and of the recent popularity accorded to it by the writings of some outstanding modern scholars who have given their ungrudging support to it, we propose to undertake a critical evaluation of this interesting theory of Appayadīkṣita, which he has been at great pains to establish in the concluding pages of the Siddhāntaleśasaṃgraha. Appayadīkṣita maintains that Īśvara or Qualified Brahman is virtually the only ultimate Reality existing up till now and the Transcendental Absolute (Nirguṇa Brahman) is yet an abstraction. So the problem of causality has absolutely no reference to this Transcendental Entity and can be explained only by reference to the Personal God. The Impersonal Absolute, though not an object of pious hope, is, however to all intents and purposes, simply non-existent. Appayadīkṣita, however, holds out an assurance that the Transcendental Absolute will emerge after the exhaustion of the world-process with the redemption of all personal selves.[1] So long, however, a single soul is in bondage the Rulership of the Personal God will continue. This theory is too closely analogous to the theory of Alexander, the famous English Philosopher, who in his '*Space, Time and Deity*' maintains the thesis that God is not yet in being, but will emerge after the perfection of the world-process. Alexander, however, does not believe in the present Rulership of a Personal God like Appayadīkṣita. However may that be, Appayadīkṣita maintains consistently with his theory that the emancipated individual soul finds its unity with the Personal God and not with the Impersonal Absolute, which is yet a potential existence. We shall not go into a detailed examination of the aphorisms and other texts on which he bases his precious theory. It may only suffice to say that those aphorisms and texts are capable of altogether a different interpretation with equal if not greater consistency, as has been actually done by Acyutakṛṣṇānanda, the commentator of Appayadīkṣita himself. It

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[1] 'Pratibimbo jīvaḥ, bimbasthānīya Īśvaraḥ, ubhayānusyūtaṃ śuddhacaitanyam iti pakṣe tu muktasya yāvat sarvamukti sarvajñatvasarvakartṛtvasarveśvaratvasatyakāmatvādiguṇaparameśvarabhāvāpattir iṣyate'—S.L.S., pp. 514-15.

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should be noted in this connection that Appayadīkṣita seems to follow the position of the Vivaraṇa in believing that Personal God is only the prototypal Consciousness (Bimbacaitanya) and that there exists an infinite plurality of souls. We have, however, very honest doubts whether the position adopted by him can be really fathered upon the author of the Vivaraṇa. It is hard for us to resist the impression that Appayadīkṣita in this matter has been very profoundly influenced by the Śaivādvaita Philosophy of which also he was a celebrated exponent.[1]

Apart from the merits of his logical interpretation of the texts, this curious theory of Appayadīkṣita leads to certain logical difficulties. In the first place, it involves an invidious distinction in the nature of Salvation attained by the different individuals in course of time. The emancipation of the last individual will consist in identity with the Transcendental Absolute, and the salvation of his predecessors will be only an enjoyment of the sovereign rights and prerogatives of the Personal God, identified as they will be with the Personal Deity in the state of liberation. Another objection follows as a corollary from this position. The individuals will be emancipated in succession and not all at once, and so the period of their Īśvarahood will vary in length of time. The earliest of them will have to pass the greatest length of time in Īśvarahood, and the penultimate individual will have the shortest enjoyment of this exalted position. Again, if the position that the emancipated soul becomes identified with Personal Godhead is accepted it will be open to damaging objections. It is the special prerogative of Īśvara that He can assume any number of incarnated forms to satisfy the demands of His worshippers. The emancipated soul having no independent status apart from that of Īśvara, will then be subject to this contingency which is, however, expressly prohibited in the Upaniṣads. The emancipated soul has no association with a body, and as such is free from both pleasure and pain. It may, however, be maintained that such incarnations are only illusory creations and as such do not become a source of worry. Even if it is so amended it will go against the verdict of logic and scriptural texts alike. The Upaniṣad denies the subject-object relation in the state of Pure Consciousness attained by an emancipated soul.[2]

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[1] Our conjecture is confirmed by a reference to the Śivādvaitanirṇaya, sections 3. 2351 to 3. 2355, quoted in '*The Bhāmatī Catussūtrī*'—(T.P.H. Oriental Series) Introduction, p. xlvi.

[2] 'Yatra tvasya sarvam ātmaivābhūt tat kena kaṃ paśyet'—Br. Up., IV, 5. 15.

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The entire issue can be clinched by the following dilemma :—

Does the emancipated individual feel his continuity with his previous unblessed condition or not ? The first alternative is impossible ; because, the emancipated individual has lost all touch with his previous existence along with the disappearance of his individualizing *upādhis*. The individualization was the result of those limitations (upādhis) and the historic continuity of personal identity is possible so long as the conditions responsible for personalization persist. The emancipated self has lost all relation with his past history along with the loss of his personality. The second alternative that the emancipated self does not recognize his identity with his previous condition of bondage virtually amounts to an admission of failure. This would mean that the emancipated soul will remain ignorant of his past history and so will not share the Omniscience of Godhood. In other words, the emancipated soul will be identified with God only so far as His essential nature as Pure Unqualified Consciousness is concerned. In that case, the emancipated condition will be in no way different from the individual's identity with Pure Consciousness, which is the position of those who maintain that in emancipation the individual becomes one with the Transcendental Absolute, which is above the condition of Īśvarahood.

About the contention of Appayadīkṣita that his theory of Emancipation represents the position of Śaṅkara himself, it will be sufficient, we hope, only to note that Śaṅkara emphatically denies all distinctions and gradations in the state of Final Salvation, attained by the saving knowledge of the identity of Brahman and the individual. Gradations there are only in those relative forms of salvation which are open to the worshippers of Personal Godhood (Saguṇa-Brahmopāsanā). But such distinctions are absolutely absurd with regard to the individual who has received the Supreme Illumination. The contentions of Appayadīkṣita, therefore, lack in consistency and logic alike. It may tickle the philosophic imagination as an ingenious curiosity, but it cannot give the metaphysical satisfaction which all our aspirations demand. Perhaps the Śaiva influence is responsible for this aberration on the part of so profound a philosopher as Appayadīkṣita was.

It may not be out of place to attempt in this connexion at a comparative study of the views of Rāmānuja and Dīkṣita on this point. We find that both Appayadīkṣita and Rāmānuja hold that the attainment of the state of Īśvara is the state of individual release. While the former is of opinion that all the exalted qualities

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(including even the power to create and dissolve the universe) accrue to him in this state, since the individual soul then attains the state of Brahman endowed with all the exalted qualities (vide the view of Jaimini),—the latter differs from him in stating that the released soul exists inseparably connected with Īśvara (as a part of His Body) and possesses all His qualities excepting the special prerogative of creating and destroying the universe. Thus while Rāmānuja takes the aphorism—

> 'With the exception of world-business (the released possess all lordly power), (the Lord) being the topic (where world-business is referred to), and (the souls) not being near (to such business),'[1]—

to refer to the state of Ultimate Release,—Appayadīkṣita, in conformity with Śaṅkara's position, insists that the limitations spoken of, have reference to the state of relative liberation (i.e. attainment of Īśvarahood together with the internal organ) invariably attained by the worshippers of the Qualified Brahman, as Śaṅkara himself has explicitly stated. The question of Final Release, according to Śaṅkara, is discussed in the aphorisms—Br. Sū., IV, 4. 1–7; and he further thinks that the topic of the prohibition of the world-business (Br. Sū., IV, 4. 17) has no connection with it, since the latter topic deals with the question of a lower order of release (saguṇamukti) only.

The postulation of Īśvarahood is only a question of religious necessity. It is rather in the nature of a concession to weaker souls who cannot receive the highest spiritual illumination. The theistic bias of Rāmānuja is responsible for the confusion of a religious issue with a purely philosophical one. Personal Godhead has its necessity no doubt, and its justification in what has been called by Kant '*Practical Reason*', though in '*Pure Reason*' it has no *raison d'être*. Śaṅkara's logical mind has never allowed him to confound these two issues which the muddled logic of Theists has failed to keep apart.

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[1] 'Jagadvyāpāravarjaṃ prakaraṇād asannihitatvāc ca'—Br. Sū., IV, 4. 17.

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF KAUṬILYA [1]

By HARIHAR V. TRIVEDI
Rampura, Holkar State (C.I.)

Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* has long been known to scholars as an authority for the study of ancient Indian culture. On account of its being a valuable source of information, it has lately attracted a large number of investigators in various fields. Besides supplying information on other topics, it places at our disposal a mass of material which enables us to form an idea regarding the produces of different localities. The data furnished by it, therefore, are of no less importance for the reconstruction of ancient Indian Geography, and more so in so far as the discussion bearing on the identification of geographical places and products mentioned therein is likely to throw some side-light on the age of the work. An attempt has been made in this paper to present in a somewhat systematic form a general view of the produces of different localities as gathered from the *Arthaśāstra*, and to identify their sources as far as our knowledge of ancient geography would allow us to do so.

Our task is beset with much difficulty, for the author merely enumerates the produces which were then styled after the names of their sources. As regards the geographical location of places from which they were imported, or even about their direction from some other important towns generally known to all, Kauṭilya is silent. We find some remarks made by the commentator by way of an attempt to localize such places ; but we must admit that they are not wholly trustworthy, since they belong to a somewhat later age, and hence they must be utilized with proper caution as will be clear from the following pages.

The eleventh chapter of the second book of the *Arthaśāstra* specifies the duties of Government Superintendents, giving also an interesting account of the produces of different regions and of the

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[1] Our references are to the Sanskrit text of Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* edited by R. Śāmaśāstrī, Mysore, 2nd edn. The following new abbreviations have been used in this paper :

G.D.=The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India, by Nundo Lal Dey, 2nd edn. ; *P.H.A.I.=Political History of Ancient India*, by H. C. Raychaudhuri ; *C.A.G.I.=Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India* edited by S. N. Majumdar Sastri, 1924 ; *G.E.B.=Geography of Early Buddhism*, by Dr. B. C. Law, 1932 ; *E.H.I.=Early History of India*, by V. A. Smith, 4th edn.

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importation of precious stones. Of the several varieties of pearls imported from different places, the Kauṭilīya enumerates as many as ten that were found in places after which they were named (p. 75). They are: (1) Tāmraparṇika, (2) Pāṇḍyakavāṭaka, (3) Pāśikya, (4) Kauleya, (5) Caurṇeya, (6) Māhendra, (7) Kārdamika, (8) Srautasīya, (9) Hrādīya, and (10) Haimavata.

Tāmraparṇika was that kind of pearl which derived its name from the river Tāmraparṇī where it was obtained. According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (54, 27) Tāmraparṇī is one of the rivers rising in the Malaya mountains, identified with the southernmost peak of the Anamalai mountains (*G.D.*, p. 122). Sewell has identified the river Tāmraparṇī with the modern Chittar, the river of Tinnevelly, which rises from one of the southernmost peaks of the Western Ghats, and, after a short course in the south-east, falls into the Gulf of Manaar.[1]

The Buddhists, however, used the term Tāmraparṇī as signifying Ceylon, and it is, in this sense, mentioned in Rock Edict II of Aśoka. Raychaudhuri also supports this identification.[2] But from the passage enumerating the sources of pearls, it is clear that Kauṭilya mentions Tāmraparṇī as signifying a river, and not Ceylon. It is apparently for this reason that the Kauleya kind of pearl, which was imported from Ceylon, is also included in the list. The commentary informs that the Kauleya kind of pearl was so named after Kulā, a river near the village Mayūra in the island of Ceylon.[3]

The mention of Pāṇḍyakavāṭa, from which the Pāṇḍyakavāṭaka kind of pearl was imported, calls for some comment here. Varāhamihira, the celebrated author of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, knows a country named Pāṇḍyavāṭa as producing pearls (*Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, LXXXI, 2, 6). This Pāṇḍyavāṭa of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* is evidently the Pāṇḍyakavāṭa of the *Arthaśāstra*; we are, however, unable to identify it with any modern locality, as Varāhamihira does not furnish us with further details.

The position of Kauṭilya's Pāṇḍyakavāṭa can be better ascertained by the consideration that it must have some connection with Agastikūṭa, a hill comprised within the extent of the Malaya mountains, where the celebrated sage Agastya is said to have resided (*Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣ. K.*, XLI) and which lie in the Pāṇḍya country.

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[1] Cf. *Arch. Surv. S. India*, by R. Sewell, I, 303.

[2] *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 173-74.

[3] Com., p. 179. We know of Mayūrī as identical with Mahi, a town on the Malabar Coast (*G.D.*, p. 129). Thus this town was included within the pearl producing region. Paucity of data prevents us from finding out whether the commentator is wrong in placing this town in Ceylon and whether it was identical with Mayūrī on the Malabar Coast.

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Malaya is also known as Malayakoṭi, which is possibly a corruption of the word Malayakūṭa.

It seems that Malayakūṭa was not only a mountain, but also a province, evidently later on corrupted into Mālakūṭa which stretched along that mountain and which is, according to Cunningham, a composite name, formed by joining the names of two contiguous districts, Mālya and Kutal (or Kunak) corresponding to the districts of Pāṇḍya and Travancore respectively (*C.A.G.I.*, p. 631). This Mālyakūṭa (Mālakūṭa) of Cunningham, with its capital at Madurā, was a province in Southern India, comprising the modern districts of Tanjore and Madura on the east, and Coimbatore, Cochin, and Travancore on the west (*ibid.*, pp. 629-30).

The *Rāmāyaṇa* also preserves some details which, with the help of the foregoing account, lead us to ascertain the geographical location of Pāṇḍyakavāṭa with more accuracy. In the *Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa* we read that Sugrīva, the monkey-king, while directing the monkey generals in the southern region, says that there they would see the entrance (*Kavāṭa*) to the Pāṇḍyas, made of gold and bedecked with gems:

'ततो हेममयं दिव्यं मुक्तामणिविभूषितम् ।

युक्तं कवाटं पाण्ड्यानां गता द्रक्ष्यथ वानराः ॥'

On the authority of this verse it has been pointed out that the Kavāṭa referred to here is Kavāṭapura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.[1] Resemblance in name leads me to identify the Pāṇḍyakavāṭa of the *Arthaśāstra* with this Kavāṭapura, known as the Kavāṭa of the Pāṇḍyas. It is tentatively suggested here that it was so named because of its being an 'entrance' (*Kavāṭa*=*Kapāṭā*) from the sea-side or the northern side, the west being altogether blocked by the Malaya Hills. Most probably it was the former, since capital towns in ancient times were often built on sea-sides.[2]

The foregoing account supports the view that the Pāṇḍya kingdom was identical with the Malayakūṭa of Cunningham; but it may be seriously doubted whether Madurā and Pāṇḍyakavāṭa, the capital cities of these two provinces, were identical. If we take Pāṇḍyakavāṭa as an entrance from the sea-side, as we have seen, it can hardly be identical with Madurā which is a little way off from the sea. S. N. Majumdar says that Pāṇḍyakavāṭaka was a mountain and identifies it with the promontory where the Western Ghats dip into the sea (*C.A.G.I.*, p. 740). But it was,

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[1] *The Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 1923, pp. 16ff. [See also a note on Pāṇḍyakavāṭa, by O. Stein in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IV, pp. 778ff.—D.R.B.]

[2] *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 43; VI, 56.

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as we have already seen, neither a mountain, nor a promontory but a town, for it is referred to, in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as abounding in gems and gold, and it is the Kavāṭapuram of Tamil literature. Considering the above account along with its position and description as depicted in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I am tempted to identify Pāṇḍya-kavāṭa with 'Charitrapuram or Departure town', which was the port of embankment for Ceylon and which, according to Cunningham, was either Negapatam or Ramnad (*C.A.G I.*, p. 630).

Another kind of pearl was known to Kauṭilya as Pāśikya. The commentator explains it as produced in the river Pāśā, flowing near Pāṭalīputra (Com., p. 179). The exact identification of this river is not known; but its location by the commentator near Pāṭalīputra (Patna) cannot be accepted for the following reason. From a critical examination of the list enumerating the various kinds of pearls mentioned above, it is evident that the first six kinds of them were obtained from the southern part of India, and it is also worth considering that all these names preserve some geographical order. This suggests some clue for the identification of the river Pāśā. It may be fairly assumed that this river must have been flowing somewhere in the extreme south, inasmuch as in the list the name Pāśikya is placed between the names Pāṇḍya-kavāṭaka and Kauleya which are also situated in the same region. This assumption is supported by the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV, 14), which places Piśika, a people, in the southern division. On account of their similarity in name and correspondence of position, it can be suggested that the people who dwelt along the river Pāśā were known as Pāśika or Pāśikya, and this word, through lapse of time, has assumed the corrupted form Piśika which makes the closest approach to its name. If this location of the river Pāśā is correct, we may assert that the commentator's knowledge of the extreme south is not accurate and it requires a careful scrutiny before it is utilized.

Pearls known as Kauleya and Caurṇeya are also mentioned by Kauṭilya. As the commentator informs us, the former was produced in a river, Kulā, which flowed by the village of Mayūra in the island of Siṁhala (Ceylon); whereas the latter, according to the same authority, was obtained from Cūrṇī (Cūrṇā ?) near Murachi in the province of Kerala (Com., p. 179). Both these rivers cannot exactly be identified for the reason that these names are not found elsewhere. Attempts, however, may be made to point out the geographical position of the latter. Muraci, by which the river Cūrṇī is said to have flown, is most probably the Muracipaṭṭana of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kis. K.*, Ch. 42) and the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (Ch. 14), and it has been identified with Muyirikkodu or Muyirikoṭṭa on the

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Malabar Coast.[1] The river Cūrṇī, therefore, though not exactly identified for want of sufficient data, may be tentatively located in the south-western part of the region now known as the Deccan Peninsula.

Mahendra was equally renowned for exporting pearls styled as Māhendra. The mention of Māhendra in the list invites our attention, and scholars are of widely divergent opinions as to the extent of these mountains and the hills that constituted them. Mahendra is generally supposed to be 'the chain of hills that extends from Orissa and the Northern Circars to Gondwana, part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahindra Malei or hills of Mahindra'.[2] The *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV, 39-40 ; VI, 54) also supports this view. The commentator explains the Māhendra kind of pearl as obtained from the sea close to the Mahendra mountains. Was the whole chain extending from Orissa to Gondwana the Mahendra of Kauṭilya, or does he use this term to signify any definite hill constituting them ? It is the latter, since pearls were obtained from a particular region of water and not from the whole sea. Hence the Mahendra of Kauṭilya must have been a particular hill. But where was it ? The *Rāmāyaṇa* knows Mahendra as identical with the Eastern Ghats (*Kiṣ. K.*, 67 ; *Laṅkā K.*, 4). Pargiter rightly points out that 'the fact that the same name is given to different objects is noticed by Sir W. Muir in his *Sanskrit Texts*,[3] and the instances are often striking.' Giving copious instances of names signifying different objects, he comes to the conclusion that the identification of Mahendra with the most southernly spur of the Travancore hills seems satisfactory.[4] This is near the Gulf of Manaar where pearls are found in abundance even now. Thus the remark of the commentator that the Māhendra pearl was obtained from the sea neighbouring Mahendra is corroborated.

The next kind of pearl is known to Kauṭilya as Kārdama. It is very difficult to say anything about its source, for this name does not appear in any other work. The commentator (Com., p. 179), however, informs us that it was obtained from a river Kardamā in Persia (*Pārasīkeṣu*). Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, in his *Political History of Ancient India* (p. 233), points out that the Kārdamaka family, from which the daughter of the Mahākṣatrapa

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[1] See *G.D.*, p. 131.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[3] F. E. Pargiter, *Geography of Rāma's Exile* in *J.R.A.S.*, 1894, pp. 259ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 262. Pt. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya also shows that different objects may be designed by the same name (see his article—'The Identification of the Ṛgvedic River Sarasvatī and some connected Problems', reprinted from the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XV, pp. 5-6.

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claimed descent, apparently derived its name from the Kardamā river in Persia.[1] This Kārdama is obviously the river Kardamā of the commentator, which, according to Kauṭilya, produced the Kārdamika pearl. Thus the river, though its modern name is not known, appears to have been real and not fabulous as many others mentioned in the Epics and the Purāṇas. All that we can say with certainty about the location of this river is that it was flowing to the north-west of India.

In the *Uttarakāṇḍa* (87, 3) we are told that Ilā, the son of the Prajāpati Kardama, was a king of the Bāhlīka country. The river Kardamā, which apparently seems to have derived its name from this Kardama, may be therefore more definitely located near Bāhlīka (Balkh).

The list also includes Srautasīya and Hrādīya as two varieties of pearls. As the commentator remarks, the former kind was obtained from a river Srotasī, which flowed at the mouth of the river of Barbara; while the latter, according to the same authority, was produced in a pool of water (*Hrada*) known as Śrīghaṇṭa on the shore of that sea (Com., p. 179). Thus the commentator knows Barbara as a sea. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV, 18) speaks of Barbara as a people of the southern division; and it is not unreasonable to assume, from the above, that the sea was so called on account of the Barbara people living close to it. But the account of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* does not furnish any detail regarding the geographical location of that sea. The *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.* (LVII, 38 and LVIII, 31) mentions Varvaras or Barvaras or Barbaras as a people. They are placed in the west, north-west, east, north-east, and the south by different authorities.[2] Pargiter, who has put this word to a critical examination, concludes that the name Barbara, no doubt, was applied to various rude tribes dwelling in the bordering provinces of India.[3]

We get some more information in connection with the Barbaras from the commentator, who elsewhere (Com., p. 187) tells us that Alakanda, which was renowned as a source of diamonds, known as Ālakandaka, stood at the mouth of the river of Barbara. Now, the Alakanda of Kauṭilya has been identified with Alexander's Haven, which was famous on account of its commercial importance and which was not very far from the modern Karachi.[4] Barbara is evidently the Barbaricon of the author of the *Periplus of the*

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[1] See also Raychaudhuri's *The Kārddamaka Kings* in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IX, pp. 37ff.—D.R.B.

[2] Pargiter's *Mār. P.*, p. 319, footnote.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *C.A.G.I.*, p. 694; *E.H.I.*, p. 111.

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Erythræan Sea, and was a commercial port, which also, according to the same authority, was situated upon a stream forming one of the seven mouths of the Indus.[1] This stream seems to have been known as the river Barbara, at the mouth of which Alakanda stood. The river Srotasī of the commentator was probably another stream of the seven mouths of the Indus. The pool of Śrīghaṇṭa, in that case, to which the commentator makes a reference, is possibly no other than the Samārah lake.[2] These are the sources of the Srautasīya and Hrādīya kinds of pearls.

The Himalayas were also known to Kauṭilya as producing pearls ; but of them he speaks in general terms without mentioning any definite spot where they were obtained. Perhaps this place was somewhere in the south-western part of the Himalayas, since Kauṭilya has also mentioned Ahicchatraka, a kind of pearl found at Ahicchatra, the variety imported therefrom being of an inferior kind according to Kauṭilya himself (*Sans. Text*, p. 77).

Ahicchatra or Ahichatra is the Ahikṣetra of the *Mahābhārata* (*Vana-P.*, Ch. 252), and according to the Great Epic it was the capital of the northern Pāñcāla, which lay to the north of the Ganges and which was also known as the Ahicchatra country. The town of Ahichatra has been identified with Ramnagar, twenty miles west of Bareilly in Rohilkhand.[3] Mr. Jwala Sahay Mishra reopens the problem and is inclined to think that Ahicchatra is identical with the modern village Arura which lies a little north of the village of Bhadaur in Patiala territory.[4] It is worth while, therefore, to reconsider the question without prejudice. The site of Ahicchatra can be better ascertained from the fact that the *Mbh.* places its capital on the northern side of the Ganges (*Ādi-P.*, Ch. 138, verse 70), and Mr. Mishra's location of it in the Patiala territory, which lies to the south-west of the Ganges, will hardly be in keeping with the account preserved in the Great Epic. The passage of the *Śabda-kalpadruma*, which he quotes to support his views, is not a *pramāṇa* but a *pramāṇābhāsa*. I give here the passage in question for facility of reference :

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[1] *E.H.I.*, p. 245.

[2] Vincent A. Smith has pointed out, on the authority of Major Raverty, that the lake at the mouth of the river where Alexander's Haven was situated still exists and is known as the Samārah lake. *E.H.I.*, p. 109.

[3] *G.D.*, pp. 2-3 ; *E.H.I.*, p. 392. It is Adhicchatra of the inscriptions (cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 432 ; Lüder's *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Index). It is the Adisadra of Ptolemy (*McCrindle's Anc. Ind.* as described by Ptolemy, Majumdar's edition, p. 133).

[4] *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, pp. 598ff.

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'कुरुक्षेत्रात् पश्चिमे तु तथा चोत्तरभागतः ।
इन्द्रप्रस्थान्महेशानि दशयोजनकद्वये ।
पाञ्चालदेशो देवेशि सौन्दर्यगर्वभूषितः ॥'

This verse records the extent of the country of Pāñcāla and says that it lay to the north and the west of Kurukṣetra. But as regards the identification of Ahicchatra with Arura, it gives no clue. Moreover, this passage does not seem to lend support either way ; inasmuch as it is not obvious whether a reference is made here to the northern or the southern Pāñcāla. The north Pāñcāla, which had Ahicchatra for its capital, extended from the Himalayas in the north to the Ganges in the south (*Mbh.*, *Ādi-P.*, Ch. 138, verses 70–74), which bounded the southern Pāñcāla on the north. Mr. Mishra's contention, therefore, cannot be justified.

The boundaries and the capitals of the Pāñcāla and Kuru countries were always changing in ancient times. The *Divyāvadāna* (ed. by Cowell and Neil, p. 435) refers to Hastināpura as the capital of north Pāñcāla, while Kanauj also was its capital at the time of the Buddha.[1] Dr. Raychaudhuri is of opinion that a great struggle raged in ancient times between the Kurus and the Pāñcālas for the possession of Uttarapāñcāla.[2] These ever-occurring changes preclude the possibility of asserting safely the boundary of the Ahicchatra country of Kauṭilya ; nor can we be definite as regards the point whether Kauṭilya uses the term Ahicchatra as signifying the country or its capital.

The *Kauṭilīya* mentions three more kinds of pearls : Kauṭa, Mauleyaka (Māleyaka), and Pārasamudraka (*Sans. Text*, p. 76). Nothing definite seems to have been recorded concerning the identification of their sources. Consequently, here too, as in many other cases, we have to resort to the commentary, where we read that Koṭi was the interior part of land extending between the Malaya mountains and the sea ; whereas Mālā refers to Karṇīvana, a part of Malaya (Com., p. 182). But the words Kauṭa and Māleyaka, as mentioned in our text, can be derived from Kūṭa and Māleya, and not from Koṭi and Mālā as the commentator presumes. He, moreover, does not take into account the different reading *Mauleyaka*. We can therefore set aside his assertions regarding the location of the first two sources as merely imaginary. This once more brings us to the same conclusion that the commentator's knowledge of the south is far from being precise.

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[1] Rhys David's *Buddhist India*, p. 27.
[2] *P.H.A.I.*, p. 85.

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The *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.* (LVII, 48) mentions Maulika as a people of the southern region. The epic record preserved in the *Mbh.* (*Sabhā-P.*, LI, 1871) also makes a reference to Mauleya ; but these fragmentary references are insufficient to ascertain its location. It may be, however, safely said that the Maulikas of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-P.* were no other than the Mauleyas of the *Mbh.*, as both of them, besides having a close resemblance in name, are found located in the same region.

The Pārasamudraka kind of pearl, which our author links with the Kauṭa and Mauleyaka kinds, was, according to the commentator, found on Rohaṇa, a mountain in Ceylon (Com., p. 182). That the term Pārasamudra denoted Ceylon in ancient times is confirmed by the testimony of Raychaudhuri.[1] May we, however, tentatively suggest that Kauṭa, Māleyaka (Mauleyaka), and Pārasamudraka are mentioned by the author as three general species of pearls and that he makes this division from the standpoint of their find places. We may explain this division in the following way : pearls obtained from the summit of a mountain were known as Mauleyaka (*mauli*= summit), those found in the inland tract were styled as Kauṭa (from *Koṭi* as the word is used by the commentator), and from the distant regions of water was imported the Pāra*samudraka* kind of them. The pearl fishery of the southern sea is still productive and valuable.

From what has been said above, it will be noticed that in the days of Kauṭilya the large tract of land extending from the Northern Circars to Cape Comorin, along with the island of Ceylon and the adjoining region of water, was famous for the production of pearls scarcely procurable elsewhere. Though pearls are also mentioned as imported from a few places in the north and north-west, yet it may be assumed with a fair degree of certainty that the Deccan tract was the only land producing the best variety of them ; and they were so highly prized as to be admired by Kauṭilya, who, while making a comparison between the inland roads leading to the north and the south, accords his opinion in favour of the Deccan (Dakṣiṇā-patha) simply for the reason that it produced precious and useful articles such as diamonds (*vajra*), precious stones (*maṇi*), pearls (*muktā*) and others :

स्थलपथेऽपि हैमवतो दक्षिणापथाच्छ्रेयान् । हस्त्यश्वगन्धदन्ताजिनरूप्यसुवर्णपण्याः सारवत्तरा इत्याचार्याः । नेति कौटिल्यः—कम्बलाजिनाश्वपण्यवर्जाः शंखवज्रमणिमुक्ताः सुवर्णपण्याश्च प्रभूततरा दक्षिणापथे (*Sans. Text*, p. 300).

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 173 ; *I.A.*, 1919, pp. 195-96.

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In the Kauṭilīya the term Dakṣiṇāpatha, more or less identical with that of the Brahmanical tradition, occurs several times. Our author's information of the Deccan tract is worthy of appreciation in so far as it enables him to record exhaustively and with accuracy the products of localities comprised within that region. Besides this, he also indicates the relative importance of the various trade routes that existed in the Deccan in his time[1] and this further supports our contention.

According to the Brahmanical tradition contained in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and the Purāṇas, Dakṣiṇāpatha is the region lying to the south of Māhiṣmatī[2] (identified with Māndhātā) on the river Narmadā. We have, however, no data to ascertain with accuracy the exact limit of the Dakṣiṇāpatha of Kauṭilya; but from the foregoing account we may safely affirm that the region lying south of the river Godāvarī seems to have been known as early as his age; and the intimate knowledge of the geography of the country now known as the extreme south was acquired in the days when the *Arthaśāstra* was compiled.

In the body of the whole work six kinds of diamonds are recorded (p. 77). They are: (1) Sabhārāṣṭraka, (2) Madhyamarāṣṭraka, (3) Kāśmaka (Kāntīra or Kāśmīra)-rāṣṭraka, (4) Śrīkaṭanaka, (5) Maṇimantaka, and (6) Indravānaka. There is little possibility of ascertaining the identification of their sources with satisfaction for the reason that their names are not found elsewhere. The commentary, however, affords some clue as regards their location; and with its help something may be suggested by way of conjecture. Thus we are informed that Sabhārāṣṭra was in the Vidarbha country (Com., p. 185). Madhyamarāṣṭra, according to the same authority, was Kośala (*ibid.*), but the reason why it was so known is not stated there. As regards the third kind of diamond mentioned in the list, the case is still open to doubt and the text itself preserves three different readings as stated above. The commentary adopts only the reading *Kāśmakarāṣṭraka* and explains it as obtained from the country round Benares (*ibid.*); but the different readings of the text do not lead us to any conclusion. It is also highly probable that this name is a later interpolations, or it may testify to the textual corruption of the *Arthaśāstra*.

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[1] दक्षिणापथेऽपि बहुखनिः सारपण्यः प्रसिद्धगतिरल्पव्यायामो वा वणिक्पथः श्रेयान् ।
प्रभूतविषयो वा फल्गुपथः ॥ (p. 300).

[2] माहिष्मत्याः परतो दक्षिणापथः ॥ (*Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 93). For the different views held by scholars in this connection, cf. *G.E.B.*, p. 60.

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The Śrīkaṭanaka kind of diamond was found on Mount Vedotkaṭa ; but this Mount does not seem to have been located by any scholar. Of Mounts Maṇimat and Indravat, nothing can be more definitely said. The commentary (*ibid.*) informs us that the former was on the way leading to the north (*Uttarāpathavartin*). It was so named probably because of its valuable diamonds. But we have already seen that Kauṭilya's information of the north was not so accurate as that of the south, and we cannot, therefore, reach any accurate conclusion in connection with the identification of such places. As to Mount Indravat, which was also reputed for producing diamonds, the commentary places it in the Kaliṅga country (*ibid.*). It may be probably Indraśilā, apparently a corruption of Indraśaila, which Mr. Laidlay has identified with the Giryek hill, six miles from Rajgir. It was so known from the Buddhist legend which says that Indra brought the heavenly musician Pañcaśikha to play on his lute before the Buddha and questioned the latter on forty-two points, which questions he traced with his finger on the ground.[1]

Pearls and diamonds are the only varieties of gems elaborately dealt with in the *Arthaśāstra*. Of other kinds of gems, the following are mentioned: vaidūrya, puṣyarāga, gomūtraka, and gomedika. Vaidūrya could be had at Vaidūryagarbha,[2] identified with Vidarbha, the modern Berar and Khandesh (*I.A.*, 1923, p. 69). This identification receives further support from the account preserved in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV, 14), which places the mines of Vaidūrya (beryl stone) in the southern division. The other three kinds of gems linked with Vaidūrya by the author, do not seem to have received their names from their sources and hence they fall beyond the range of our subject.

Two varieties of coral (*Pravāla*)—Ālakandaka and Vaivarṇaka —were also largely used, and they are mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 78). The first kind of them was known after Alakanda, regarding the location of which sufficient has been said in connection with the Srautasīya kind of pearl.

As regards the position of Vivarṇa, the source of the Vaivarṇaka coral, nothing can be definitely said. To the commentator, however, it is known as an ocean, which he locates near the island of Yavanas (p. 187). The author of the *Milindapañho* tells us of an island where king Milinda was born.[3] Now, Milinda was a Yavana king and this leads us to presume that the island of the Milindapañho

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[1] *G.D.*, p. 79 ; *C.A.G.I.*, pp. 541-42.

[2] The commentator knows the Mounts of Vindhya, Vidūra, and Malaya and the kingdom of Strīrājya as sources of Vaidūrya and other gems (p. 186).

[3] Trenckner's *Milindapañho*, pp. 82-83 ; *Camb. Hist. of India*, Vol. I, p. 550.

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must have been no other than the Yavanadvīpa of the commentator, close to which the ocean of Vivarṇa existed. The Vivarṇa of Kauṭilya, therefore, must have been the region of water adjoining to Yavanadvīpa. From this account of Vivarṇa, it is safe to affirm that Kauṭilya's Alakanda was near Karachi.[1]

Following this, Kauṭilya has preserved an account of the way of testing *Candana* (sandal). The sources of the different varieties of Sandal wood mentioned by him are : Satana, Gośīrṣa, Harideśa, Tṛṇasā, Grāmeru, Devasabhā, Jāpa, Joṅga, Turupa (?), Māleya, Kālaparvata, Kośākāraparvata, Śītodaka, Nāgaparvata, and Sākala. They are all derived from place names. There is much difficulty as regards their identification. The commentator explains that Satana, Gośīrṣtha, and Harideśa were parts of the Malaya mountains (Com., p. 187). Gośīrṣa was so known probably because of its appearance resembling the head of a cow. The commentator's explanation of Harideśa as a part of Malaya leads me to take it as identical with the Harikṣetra of the *Chaitanya Bhāgavata* (Ch. 6), identified with Harikantam Sellar on the river Pennar (*G.D.*, p. 74). Devasabhā, which was famous for producing red sandal, has been referred to in the *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and it was so well-known in those days as to have been mentioned as forming the boundary between two divisions of Bhāratavarṣa.[2] It is known as a city and a hill in Western India[3]; but unfortunately it has not yet been identified. Jāpa (Jāva), Joṅga, and Turupa were in Assam (Com., p. 188). About Malaya, much has been said in connection with the production of pearls. The locations of Tṛṇasā and Grāmeru are not known ; but their names suggest that the first is a river ; while the second is probably a mountain or a city. Something, however, may be said about the river Tṛṇasā by way of conjecture. The resemblance between names may go to suggest that it is the river Tṛṣṇā, identified with Tiṣṭā[4] which rises in the Kāñcanagaṅgā mountain and flows through the district of Rungpur. There is much to support this identification when we find it linked with other places mentioned as producing sandal, a product of Assam.

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[1] It is different from Alakanda which is identical with Alexandria [on the Indus]. S. N. Majumdar observes that Alakanda was later on used to designate Alexandria. For his views, see *C.A.G.I.*, p. 694. This might be probably due to the confusion caused between the names Alakanda and Alasanda, the later being the evident Sanskritized form of Alexandria.

[2] *Kāvyamīmāṁsā*, p. 93.

[3] *C.A.G.I.*, p. 695. But according to Dr. B. C. Law it was a city on a Mount ; cf. *G.E.B.*, p. 56.

[4] *G.D.*, p. 206.

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The Rāmopākhyāna of the *Mbh.* (*Vana-P.*, LIX) records that Rāvaṇa, when going out from Laṅkā, passed beyond Trikūṭa, a mountain in Ceylon, and thence to Kālaparvata. This account locates Kālaparvata somewhere in the southern part of India. The knowledge of its location in the south leads us to assume that Kālaparvata may probably be identified with Kālahasti in the North Arcot district. There also exists much similarity in the names Kālaparvata and Kālahasti.

Śītodaka, which also produced sandal, was probably a stream as the name suggests. A name making the nearest approach to it is 'Śātodika' mentioned in the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka* (*Jāt.*, Vol. V, p. 133, ll. 20-21) where it is known as a stream flowing along the borders of the Suraṭṭha (Surāṣṭra) country which comprises modern Kathiawad and some portion of Gujarat. But have we any other ground to justify their identification? The answer is in the affirmative. Sandal is mentioned by Kauṭilya as a product of the west (Daiva-sabheya). On the authority of Dhanvantarīya Nighaṇṭu and Rājanighaṇṭu, Majumdar has mentioned sandal as a product of the west (*C.A.G.I.*, p. 695). It was known as Barbarika-candana. We have already mentioned that Barbara is near Karachi, and considering this, it does not seem improbable that Śītodaka, which flowed in the west, must have been known for its sandal product. Thus there is no difficulty in identifying Śītodaka with the Śātodikā of the *Sarabhaṅga Jātaka.*

Of other sources of sandal, nothing is known of the Mount Kośākāra (of the shape of a bud). As regards Nāgaparvata, Pargiter locates these mountains in the Nāga country, near Nagpur in the Central Provinces (Pargiter's *Mārk.-P.*, p. 288, footnote). But can it not be identified with the Nāga hill in Rājpūtānā? The extremity of the Aravalli hills near Ajmer is still locally called by that name on account of its tapering appearance to the naked eye. We cannot definitely say which of them was Kauṭilya's Nāgaparvata.

Sākala, represented by the She-kie-lo of Hiuen-Tsang, figures as Sāgala in Buddhist literature (*Kaliṅgabodhi Jāt.*, No. 479; *Kuśa-Jāt.*, No. 531), and has a history of several centuries behind it. That it was the capital of the Madda (Madra) country and was situated on the Ayak river (Āpagā of the *Mbh.*) is borne out by Buddhist and Brahmanical accounts. Sialkot and its neighbouring districts were known as Madra as late as the nineteenth century (*C.A.G.I.*, p. 212).

The identification of Sākala is still a theme of keen controversy, and divergent views have been advanced by scholars in this connection. General Cunningham identifies Sākala or Sangala with the modern Sānglawāla-Tiba or Sāngala Hills, 31° 43′ N. Lat., 73° 27′ E.

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Long., west of the Rāvī in the district of Jhang in the Punjab (*C.A.G.I.*, p. 206). N. L. Dey remarks that this identification has been proved erroneous and it has been identified with Chuniot or Shakkot in the same district (*G.D.*, p. 173); but no reasons are stated there for upholding this view. Dr. Fleet (in *14th Oriental Congress*) has emphatically remarked that Sākala is represented by the modern Sialkot, N. Lat. 32° 30′, E. Long. 74° 32′, in the Lahore division. Dr. Raychaudhuri also holds the same opinion.[1] This view is confirmed by the local tradition that the town was founded by Rājā Sāla (Śalya), uncle of the Pāṇḍavas of whom it was the fort and probably represented by Śalyakoṭa in those days (*G.D.*, p. 174). Vincent A. Smith remarks that the site of Sangala was quite distinct from the Sākala of Hindu writers.[2]

So far as regards the production of Sandal wood. Besides this, Kauṭilya mentions two fragrant substances known as *agaru* (agallochum) and Tailaparṇika. He also mentions that they resemble sandal in quality (p. 88).

Joṅgaka and Doṅgaka are mentioned as two varieties of *agaru*. According to the commentator they were produced in Assam (Com., p. 189). We have already seen before that Joṅga and Doṅga were parts of Assam. Kauṭilya also mentions *agaru* as obtained from Pārasamudra which the commentator explains as corresponding to Ceylon (*ibid.*).

The Kauṭilīya enumerates nine varieties of tailaparṇika (pp. 78–80). They were imported from Aśokagrāma, Joṅga, Grāmeru, Suvarṇakudya, Pūrṇakadvīpa, Pāralauhitya, Antarapatya (or the river Antarvatī ?),[3] Svarṇabhūmi and Uttaraparvata. All these places, with the exception of Svarṇabhūmi, Uttaraparvata, and Pāralauhitya, are located in Assam by the commentator (Com., pp. 189-90), and no more information concerning their identification is available from any other sources known to us. The term Uttaraparvata means a mountain in the north and the commentator identifies it with the Himālayas (Com., p. 190). We have already seen that Kauṭilya had no detailed knowledge of the extreme north and the distant parts of the Himālayas, though expressions like

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[1] *P.H.A.I.*, p. 27.

[2] *E.H.I.*, p. 78, f.n. 2; *C.A.G.I.*, p. 686. But Dr. Hutchinson, who reopens the question, discusses the position of the Sangala of Alexander's historians, and identifies it with Sialkot (Sagala). See his article in the *Journal of the Punjab University Historical Society*, Vol. I, Part I (April, 1932). See also I.A., 1872, pp. 22f.

[3] The reading appears to be corrupt. I suggest the reading 'Āntarvatya' (obtained from Antarvatī). Antarvatī is probably a river the location of which is unknown.

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Himavat and Haimavata occur several times in his work (cf. pp. 75, 100, 300, etc.). The Uttaraparvata of Kauṭilya, a vague name indeed, may here be taken to represent some extreme north-eastern part of the Himālayas lying in Assam, the chief source of tailaparṇika. Svarṇabhūmi, which is also mentioned by Kauṭilya as a source of the same product, is evidently the Suvarṇabhūmi of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (XIV, 31). It is identical with Burmah. Fergusson identifies it with Thaton on the Sitang river. According to him it comprised the coast from the river Sitang to the straits. Phayre thinks of the same as identical with Pegu.[1]

Pāralauhitya, which was also reputed for its product of tailaparṇika, may be taken to represent the region lying to the other side, probably to the south-east, of the river Lohitya, as the river Brahmaputra was known to the ancient people.[2] Thus Pāralauhitya also may be taken to represent a part of Assam.

From the above account it may be safely affirmed that sandal, agaru, and tailaparṇika were largely produced in the eastern parts of India with the exception of a few places in the north and south.

(*To be continued.*)

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[1] For the views of Fergusson and Phayre, see *G.D.*, p. 198.
[2] *G.D.*, p. 115.

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SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE IN BUDDHIST LOGIC

By DURGACHARAN CHATTERJI

All the schools of Indian philosophy have discussed the problem of the various sources of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) whereby the truths regarding the ultimate reality can be tested. The discussion of the doctrine of pramāṇa is therefore regarded as an indispensable preliminary to the main problems of philosophy. It is quite in the fitness of things that we must make sure of the correctness of the means of knowledge before we can accept what is made known to us by the means of knowledge. As the Maitryupaniṣad [1] has it, the objects of knowledge (*prameya*) are cognised by some instrument of knowledge. Īśvarakṛṣṇa in his Sāṃkhyakārika [2] has similarly observed, that the knowables are determined by the various sources of knowledge (*prameyasiddhiḥ pramāṇāddhi*) which, according to him, are perception, inference, and authority. It has been a common dictum with Indian philosophers that the truth of what is to be known depends on the means of knowing it (*mānādhīnā meyasiddhiḥ*). The Jaina Philosopher Umāsvatī in his Tattvārthādhigamasūtra [3] says: the truth of the ultimate reality is to be known by means of *pramāṇa* and *naya*. In the Nyāyabindu, Dharmakīrti [4] introduces the problems of right cognition with the statement that inasmuch as right knowledge is the condition precedent of all objects of human desire, it is to be expounded.

Thus the problem of *pramāṇa*, though mainly associated with Nyāya school, has come to be treated in every system of Indian philosophy.

The appropriateness of these discussions on *pramāṇa* has been adequately appreciated by Prof. Max Müller who in his preface to 'The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy' [5] observes as follows :—

'Such an examination of the authorities of human knowledge (*pramāṇas*) ought, of course, to form the introduction to every system of philosophy. How much useless controversy would have been avoided, particularly among Jewish, Mahomedan, and Christian

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[1] *pramāṇena prameyasyopalabdhiḥ. Maitryupaniṣad* (*A.S.B.*), 6, 14.

[2] *dṛṣṭam anumānam āptavacanaṃ ca sarvapramāṇasiddhatvāt trividhaṃ pramāṇam iṣṭaṃ prameyasiddhiḥ pramāṇāddhi.* Sāṃkhyakārikā, 4.

[3] *pramāṇanayābhyāṃ tattvārthādhigamaḥ.* Tattvārthādhigamasūtra, 11.

[4] *Samyagjñānapūrvikā sarvapuruṣārthasiddhiriti tad vyutpādyate.* Nyāyabindu, 1. 1.

[5] p. XIII. Also cf. ibid., p. XII.

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philosophers, if a proper place had been assigned *in limine* to the question of what constitutes our legitimate or our only possible channels of knowledge, whether perception, inference, revelation or anything else ! '

There is, however, much difference of opinion with regard to the various problems connected with the *pramāṇas* among the different schools of philosophy. The Buddhist logicians have reduced their problems of *pramāṇas* to four and have accordingly discussed them under these four heads : (1) number (*saṃkhyā*), (2) nature (*lakṣaṇa*), (3) object (*gocara*), (4) result (*phala*).[1]

Let us take up the first problem and see how the Buddhists differ from the rival schools. The number of *pramāṇas* accepted by the different schools varies from one to eight. Varadarāja, a later Brahmanic logician, has summed up the different views in the following kārikās :—

pratyakṣam anumānaṃ syād upamānaṃ tathāgamaḥ
pramāṇam pravibhajyaivam akṣapādena lakṣitam.
pratyakṣamekaṃ cārvākāḥ kaṇādasugatau punaḥ
anumānaṃca taccātha sāṃkhyāḥ śabdaṃ ca te api.
nyāyaikadeśino' pyevam upamānaṃ ca kecana
arthyāpattyā sahaitāni catvāryāha prabhākaraḥ
abhāvaṣaṣṭhānyetani bhāṭṭā vedāntina stathā
sambhavaitihyayuktāni tāni paurāṇikā jaguḥ.[2]

Akṣapāda in his Nyāya system has divided pramāṇas into four : *pratyakṣa* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upamāna* (analogy), and *āgama* or *śabda* (authority). The Cārvākas admit only one pramāṇa, i.e., *pratyakṣa*. The Vaiśeṣikas admit two, i.e., *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*. Besides these two, *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, the Sāṃkhya as well as the Yoga[3] accept one more, i.e. *āgama* or *śabda* (authority). Some school[4] of Nyāya accepts these three,

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[1] *caturvidhā cātra vipratipattiḥ, Saṃkhyā-lakṣaṇa-gocara-phala-viṣayā*, p. 6 Also *tatra pramāṇe svarūpaphalagocarasaṃkhyāsu pareṣāṃ vipratipattis caturvidhā.*

Cf. Tattvasaṃgraha (G.O.S.), p. 366. For similar views of the Jaina logicians, see Siddharṣigani's ṭīkā on the Nyāyāvatāra (ed. by Dr. Vaidya, 1928), p. 8.

[2] Tārkikarakṣā (Reprint from the Pandit), pp. 55-56. There is a similar kārikā, probably by some Jaina philosopher, referred to in the ṭippaṇa of Devabhadra on the Nyāyāvatāra (Nyayāvatāra, ed., by Dr. Vaidya, p. 9) :

cārvāko'dhyakṣamekam, sugatakaṇabhujau sānumānaṃ saśabdam
taddvaitaṃ pāramarṣaḥ sahitam upamayā tattrayaṃ cākṣapādaḥ.
arthāpattyā prabhākṛd vadati sa nikhilaṃ manyate bhaṭṭa etat.
Sābhāvaṃ dve pramāṇe jinapatisamaye spaṣṭato' spaṣṭataśca.

[3] *pratyakṣānumānāgamāḥ pramāṇāni.* Yogasūtra, 1, 7.

[4] Bhāsarvajña in his Nyāyasāra enumerates three pramānas, viz. *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, and *āgama*.

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pratyakṣa, *anumāna*, and *śabda*, while others take *upamāna* (analogy) along with them. Prabhākara, one Mīmāṃsā teacher, admits these four: *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, and *upamāna* along with *arthāpatti* (presumption). Bhaṭṭa, another Mīmāṃsā teacher, accepts *abhāva* (negation) besides the five above, i.e. *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, *upamāna*, *śabda*, and *arthāpatti*. And the Paurāṇikas admit *saṃbhava* (probability) and *aitihya* (tradition) along with above six, i.e. they accept altogether eight pramāṇas which are as follows: (i) *pratyakṣa*, (ii) *anumāna*, (iii) *upamāna*, (iv) *sabda*, (v) *arthāpatti*, (vi) *abhāva*, (vii) *saṃbhava*, and (viii) *aitihya*. There are some other minor pramāṇas as *pratibhā*[1] (intuitive knowledge) and *ceṣṭā*, the first being admitted in some form or other by most of the schools of Indian philosophy and the latter by the Tāntrikas.

But in several schools attempts have been made to reduce the number of these various *pramāṇas* to some modest one, say, two, three, or four as the case may be. Nyāya has refused to accept more than four *pramāṇas* and has accordingly attempted to include *aitihya*, *arthāpatti*, *saṃbhava*, and *abhāva* into one or other of the four pramāṇas, i.e. *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, *upamāna*, and *śabda* admitted by it. Similarly Praśastapāda in his Padārthadharmasaṃgraha,[2] has subsumed all the *pramāṇas* under *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*.

The pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist teachers who went upon the old school of Brahmanic logic accepted sometimes four and sometimes three *pramāṇas*.[3] But from Diṅnāga onwards the Buddhist logicians rejected *upamāna* and *śabda* and accepted *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna* as the only valid sources of knowledge. Diṅnāga in his Pramāṇasamuccaya has repudiated the view that *upamāna* and *śabda* are separate pramāṇas distinct from *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*.[4] Sāntarakṣita, a later Buddhist teacher in his encyclopædic work Tattvasaṃgraha (=TS), has taken great pains to refute the acceptance of the various pramāṇas other than *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna* and

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Cf. *tattrividhaṃ pramāṇam pratyakṣam anumānam āgamaśceti*. Nyāyasāra (Bib. Indica), p. 2. Vide History and Bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Literature by Gopinatha Kaviraja in the Sarasvati Bhavana Studies, pp. 81-82.

[1] See the learned and informing article by Gopinath Kaviraj on the doctrine of *pratibhā* in the Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Institute.

[2] Praśastapāda Bhāṣya, with Kandalī (Vizianagram Sanskrit Series), p. 220.

[3] Nāgārjuna—four pramāṇas.

Asaṅga—three (rejects upamāna).

Three *pramāṇas*, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, and *āgama* are also referred to by Sthiramati in his Commentary on Vasubandhu's Triṃśikā, p. 26. Sutta-Udāharaṇa (citation of Buddha's words as traditional authority) is a characteristic feature of the earlier Buddhist controversies in the Kathāvatthu.

[4] History of Indian Logic, p. 287.

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has included some of these in either of these two *pramāṇas*, rejecting what he does not regard as valid.

The Buddhist logicians have thus reduced the number of *pramāṇas* to two (i) *pratyakṣa* and (ii) *anumāna*. Like them the Jaina logicians have accepted twofold *pramāṇa* but their classification is different. According to them pramānas are divided into two (i) *pratyakṣa* and (ii) *parokṣa*. Now *parokṣa* has been subdivided into (i) *smṛti* (memory), (ii) *pratyabhijñā* (recognition), (iii) *īha* (the instrument of the knowledge of concomitance), (iv) *anumāna* (inference), and (v) *āgama* (scriptural authority).[1]

The Buddhist have, however, some principle of division for the twofold pramāṇa. All objects have two characteristics (1) self-characteristic (*svalakṣaṇa*) and (2) common characteristic (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa*). Corresponding to these two there are two pramāṇas, *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*. *Pratyakṣa pramāṇa* takes cognisance of the *svalakṣaṇa*, while anumāna pramāṇa takes cognisance of sāmānyalakṣana. It is also said, that *prameyas* or the objects of knowledge are either perceptible (*pratyakṣa*) or imperceptible (*parokṣa*) and besides these two kinds no third is possible and for these two kinds of *prameyas* two *pramāṇas* are necessitated, *pratyakṣa pramāṇa* for perceptible objects and *anumāna pramāṇa* for imperceptible objects.[2]

By *parokṣa* Buddhist logicians mean *sāmānyalakṣaṇa* or the class characteristic of a thing. On looking at a cow when we say this is a cow, this judgment though apparently arising from perception (*pratyakṣa*) is not really a case of perceptual knowledge (*pratyakṣa pramāṇa*), for the class notion or the concept of the cow is, according to the Buddhists as opposed to the Naiyāyikas, is not the result of perception proper. We can perceive this cow or that

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[1] These five are not, as they say, independent pramāṇas, but are only varieties of *parokṣa pramāṇa* in which they have been included like the four sub-classes of *indriyavijñāna*, *manovijñāna*, *svasaṃvedana*, and *yogijñāna*, all subsumed in *pratyakṣajñāna* :

yathaiva hi pratyakṣalakṣaṇasaṃgṛhītānīndriyajñānamānasa-svasaṃvedana-yogijñānāni saugatānām na pratyakṣād atirieyante, tathaiva hi parokṣalakṣaṇākṣiptāni smṛtyādīni na mūlapramāṇasaṃkhyāparipanthīnīti . . . Pramāṇamīmāṃsā, p. 50.

[2] *na pratyakṣaparokṣābhyāṃ meyasyānyasya saṃbhavaḥ tasmāt prameyadvitvena pramāṇadvitvam iṣyate.*

Quoted in the Saḍdarśanasammuccaya, (B.I.), p. 38.

Compare Diṅnāga in the Prāmāṇasamuccaya, 1, 2 :

mṅon sum daṅ ni rjes su dpag tshad ma dag ni mtshan ñid gnis
gzal bya de la rab sbyor phyir tshad ma gźan ni yod ma yin.

Pratyakṣa and anumāna are the two pramāṇas by which all the prameyas are apprehended and besides these two no other pramāṇa is necessary.

Also, *pratyakṣaśca parokṣaśca dvidhaivārtho vyavasthitaḥ.* T.S., 1701, et. seq.

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cow but cowness we cannot perceive. But to express a judgment, this is cow, we require the concept of cow to associate with what we directly perceive as the particular configuration and colour—(*sanniveśopadhivarṇātmakā=svalakṣaṇa*)[1] of the cow we are looking at. So the judgment, 'this is cow', does not arise from perception alone : it is *paroksa* (imperceptible), involving as it does the *sāmānya-lakṣaṇa*. Now we see that by *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna* the Buddhist logicians mean something different from what is commonly understood by these two terms in the other schools of Indian philosophy. Śāntarakṣita observes *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna*, as recognized by others (like the Vaiśesikas) for the purpose of apprehending the *upādhis* (categories), i.e. *dravya* (substance), *guṇa* (attribute), *kriyā* (actions), and the like have not been properly defined and they are to be defined correctly from a Buddhist point of view.[2]

The Buddhist position on the twofold division of *pramāṇas* has been introduced as *pūrvapakṣa* in the Nyāyamañjarī of Jayanta Bhaṭṭa who, considering the numerous quotations not to be ordinarily found in Brahmanic or Jain works, seems to have a first hand acquaintance with the Buddhists texts and it may be summarised as follows[3]:—

Objects of knowledge admit of a dichotomic division on the basis of the two mutually exclusive characteristics, *pratyakṣa* (perceptible) and *parokṣa* (non-perceptible), or *svalakṣaṇa* (having the unique character) and *sāmānyalakṣaṇa* (having the general or common character). As these two contradictory characteristics make up the entire world of objects, no third is possible and we have it so on the authority of perceptual knowledge. There is no denying the fact that the perception of a blue thing, while making known to us what is blue, differentiates the blue from what is not blue, the latter not being presented in the perception. What is presented in the perception of the blue is the blue and all else is not-blue. Now that a thing can be either blue or not-blue, the perception of a blue precludes the possibility of anything besides blue and not-blue. So it has been said that the perception of a thing determines its nature, distinguishes it from what it is not, and proves the non-existence of any third entity besides what it is and what it is not.[4] Thus the perception of a thing, while establishing its perceptibility, proves the non-perceptibility of all else and does away with the

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[1] Nyāyabinduṭīkā (B.B.), p. 7. 2.

[2] *pratyakṣam anumānaṃca yadupadhi-prasiddhaye*
parair uktaṃ na tat siddham . . . . . T.S., 1213.

[3] Nyāyamañjarī (=NM), Vizianagram Sanskrit Series, pp. 28ff.

[4] *taduktam tat paricchinatti anyad vyavacchinatti tṛtīyaprakārabhāvaṃca sūcayaty ekapramāṇavyāpāraḥ*, NM, p. 29. 13-14.

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possibility of any characteristic besides perceptibility and non-perceptibility. Thus perception proves that an object of knowledge can be either perceptible (*pratyakṣa*) or imperceptible (*parokṣa*), or in other words it is either *svalakṣaṇa* or *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*.

Now it is argued that perception, as understood by the Buddhist logicians, is to take cognizance of things-in-themselves and consequently it is beyond the range of the perception of a thing to give rise to any other knowledge such as distinguishing the thing perceived from what it is not and establishing the non-existence of any third entity besides what it is and what it is not. Now the objection can be met, if recourse be had to the pragmatic efficiency of the *vikalpas* or the conceptional cognitions that follow in the trail of the perception of things-in-themselves, and it must be conceded that the conceptual cognitions are capable of expressing what the perception of things-in-themselves cannot. So the threefold aspects of perception that have been stated above are with reference to the perception of things-in-themselves along with the conceptual cognitions that arise immediately after it.

Jayanta Bhaṭṭa proves the hollowness of the above argument and his reply may be summarized as follows :—

Indeterminate perception of the Buddhists cannot connect any cognition either with the past or with the future and, except taking cognizance of what is directly presented, is incapable of proving the negation of any other thing. The *vikalpas* which have been requisitioned for the purpose are mere imaginary constructions according to the Buddhists and therefore their testimony is of little use. Again, in perception we perceive a thing but we do not perceive that it is perceptible. It has been pertinently pointed out by Bhaṭṭa [1] that *audibility* (*śrāvaṇatā*) cannot be cognized by perception. It can, on the contrary, be ascertained only by means of inference on the observation of its relation in presence and absence. Now a sound is seen to be perceived by a man endowed with the sense of hearing and is not so perceived by a deaf person. The sense of hearing, too, being imperceptible is inferred only on the cognition of sound and the percipient's reaction towards it. And the uniform absence of this reaction on the part of a deaf person leads to the inference of his deafness. So audibility or for matter of that perceptibility as a quality can only be inferred by virtue of the relation which a sense-object is seen to bear to a sense-organ. The latter, again, is capable of being ascertained only on the evidence of

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[1] *na hi śrāvaṇatā nāma pratyakṣeṇāvagamyate*
sānvayavyatirekābhyāṃ gamyate vadhirādisu.

Ślokavārttika, Anumānapariccheda, 60-61. Quoted with a little variation in NM, p. 32.

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a person's reaction towards a sense-object, and is thus a matter of inference in its turn. That being the case, it is impossible to expect that perceptual knowledge should give direct evidence of the perceptibility or otherwise of an object. The whole process shown above involves a tedious chain of inferences and when the Buddhist puts all this knowledge to the credit of perception he is guilty of a grievous misinterpretation of the real nature of perception.

So baseless is the thesis of the Buddhist that by perception we can determine that an object of knowledge must possess either of these two mutually exclusive characteristics—*pratyakṣa* and *parokṣa*, or, in other words, *svalakṣana* and *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*.

The twofold division of *pramāṇa* has been also criticized by the Mādhyamikas whose arguments against the neo-logicians of Diṅnāga's school may be summed up as follows [1]:—

Logician: You say entities do not originate. But is this assumption based on any *pramāṇa* or not? If the answer be in the affirmative, you must state the number, the definition, and the content of *pramāṇa* and also state how a *pramāṇa* derives its validity. If your assertion be not based on any *pramāṇa*, it has no value, since nothing can be established except by a *pramāṇa*. If a statement can be valid without a *pramāṇa*, one is as much valid as its opposite.

Mādhyamika: A *pramāṇa* is necessitated only in the case where one has got something definite to determine (*niścyāya*). One who has something undetermined will go in for its determination. (But now that we have nothing to determine the above objection is wholly out of place.) We can do without *pramāṇas* and are, therefore, under no obligation to state their number, definition, etc.

Logician: You profess to make no definite statement whatsoever. But when you say entities do not originate out of themselves, or of some external source or of both combined or from any cause whatever (*na svato nāpi parato na dvābhyām nāpyahetutaḥ bhāvā bhavanti*), it sounds like a definite assertion.

Mādhyamika: This definite statement is only with reference to the common run of people and their line of thinking and not to the saints.[2]

Logician: It then follows that the saints do not believe in or attach importance to arguments (*upapatti*).

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[1] Madhyamakavṛtti (Bib. Buddhica), pp. 55. 11—75. 13. Buddhist Conception of Nirvāṇa—Stcherbatsky, pp. 135–164.

[2] *niścitam idaṃ vākyam lokasya svaprasiddhyaivopapattyā nāryāṇām*, ibid., p. 57. 5ff.

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Mādhyamika : How can it be known that they do not resort to arguments ? As for the ultimate truth (*paramārtha*), they remain silent.[1]

Logician : If the saints do not have recourse to arguments, how do they manage to explain the ultimate truth to ordinary people ?

Mādhyamika : For the purpose of instruction to ordinary people, the saints do not bring in any arguments of their own but provisionally accepting only those arguments that are held by the people at large, they teach the people.[2]

Thus from the Mādhyamika standpoint Candrakīrtti condemns logic for the determination of the ultimate truth, but he cannot altogether invalidate logic so far as it is connected with our empirical life. His point seems to be that if logic is intended for our ordinary life, it is proper that the logic of the realistic school of philosophy (i.e. the Naiyāyikas) is to be preferred as it well accords with and is suited to the popular way of thinking.

Candrakīrtti further argues and refutes Diṅnāga's theory of twofold *pramāṇa* along with his theory of *svalakṣaṇa* perception.

It is maintained that there are two sources of knowledge (*pramāṇas*) with reference to the two objects of knowledge—the *svalakṣaṇa* (the unique, the particular characteristic of a thing) and the *sāmānyalakṣaṇa* (the general characteristic of a thing). Now it can be argued that the theory of *svalakṣaṇa* and *sāmānyalakṣaṇa* presumes the existence of a thing possessing the two characteristics and the objects of knowledge become three: (1) *svalakṣaṇa*, (2) *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*, and (3) the thing having *svalakṣaṇa* and *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*) instead of the two, *svalakṣaṇa* and *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*, and consequently a third source of knowledge is needed. If it is denied that there is nothing apart from *svalakṣaṇa* and *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*, then the two would remain without any substratum,[3] i.e. anything to be characterized.

Nāgārjuna says : In the absence of a characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) that which is to be characterized (*lakṣya*) becomes impossible. And, again, in the absence of the latter, the former becomes impossible.[4] Even on the interpretation of *lakṣaṇa* as that which

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[1] *paramārtho hy āryāṇām tuṣṇīṃbhāvaḥ*, ibid., p. 57. 8.

[2] *na khalvāryā lokasaṃvyavahārenopapattiṃ varṇayanti, kintu lokata eva yā prasiddhopapattistām parāvabodhārtham abhyupetya tayaiva lokaṃ bodhayanti*, ibid., p. 57. 10ff.

[3] *tadā lakṣaṇamapi nirāśrayam*, ibid., p. 59. 9.

[4] *lakṣaṇāsaṃpravṛthau ca na lakṣyam upapadyate*
lakṣasyānupattau ca lakṣaṇasyāpyasaṃbhavaḥ, ibid., p. 59. 10-11.

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is characterized,[1] the difficulty cannot be avoided (a thing will have to be characterized by itself, which is impossible). According to this new interpretation, a characteristic must be instrumentally related to what is characterized.

Again, if *svalakṣaṇa* be thought to be characterized by self-awareness (*svasaṃvitti*), this self-awareness will require another self-awareness and thus the difficulty of infinite regress arises. It is also to be pointed out that the theory of self-awareness is not acceptable. Consciousness cannot apprehend its own self. The edge of a sword cannot cut the edge of the same sword. The tip of a finger cannot touch the tip of the self-same finger.[2]

The Mādhyamika asks what is the relation between what is characterized and the character. If the two be entirely distinct, they will cease to be what they are, as they cannot remain dissociated from each other. If they are identical, they would also cease to be what they are, for in that case the two would coalesce and loose their separate existence. So it has been well said,—

'If the characteristic (*lakṣaṇa*) be different from what is characterized (*lakṣya*), the latter remains without the former. If the two be identical, neither of them exists.'[3]

Being thus confronted with a dilemma the upholders of the *svalakṣaṇa* theory would reply that the relation between what is characterized and the character is unspeakable,[4] it being similar to what the Mādhyamikas regard as the true nature of Reality. This the Mādhyamikas reject on the ground that a thing said to be unspeakable, when it is incapable of any dichotomic division, but 'a dichotomy is untenable when it is proved that we cannot independently cognize—this is the characteristic, this is the thing characterized,—we conclude that both are unreal'.[5]

Taking *pramāṇa* as the instrument of knowledge, the question arises 'Who is the knower, of whom *pramāṇa* is an instrument?'. If the reality of the *pramāṇas* be admitted, the Mādhyamika says, the difficulty of positing a cognizer cannot be avoided, but the theory of a cognizer would be against all schools of Buddhism not excluding the neo-logicians of Diṅnāga's school. Again, *svalakṣaṇa*

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[1] *kṛtyaluṭo bahulam iti karmaṇi luṭaṃ kṛtvā lakṣyate tad iti lakṣaṇam*, ibid., p. 60. 1-2.

[2] *na ca cittaṃ cittam anupaśyati. tad yathāpi nāma tayaivāsidhārayā saivāsidhāra na śakyate chettuṃ na tenaivāṅgulyagreṇa tad evāṅgulyagraṃ śakyate spraṣṭum*, ibid., pp. 62-63.

[3] *lakṣyāllakṣaṇam anyaścet syāttallakṣyam alakṣaṇam*
tayorabhāvo'nanyatve viṣpaṣṭaṃ kathitaṃ tvayā, ibid., p. 64. 5-6.

[4] *avācyatayā siddhir bhaviṣyati*, ibid., p. 64. 10.

[5] Buddhist Conception of Nirvāṇa, p. 148.

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theory presupposes something of which it is the characteristic. The reply, that it is similar to the expressions as the body of a statue or the head of Rāhu (who, being without the trunk, exists in head only), is not convincing. The definition of perception according to the *svalakṣaṇa* theory is very narrow, as it does not apply to every-day expressions as the pitcher is perceived (*ghaṭaḥ pratyakṣaḥ*) and all these cannot be ignored or held wrong.

The *svalakṣaṇa* theory of perception is claimed to be based upon the scriptural statement that a man with the visual consciousness apprehends *blue* but not *that it is blue*.[1] This passage, the Mādhyamika contends, is not intended to give a definition of perception but is meant to indicate that the knowledge through the five sense-organs is unconscious (*jaḍa*). The point of the Mādhyamika seems to be this: From the higher standpoint the theory of the *pramāṇas*, be it four or be it two, is untenable. The *nirvikalpa* or *svalakṣaṇa* is as much unreal as the *savikalpa* or *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*. So if the defects of the empirical logic of the Naiyāyikas cannot be mended by having recourse to Diṅnāga's reforms, it is better that for the empirical purposes, the empirical logic with four *pramāṇas* should be accepted.

In the Brahmanic system *pratyakṣa* has been placed on a higher rank as a valid source of knowledge (*pramāṇa—śreṣṭha* or *jyeṣṭha*) probably on the ground that perception gives us an immediate knowledge of things, and also supplies the *data* of inference. As the Nyāyasūtra has it, inference is preceded by a perceptual knowledge (*atha tatpūrvakaṃ trividham-anumānam*, etc.). This view has been rejected by the Buddhist logicians. As *pramāṇa*, both *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna* are equally important and valid and the both are equally helpful in making us reach an object by virtue of their unfailing correspondence with the object.[2]

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[1] *cakṣurvijñānasaṅgī nīlaṃ vijānāti natu nīlamiti*, ibid., p. 74, ll. 8-9.

See my paper on the Sources of Buddhist Logic from the traditional point of view. IHQ., IX, 2.

[2] Dharmottora says in course of his comment on the Nyāyabindu Sūtra 1, 3, *pratyakṣam anumānamca* :—

cakāraḥ pratyakṣānumānayo stulyabalatvaṃ samuccinoti. yathārthāvinābhāvitvād arthaṃ prāpayat pratyakṣaṃ prāmāṇam tadvad arthāvinābhāvitvādanumānam api paricchinnam arthaṃ prāpayat pramāṇam iti.

An older Buddhist logician like Nāgārjuna is, however, at one with the Brahmanic philosophers in holding *pratyakṣa* to be superior to other *pramāṇas* owing to their being dependent on *pratyakṣa*. Cf. the *Upāyahṛdaya* :—

caturvihaṃ pramāṇam pratyakṣaṃ anumānam āgamaśceti. caturṣu pramāṇeṣu pratyakṣam śreṣṭham kutaḥ punaḥ pratyakṣaṃ śreṣṭham iti cet apareṣām trayāṇāṃ pramāṇānām pratyakṣopajīvakatvacchraiṣṭhyam.

Upāyahṛdaya (reconstructed from Chinese by Prof. Tucci; Pre-Diṅnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic, p. 13).

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So there is no reason why *pratyakṣa* should be ranked higher than other *pramāṇas*. They are all equally important in their respective places.[1]

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[1] But it is to be noted in this connection that according to the Diṅnāga's school of logic the object of perception is real while that of inference is unreal or imaginary. Cf. NBT (Bib. Bud.), p. 7. 12ff.—

bhrāntam hy anumānam. svapratibhāse'narthe'rthādyavasāyena pravṛttatvāt.

The Jaina logicians too, like the Buddhists, refuse to attach any superiority to *pratyakṣa*. It cannot be said, they argue, that *pratyakṣa* always precedes all other *prāmaṇas*, for on the contrary it is sometimes seen that *pratyakṣa* is preceded by *anumāna* and *āgama* ; we first know fire inferentially from smoke or authoritatively from the information of any trustworthy person (*āpta*) and then going to the proper place, perceive fire.

Commenting on the sūtra, '*pratyakṣam parokṣam ca*', Hemacandra says in his Pramāṇamīmāṃsā (1. 1. 11),—

'*cakāraḥ svaviṣaye dvayostulyabalatvakhyāpanārthaḥ. tena yadāhuḥ sakalapramāṇajyeṣṭham pratyakṣam iti tadapāstam. pratyakṣamitipūrvakatvāditarapramāṇānāṃ tasya jyeṣṭhateti cet, na pratyakṣāpi pramāṇāntarapūrvakatvopalabdheḥ. liṅgādāptopadeśādvā vahnyādikam avagamya pravṛttasya tadvisayapratyakṣotpatteḥ.*'

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NOTES ON ANCIENT HISTORY OF INDIA

By D. R. Bhandarkar

(3) *Śaka-Yavanam*

Many were the passages culled from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* years ago by such veteran scholars as Goldstücker, R. G. Bhandarkar, and Weber, showing what light they threw upon the history of India. At that time no carefully printed edition of the work was available. Fortunately for us the critical edition of the *Mahābhāṣya* by Kielhorn has now been before us, not only in the first, but also in the second or revised edition. And yet it is strange that no scholar has come forward during this long interval, quoting further passages from Patañjali and discussing their historical import, although the *Mahābhāṣya* is a mine not yet sufficiently exploited. I intend considering one such here just now, hoping that some young scholar will turn his serious attention to this subject which has for long been neglected.

The passage in question is a gloss on Pāṇini II, 4, 10. The Sūtra runs thus: *Śūdrāṇām=aniravasitānām*, 'a Dvandva compound (is singular), (if it consists of words denoting those classes) of Śūdras who have not been expelled (or excluded)'. On this Patañjali writes a long explanatory note, the gist of which may be given as follows. What is meant by *a-niravasita*? Of course, literally it means 'not expelled'. But the question arises, 'not expelled from where'? Does it mean 'not expelled from Āryāvarta'? What then is Āryāvarta? It is doubtless a province, which is to the east of Ādarśa, to the west of Kālaka-vana, to the south of the Himālayas, and to the north of Pāriyātra. If this is the case, that is, if *a-niravasita* means 'not expelled from Āryāvarta', then such compound words as *Kiṣkindha-Gandikam*, *Śaka-Yavanam*, and *Śaurya-Krauñcam* cannot be formed, because these are all Śūdras who live, not in Āryāvarta, but outside. As a matter of fact, these three compound words are instances of Samāhāra-dvandva. In other words, their correct grammatical forms are, not *Kiṣkindha-Gandikāḥ*, but *Kiṣkindha-Gandikam*, and so on, and so forth. Some other explanation must therefore be given of the word *a-niravasita*. Does this word then denote a Śūdra caste, 'not excluded (*a-niravasita*) from the Aryan settlements (*Ārya-nivāsa*)', though excluded from the Āryāvarta? But what is an *Ārya-nivāsa*? It has a

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fourfold division, namely, *Grāma* (village), *Ghoṣa* (hamlet), *Nagara* (town), and *Saṁvāha* (market ?).[1] If we take this to be the sense of *a-niravasita*, even then it presents a difficulty. It no doubt explains *Kiṣkindha-Gandikam*, *Śaka-Yavanam*, etc., but not the compound word *Caṇḍāla-Mṛtapāḥ*. For wherever these conglomerations (*saṃstyāya*) of the Aryans such as *Grāma*, *Ghōṣa*, and so on exist, there the Caṇḍālas and Mṛtapas are invariably found. They are thus not expelled from the *Ārya-nivāsa*. The compound word would therefore be *Caṇḍāla-Mṛtapam*. As a matter of fact, however, the correct form is *Caṇḍāla-Mṛtapāḥ*. *A-niravasita* cannot thus mean 'not expelled from an Aryan settlement'. Can we then take it to mean 'not excluded from the sacrificial performance (*yājña karman*)' ? This no doubt yields the correct form *Caṇḍāla-Mṛtapāḥ*, because these are castes not fit for the performance of a sacrifice. But this sense does not hold good everywhere, because the carpenter (*takṣan*) and the blacksmith (*ayaskāra*) castes and also the washerman (*rajaka*) and the weaver (*tantuvāya*) castes are similarly not worthy to perform a sacrifice. Their compound words similarly would be *Takṣ-āyaskārāḥ* and *Rajaka-tantuvāyāḥ*, though their correct forms really are *Takṣ-āyaskāram* and *Rajaka-tantuvāyam*. *A-niravasita* cannot thus mean 'not excluded from the sacrificial performance'. What then can it mean ? Patañjali concludes by saying that *a-niravasita* means 'not expelled from the dish'. In other words, it denotes those Śūdras who can take food from the dish of any twice-born person without making it permanently unclean and consequently worthy of being thrown away. This interpretation of the word alone can remove the difficulties and explain satisfactorily all the compound words noted above.

The gain for the social history of India from a critical consideration of this passage is not simply great but invaluable. For we have here a number of Śūdra castes mentioned, who occupied different grades in the social scale prevalent in Patañjali's time. This is not, however, what we are concerned with here. Our object in this note is to explain the full historical significance of the compound word *Śaka-Yavanam* in the light of the interpretation given by Patañjali. In the first place, we may note that Śakas and Yavanas were in his time looked upon as belonging to the Śūdra class. They were thus not only Aryanised but also Brahmanised. We have to note further that they were not then settled in any part of Āryāvarta. Nevertheless, they were living in Aryan settlements, which were outside Āryāvarta. If they were thus staying in Aryan

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[1] This is the sense given to the word in Monier-Williams' Dictionary. The word occurs also in Kauṭilaya's *Arthaśāstra*, p. 365, l. 2.

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settlements, it is natural that they should come in social contact with the Aryans. And it is interesting to note that they took food from the higher classes of the Aryan community without permanently defiling their utensils. This is not a small thing. It shows that they had acquired a social status in the eye of the Aryans which was much higher than, of course, the Caṇḍālas and Mṛtapas, and higher than even the carpenter, blacksmith, washerman, and weaver castes. This is doubtless indicated by the fact that they were entitled to the performance of a sacrifice even in the time of Patañjali. It is true that in the Vedic and later times the Śūdra was generally deprived of this privilege. Thus the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[1] in one place definitely classes him as *a-yajñiya*, 'unfit for sacrifice'. Nevertheless, in another place it[2] speaks of the Āyogava king, Marutta Āvikṣita, as celebrating an Aśvamedha sacrifice. The words of Patañjali also are clear on this point and leave no doubt as to some of the Śūdra castes being entitled to the performance of a sacrifice. And the inference also is equally clear that among these Śūdra classes were then included the Śakas and the Yavanas. Quite in keeping with this is the fact that at Besnagar, the ancient Vidiśā, were exhumed one hall and three sacrificial *kuṇḍas* or pits together with the sealing of a sacrificer who is therein called Ṭimitra, apparently the Sanskritized form of the Greek Demetrius.[3]

It is generally agreed to that the rule of the imperial Maurya dynasty came to an end about 184 B.C. and was replaced by that of the Śuṅgas. The last Maurya sovereign was Bṛhadratha who was killed by his general, Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga family. Puṣyamitra, according to the Purāṇas, ruled for 36 years. He must thus have reigned from *c.* 184 B.C. to 148 B.C. It is also now accepted by scholars on the strength of another passage from Patañjali that he was a contemporary of Puṣyamitra. Long ago Goldstücker and R. G. Bhandarkar drew our attention to a Vārtika of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini III, 2, 123 which means that 'the Bhavantī or forms of the Present Tense should be prescribed for use to express an action which has begun but not ceased (even though at a particular time during the interval) that action may not be going on'.[4] Of this Patañjali gives three instances of which one is a historical one. This last is *iha Puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ*. On the ground of this example it has been argued, and quite correctly, that Patañjali was living at the time when the sacrifice of Puṣyamitra was going

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[1] iii. I, I, I.
[2] *Ibid.*, xiii, 5. 4, 6.
[3] *A.S.I., An. Rep.*, 1914-15, pp. 75ff.
[4] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 215-16.

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on. This is alright so far as it goes. But even this explanation does not take full cognisance of the word *iha* and the first person plural in *yājayāmaḥ*. Could Patañjali not have omitted *iha* and said *yājayanti* instead of *yājayāmaḥ*? But as he employs the words *iha* and *yājayāmaḥ*, is it preposterous to suppose that he implies that he was one of the priests who were conducting the sacrifice for Puṣyamitra? Similarly, is it far-fetched to suppose that the word *iha* also refers to the place where the sacrifice was being celebrated and may denote Pāṭaliputra? If the full historical sense is thus to be brought out of the instance: *iha Puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ*, we have, I think, to say that Patañjali wrote his gloss on Pāṇini, III, 2, 123, when the sacrifice of Puṣyamitra was being performed at Pāṭaliputra by Brahmanical priests among whom was included Patañjali himself. We thus see that when Patañjali wrote his *bhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, 4, 10, the Yavanas were nowhere living in Āryāvarta. They had, however, made every attempt to penetrate it through not only eastward but also southward.

It, however, seems that there were, not one, but two, Greek invasions during the reign of Puṣyamitra, which, by the bye, was not of a brief duration but extended over at least 36 years according to the Purāṇas. For we have to note that Apollodorus attributes the Indian conquests not only to Demetrius but also to Menander. They both belonged to the House of Euthydemus and ruled within a short period of each other. Both the Greek invasions may thus have come off during one single reign, namely, that of Puṣyamitra which was a fairly long one. This inference is supported also by the fact that an Ayodhyā inscription speaks of Puṣyamitra as having performed, not one, but two Aśvamedhas.[1] The first of these is in all likelihood, the one referred to by Patañjali in the historical example *iha Puṣyamitraṃ yājayāmaḥ*, because at this time the Yavanas seem to have been completely expelled from the Āryāvarta, but this was not so at the time of the second invasion, as we shall soon see. This Greek expedition of conquest which developed into the siege of Sāketa and of Madhyamikā must have been led by Demetrius. The same invasion seems to be adverted to in the Yuga-Purāṇa of the Garga-saṃhitā which speaks of the Greeks not only as attacking Mathurā, Pañcāla, and Sāketa but also reaching Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra).[2] For we are told, in the prophetic tone customary to the Purāṇas, that the Yavanas would not be able to obtain any permanent footing in the Midland Country (Madyadeśa), because a civil war would break out amongst them.[3] This is an

[1] *E.I.*, Vol. XX, p. 57.
[2] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 402, vs. 22–26.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 403, vs. 40–44.

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undoubted allusion to the *beginning* of the internecine war between the Houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides. This shows that the invasion referred to in the Yuga-Purāṇa must have been undertaken by Demetrius as he was the first prince of the House of Euthydemus to be involved in this internecine struggle. This also shows that the Yavanas were not then settled anywhere in the Āryāvarta as they had to relinquish all their conquests.

The second Greek invasion in the reign of Puṣyamitra must have been led by Menander, which appears to have ended in more durable results. Because his coins have been found as far east as the Jumna. This means that the westernmost part of the Āryāvarta was now seized upon and annexed to the Greek kingdom. When things settled down this time no doubt with a small loss of territory, Puṣyamitra, it seems, celebrated his second Aśvamedha which appears to be the same as that referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Mālavikāgnimitra*. Because this time the sacrificial steed was in charge of, not himself, or his son, but his grandson Vasumitra, son of Agnimitra, who was then Viceroy of Central India with his capital at Vidiśā. This means that Puṣyamitra was now so well advanced in years that he was forced to assign this active and onerous function to his son's son. This shows clearly enough that it was the second of the Aśvamedhas that he now performed. The encounter between the Śuṅgas and the Yavanas took place according to Kālidāsa on the south bank of the Sindhu. But as, this time, the Greek dominions had extended as far east as the Jumna, this Sindhu cannot be the Indus in the Punjab but rather a tributary of the Jumna of that name.

The instance of the Samāhāra-Dvandva which we have selected for discussion from the passage of Patañjali is *Śaka-Yavanam*. It will be seen that the Yavanas have not been spoken of by themselves but have been associated with the Śakas. This means that like the Yavanas the Śakas also had been incorporated into the Brahmanical hierarchy and that although they were designated Śūdras, they were yet of such a high order in that class that they could interdine with the twice-born castes and were entitled to the performance of a sacrifice. They may not have established themselves in any part of the Āryāvarta, but outside this province they were like the Yavanas living together with the Aryans in the various Aryan settlements, not only in the Aryan towns but also in the Aryan villages and hamlets. In other words, we may take it, that they like the Bactrian Greeks had carved a tiny kingdom for themselves. This is a point of great importance, because here the evidence is clear that in the time of Patañjali, that is, between 184 and 148 B.C., the Śakas like the Yavanas had established their power,

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if not in Āryāvarta proper, certainly in the north-west portion of India. The only Śaka princes of the early period that are known to us at all are Vonones, his family, and Maues. These, however, have been commonly assigned to a somewhat later period ranging between 75 B.C. and 19 A.D. But from the passage in Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya* which we have considered it is clear that these Śakas had established themselves in the north-west of India in his time. There is therefore no recourse left but for us to assign Vonones and other Śakas to practically the same period that the Bactrian Greeks were holding this part of India. It is well-known that in Central Asia the turbulent Huns were at this time producing a general condition of unrest among the tribes inhabiting the northern fringe of the deserts of Chinese Turkestan, causing a flood of tribal migration. It seems that the flood was for a time held in check by the natural barrier of Bactria in spite of the strife between the Houses of Euthydemus and Eucratides. The consequence was that the Śakas had to migrate by an indirect route, that is, through Ariana, Drangiana, and Arachosia, reaching India by the modern Bolan Pass, as has been correctly pointed out by Prof. Rapson [1] and settling finally into the region of the Indus delta then known as Indo-Scythia. But what we have to note is that they must have migrated into the north-west of India not as late as 75 B.C. as has hereupto been assumed, but as early as 175 B.C. as is clear from the passage from Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*. Prof. Rapson rightly refers the date 78 of Moga (Maues) mentioned in Patika's Plate to an era starting from 150 B.C.[2] But instead of taking it as a Parthian era, it will be better if it is considered to be an era started by Vonones so that the advent of the Śaka power might very well be placed between 184 and 148 B.C. when Patañjali lived and wrote.

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[1] *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 564-5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 570.

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MISCELLANEA

KAKKĀ AND KAKUDHA

Kakkā is a well-known term of Sikhism of Gurugovinda Singh who is the tenth or last Guru of the Sikhs, and it denotes a distinctive sign or mark of a member of the Sikh order called Khālsā. The Kakkās are five in number, and each of them is denoted by a word of which the initial syllable is *Ka* : (1) *Keś* (hair), (2) *Kacch* (breeches), (3) *Kṛpān* (sword), (4) *Kaḍā* (iron bangle), and (5) *Kaṅgā* (comb). It is enjoined on each and every member of the Khālsā, the woman included, to use these five insignia. As for the word *Kakkā* itself, it is apparently a twin form of *Ka* which stands, as used by Gurugovinda, for the name of a thing with *Ka* as its initial.

In the historical background of the Sikh *Kakkā*, we have the Pāli term *Kakudha* which, too, as shown by Trenckner (J.P.T.S., 1908, p. 108), is but a twin form of *Ka*. It stands for five insignia *regis* (pañca-rājakakudhabhaṇḍa, Fausboll's Jātaka, IV, p. 151 ; V, pp. 264, 289 ; etc. P.T.S., Pāli Dict., *sub voce* Kakudha), which are usually enumerated (Jātaka, V, p. 264) as (1) *vālavijani* (chauri, the yak's tail fan), (2) *uṇhīsa* (diadem including cūḍā or hair-locks), (3) *khagga* (sword), (4) *chatta* (parasol), and (5) *pādukā* (slippers). At Jātaka, V, p. 289, however, we have the use of *Kāyura* as a general term for the five royal insignia (*sakāyura* being= sapañcavidha-rājakakudhabhaṇḍa). But Kāyura or Kāyūra which is the same word as *keyūra* means a bracelet or necklace (Vinaya, II, p. 106 ; Jātaka, III, p. 437, IV, p. 92) ; 'an ornamental bracket or ring worn on the upper arm (*bāhālaṅkāra*, Petavatthu, *bhujālaṅkāra*, Vimānavatthu, *gīvāya pilandhana*, Jātaka, III, p. 437)'. This would show that *kāyura* or *kāyūra* (necklace, armlet, and bangle) was the main symbol or emblem of royalty or nobility,— of a *khattiya* of warrior grade. It is then very probable that there was another enumeration which included *kāyūra* or *keyūra*, corresponding in some way to the Sikh *kaḍā*. Establishing correspondence also between *khagga* and *kṛpāṇ*, and *uṇhīsa* and *keś*, it may be easy to imagine that Gurugovinda must have derived the idea of *kakkā* from a time-honoured usage of the nobles of India. In the present state of our knowledge, it will be difficult to go so far as to suppose that originally each of the five royal insignia was denoted by a name with *ka* as the initial.

B. M. Barua.

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MAHĀYĀNIST AND TĀNTRIK TEXTS IN BURMA

Forchhammer made a collection of a number of inscriptions from Pagan, Pinya, and Ava,[1] among which there was one dated B.E. 804=1442 A.D. commemorating the bestowal of a monastery, garden, paddy lands, slaves, and what is most important, a large collection of texts (numbering 295) on the Buddhist Order by the Governor of Taungdwin and his wife. The list of these texts is extremely interesting and has been quoted from the inscription by Mabel H. Bode as an appendix to one of the chapters of her *Pāli Literature of Burma*.[2] 'We notice here,' she says, 'a number of titles of Sanskrit works, sometimes greatly disguised in the Burmese transcription, but still recognisable. These will aid us to form some notion of the point reached by the Sanskrit scholars in Burma in the fifteenth century.'[3]

The list contains three works that are definitely Tāntrik, and at least four works that should be traced to Mahāyānist Sanskrit texts. These are: *Mṛtyuvañcanā* (No. 269 of the list), *Mahākālacakka* (No. 270), and *Mahākālacakkaṭīkā*[4] (271) on the one hand and *Nyāyabindu* (277), *Nyāyabinduṭīkā* (271), *Hetubindu* (279), and *Hetubinduṭīkā* (280) on the other.

The *Nyāyabindu* and *Hetubindu* and the two ṭīkās thereon are certainly treatises on Buddhist logic. The *Nyāyabindu* is the famous treatise on the subject by Dharmakīrti (*c.* 635–650 A.D.), a resident of the South in the kingdom of Cūḍamani (probably Choḍa or Cola country), and a disciple of *ācārya* Dharmapāla.[5] There are at least two commentaries on the *Nyāyabindu* called *Nyāyabinduṭīkā*, one by Vinītadeva (*c.* 675 A.D.)[6] of Nālandā, and another by ācārya Dharmottara of Kāśmīr (*c.* 850 A.D.).[7] The Sanskrit original of Vinītadeva's work seems to have been lost, but a Tibetan translation of it exists in the Tangyur, Mdo, She, folios 1–43. The translation was made available by the collaboration of the Indian Pandit Jinamitra and his Tibetan colleague

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[1] *Inscriptions of Pagan, Pinya, and Ava.* Deciphered from the ink impressions found among Forchhammer's papers. Printed at Rangoon, 1902. Translated with notes by Tun Nyein, Government Printing Press, Rangoon, 1899.

[2] *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, pp. 101ff. The inscription containing the list is also mentioned by M. Pelliot in 'Deux Itineraires', B.E.F.E.O., Vol. V, p. 183.

[3] Bode, *The Pāli Literature of Burma*, p. 101. There are also in the list a number of texts derived from Sanskrit sources on Alaṁkāra, Astrology, Astronomy, War, etc.

[4] It is interesting that the names are given in their Pāli form.

[5] For Dharmakīrti and his works, see, for example, Vidyābhūṣaṇ, *Indian Logic: Mediæval School*, pp. 103–118.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

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Vande-ye-śes-sde. The original of Dharmottara's work was preserved in the Jaina temple of Śāntinātha, Cambay. It is, however, difficult to say which of these two texts is mentioned in the list of our inscription. The *Hetubinduṭīkā* [1] is a detailed commentary on the *Hetubindu* of Dharmakīrti. The Sanskrit original of this work is lost but there exists a Tibetan translation in the Tangyur, Mdo, She, folios 116–205 ; it was prepared as a result of the collaboration of Prajñāvarman and Dpal-brtsegsrakṣita. Buddhist logic, it is well-known, was developed in the brotherhood of those who owed their allegiance to Mahāyāna and its allied creeds, and all these texts were works of Mahāyānist scholars. Reference to these works in a list in which Pāli works predominate, is, therefore, significant and must have an obvious interpretation.

But one may be more definite about the three other books : *Mṛtyuvañcanā*, *Mahākālacakka*, and *Mahākālacakkṭīkā*. I do not know of any Tāntrik Buddhist text called *Mṛtyuvañcanā*, though it seems from the name in the list that a text of the name did really exist. That it is a Tāntrik text will be evident from the fact that *Mṛtyuvañcanā* is a well-known theory peculiar to both Brahmanical and Buddhistic Tāntrik philosophy. *Mṛtyuvañcanā* or *kālasya vañcanā* is thus a technical term and bears invariably a Tāntrik significance.[2] *Mahākālacakra* or *Mahākalacakra* and its ṭīkā must also have been Tāntrik texts. In the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection, A.S. Bengal*, we have two texts from Nepal catalogued as *Laghukālacakratantrarājaṭīkā* (No. 66) and *Laghukālacakraṭīkā* (No. 67) otherwise known as *Vimalaprabhā*.[3] The two *Laghus* naturally presuppose the existence of a *Mahākālacakra* and a *Mahākālacakraṭīkā* referred to in our list. Kālacakra texts are definitely known as Tāntrik [4]; Mahākālacakra texts cannot therefore but be so.

These Tāntrik texts must have been prevalent among certain sections of Buddhists of upper Burma. Very important and in-

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

[2] For *kālasya vañcanam*, see Bagchi, *Kaulajñāna nirṇaya*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. III, 1934, p. 17, śloka 28 ; 45, 18 ; 46, 26 ; 65, 17. *Kaulajñāna nirṇaya* which consists of the *Kaulajñāna nirṇaya* itself and four other minor texts, namely two texts of the *Akulovīra tantram*, the *Kulānanda tantram*, and the *Jñānakārikā* belongs to the school of Matsyendranātha and are Brahmanical Tantras.

[3] The two manuscripts belong to the reign of king Harivarmadeva of Nepal and are dated Samvat '39 (10th cent. A.D.).

[4] The relation of Buddhist and Kālacakra ritual will be evident from the following extract from the *Laghukālacakratantrarājaṭīkā* :

Tasmādidānīm ratnatrayaśaraṇaṁ gatvā kālacakratantrarāje laukikalokottarasiddhi sādhana mārgābhiṣekādhyeṣaṇāṁ kurmaḥ |
Sakalasattvānāṁ Samyaksambuddhattvalābhāya ihaiva janmanīti ||

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teresting, therefore, is the statement of Tārānāth who says: 'Although in the countries of the Koki realm Vinaya, Abhidhamma, and Mahāyāna works are very well-known, the secret *mantras* had become very rare *with the exception of Kālacakra*, the three māla sections and a few other'. Tārānāth also, in his turn, finds a striking confirmation from an independent source, indeed his statement is confirmed by the actual existence of Kālacakra texts in Burma.[1]

NIHARRANJAN RAY.

ŚIVA-BUDDHA IN OLD-JAVANESE RECORDS

The word Śiva-Buddha or its equivalent has been used in numerous places of Old-Javanese records and it is necessary therefore to have some idea of the fuller significance of the term. The earliest reference to it probably occurs in the Simpang stone inscription of Airlangga, dated 956 Śaka (1034 A.D.).[2] In the Calcutta stone inscription of the same king, dated 963 Śaka (1041 A.D.), the same reference has been repeated.[3] In the former inscription, l. 7, front-side, we read '*pāduka Śrī Mahārāja Karuhumpungku Śaivasogata ṛṣi makādi Samgat parblyan*', etc. Similarly, the latter inscription records in l. 15, '*Śrī Mahārāja, de mpungku Sogatamaheśvara mahābrāhmaṇa irikang śakakāla*', etc. Also in *O.J.O.*, p. 159, No. LXIX, dated 1062 Śaka, we come across, '*mwang mpungku saivasogata makamaṅgalya*', etc. Other instances can be multiplied from Old-Javanese inscriptions, but I deem the above sufficient for my present purpose. Prof. Kern who has edited and translated the Calcutta stone inscription in *V.G.*, VII, pp. 102ff., has translated the relevant portions of the text by '.....door de noogwaardigen der Buddhisten, Śaivieten en Brahmanen.....', i.e. by the eminent of the Buddhists, Śaivites, and the Brāhmaṇas. Dr. Krom has also followed the interpretation of Prof. Kern in different

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[1] The reader may be referred to a statement of Nicolo di Conti, the Venetian traveller, who wandered into Burma about the year 1435. Writing of Ava, he says: 'All worship idols, yet when they arise in the morning from their bed they turn towards the east and with hands joined together, say, "God in his Trinity and his Law defend us".' The prayer certainly refers to the well-known Buddhist formula: *Buddhaṃ Śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi, Dharmam Śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi, Saṅgham Śaraṇaṁ gacchāmi*; and yet they worshipped idols. Could they have been Mahāyānists?

[2] *Vide* Brandes-Krom, *O.J.O.*, p. 129, No. LX.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 138, No. LXII; cf. the better reading of this record by Kern, *V.G.*, VII, pp. 102ff.

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places of his work.[1] The above rendering of the text, however, is open to some serious objections. The translation of Professors Kern and Krom suggests three well-marked ecclesiastical divisions, and this has been explicitly stated by Dr. Krom.[2] But the above interpretation inevitably leads us to a paradox, viz. the Śaivites cannot be Brāhmaṇas and *vice versa*, which is false. I should, therefore, like to take the words 'Saiva-Sogata',[3] 'Sogata-maheśvara' as compounds and they respectively qualify the following *ṛṣi* and *mahābrāhmaṇa*. The whole phrase should then mean, 'the *ṛṣi* (or *ṛṣis*) who is (are) Śaiva-Saugata'. The relevant portion of the Calcutta inscription may likewise be translated as 'the eminent Brāhmaṇa(s) who is (are) Saugata-māheśvara'. The above texts, therefore, refer to devotees of the Tantric form of the Śiva-Buddha cult,—a cult that permeated the Indo-Javanese religious systems.

In the *Kuñjarakarṇa*, which is placed by some in the 12th century and by others in the 14th century A.D., we find an identification effected between Śiva and Buddha. Buddhapada has been described as the dwelling-place of Mahādeva. In an interesting passage of it, the Sugatas or the five Dhyānībuddhas are brought on par with the Śaivite Kuśikas, who are reported to say, 'We are Śiva, we are Buddha.' Homage is frequently offered to Vairocana with the words 'Namo Bhaṭāra, namaḥ Śivāya'.[4] The *Sutasoma* (*c.* 1378 A.D.) says, 'God Buddha differs not from Śiva the king of gods'. And again, 'the nature of Jina and the nature of Śiva are one; they are different and yet the same being'.[5] In the *Pararaton*, King Kṛtanagara is described as Śiva-Buddha and, according to the testimony of the *Nāgarakṛtāgama* (43/5), he died in the Śivabuddhaloka. Statues of kings have been discovered in Java, which are half-Śaivite and half-Buddhistic. Thus, there was a definite Śiva-Buddha cult in Java. In contemporary Bengal, we also find such cult-objects and it is possible that this Tantric form percolated from Pāla-Bengal, as in other parts of India we do not find such Tantric deities. All these scattered references in literature and art go to strengthen the interpretation suggested

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[1] *Vide, Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1926, pp. 237, 263, etc.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 263.

[3] In Mal.-Polynesian languages, *au* is frequently changed into *o*. Thus, Day. *Hijau*=Jav. *Hijo*; Day. *Ikao*=Jav. *Ko*. In *B.Y.* (15–238), *Sakosik* stands for *Sakausik*. In Geḍangan Inscr. (Kern, *V.G.*, VII, pp. 17ff.), Pl. I (*b*), we find *Somya* for *Saumya*. There are many such examples.

[4] N. J. Krom, *Barabuḍur*, Vol. II, p. 303.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 299; Kern, *V.G.*, dl. IV, p. 172.

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above.[1] Like the term 'Brahma-Kṣatriya' in Bengal inscriptions, can it also mean, 'first Śaivite then Buddhist?' Available data, however, seem to favour the other alternative given by me.

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.

IS SĀHASĀṄKA ERA THE SAME AS VIKRAMA ERA?

Hitherto we knew of only two inscriptions in which Sāhasāṅka era had been used. Their details are given below. They form Nos. 402 and 476 of D. R. Bhandarkar's *Inscr. North. Ind.* (*E.I.*, Vol. XX, pp. 5, 59ff.-App.) :—

I.

V. 1240.—Mahobā (Hamirpur Dist., U.P.) fort wall fragmentary inscription. Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 72, and Pl. xxii.

(L. 15)—Vyom-ārṇṇav-ārkka-saṁkhyāte Sāhasāṅkasya vatsare.

(L. 17)—Samvat 1240 Āṣāḍha-vadi 9 Some=Monday, 4th June, A.D. 1184; see *I.A.*, Vol. XIX, p. 179, No. 127.

II.

V. 1279.—Rhotāsgaḍh (Shāhābād Dist., Behār and Orissa) rock inscription of the time of the king (kṣitīndra) Pratāpa. Ed. by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 311ff.

(L. 1)—Navabhir=atha munīṁdrair=vāsarāṇām=adhīśaiḥ parikalayati saṁkhyāṁ vatsare Sāhasāṅke | Madana-vijaya-yātrā-maṅgale māsi Caitre pratipadi sita-kāntau vāsare Bhāskarasya ॥ 1 ॥*) =Sunday, 5th March, A.D. 1223.

Kielhorn identified this Sāhasāṅka era with the Vikrama era, probably because he could verify the date according to the latter era.

We have, however, recently come across another inscription which has been dated in the Sāhasamallāṅka era, the details of which are as follows :—

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[1] During the reign of Dharmapāladeva an image of Mahādeva-caturmukha was installed inside the Buddha-Gayā temple (Dharmeśāyatane, Arch. S.I.R., 1908-09, p. 150). See Barua's Gayā and Buddha-Gayā, Bk. I, pp. 219, 229–232.

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The Rewa (C.I.) Inscription of Malayasiṁha of the time of Kalachuri Vijayasiṁha of Tripurī. Noticed by R. D. Banerji, *P.R.A.S.*, W.C., 1920-21, p. 52. Ed. by same, *E.I.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 296 ff. and Pl. and Memoir, No. 23 of *A.S.I.*, p. 137.

(L. 26)—Catvāriṁśaty-adhike=vde caturbhir=nnavame śate । Śukre Sāhasamallāṅke Nābhasye prathame dine ॥ Saṁvat 944 Bhādrapada sudi Śukre Śrīmad-Vijayasiṁhadeva-rājye—

(This forms No. 2033 of Bhandarkar's *List*.)

Now the question arises : what is this Sāhasamallāṅka ? Is it the same as Sāhasāṅka of the two inscriptions noted above ? If so, it must be identical with the Vikrama-saṁvat, according to which Kielhorn has already verified the dates. Taking the date in the present case also as Vikrama-saṁvat, it will fall on Friday, the 5th August, A.D. 886. But there are certain difficulties in taking this as the Vikrama-saṁvat. This inscription is of the time of Vijayākhyadeva (l. 3) or Vijayasiṁhadeva (l. 26). He has been described as *Karṇṇa-kula-prasūtaḥ* (l. 3), i.e. 'sprung from the family of Karṇṇa', of the city of Tripurī (l. 2) and as Cedīndra (l. 6), i.e. lord of the Cedi (country). He can, therefore, be no other than the Kalachuri (Cedi) king Vijayasiṁha, the son of Jayasiṁha and the grandson of Gayakarṇa. We know of two other inscriptions of the time of this king, viz. (1) The Rewa (C.I.), now British Museum plate, dated the year 1253, month of Mārggaśīra, seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight, Friday (No. 432 of the Bhandarkar's *List*), and (2) The Kumbhi (Saugar Dist., C.P.) plates dated the year 932 (No. 1248 of Bhandarkar's *List*). How are these two dates to be reconciled ? This has been done by taking the former as the Vikrama and the latter as the Kalachuri era. This seems to be the only solution. The former corresponds to Friday, the 13th December, A.D. 1196. The latter is not capable of verification, but it roughly corresponds to 932 (+249)=1181 A.D. This king, therefore, ruled at least from 1181 to 1196 A.D. This is also confirmed by the last known date of his father Jayasiṁha, viz. '*Saṁvat* 928 *Śrāvana-sudi* 6 *Ravau Haste*', which corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd July, A.D. 1177, according to the Kalachuri era. Now if Sāhasamallāṅka in the inscription, dated 944, is taken as equivalent to the Kalachuri era, it corresponds, so far as our calculation goes, to Friday, the 30th July, A.D. 1193, and thus fits in with the reign period of Vijayasiṁhadeva as we have seen above. This Sāhasamallāṅka era cannot, therefore, be identical with the Vikrama era. And now there can be no doubt at all that the Sāhasamallāṅka is the same as the Kalachuri era.

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Considering the similarity of names, the Sāhasāṅka and the Sāhasamallāṅka seem to be one and the same era. If so, the dates under the former ought to be capable of verification by taking them as years of the Kalachuri era. As far as we could calculate, the details of the Sāhasāṅka *vatsara* 1240 corresponds to Monday, the 22nd June, 1489 A.D. and those of 1279 to Sunday, the 3rd March, 1527 A.D. It is pertinent to mention here that Mahobā, the place of the first inscription, dated V. 1240, was in the Kalachuri dominions. So even on this ground the era is a Kalachuri one.

Again, it is worthy of note that these dates are verifiable both according to the Vikrama and the Kalachuri era. Cunningham also noticed 'a curious coincidence of dates' between these two eras in certain respects (*Book of Indian Eras*, preface, viii–ix). We find on observation that the date of occurrence of the first new moon, in a solar year in a majority of cases, is the same every nineteenth year, i.e. after an interval of 18 years. Sometimes the week days also tally. Now the interval between the Vikrama-saṁvat 0 and the Chedi-saṁvat 0 is 306 years, which is divisible by 18. We think this accounts for the curious coincidence noticed by Cunningham, and also why some dates are verifiable both according to the Vikrama and the Kalachuri era.

Now who could this Sāhasāṅka or Sāhasamallāṅka be? It is possible to understand that Sāhasāṅka is only an abbreviated form of Sāhasamallāṅka. So the real question is: who could Sāhasāṅka be at all? According to Jaṭādhara, quoted in the Śabdakalpadruma, Sāhasāṅka is the name of Śakāri-Vikramāditya. It is worthy of note that Rājaśekhara also refers to Sāhasāṅka twice in his *Kāvyamimāṁsā* (pp. 50 and 55), and in one place speaks of him as a king of Ujjain. As Rājaśekhara does not make any mention of Vikramāditya, it is possible that Sāhasāṅka and Vikramāditya in his time denoted one and the same king of Ujjain, who was a traditional patron of learning. It thus seems that when the original name of the era beginning with 57 B.C. was forgotten, it was associated with Vikramāditya. Similarly when the original name of the era beginning with 249 A.D. was forgotten, it was foisted upon Sāhasāṅka. Who however were actually the founders of these two eras we do not know in the present state of our research.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

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THE DATE OF THE DEATH OF THE CHEDI KING GĀṄGEYADEVA AND THE ACCESSION OF HIS SON KARṆADEVA TO THE THRONE

The Benares plates of Karṇadeva record grant of some land on the occasion of the yearly *śrāddha* ceremony of his father (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1223). It supplies the following two dates :—

(i) Saturday, the 2nd *tithi* of the dark half of the month of *Phālguna*.

(ii) Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the same fortnight and month in Saṁvat 793 (Kalachuri).

The second date has been verified by Kielhorn and found to be Monday, the 18th January, A.D. 1042. In the first date no year is mentioned. Taking it to be of the same year as that of the second, he found it irregular. There is however nothing unreasonable in taking the first of the two Chedi dates as prior, and not posterior, to the second. And, as a matter of fact, we find that this first date corresponds to Monday, the 2nd February, A.D. 1040. Of all the yearly *śrāddhas*, the first one is the most important, on which occasion land grants are generally made. So, it would not be unreasonable to assume this to be the date of the first yearly *śrāddha*. If so, Gāṅgeyadeva's death and his son's succession must have taken place in the year previous, i.e. 1039 A.D. This cannot be pushed further back as the only known date of Gāṅgeyadeva is K. 789=1038 A.D. (*Ibid.*, No. 1222).

It is worthy of note that both the dates specify exactly the same fortnight and the same month. A difference is noticeable only in regard to the *tithi*, which is later in the second than in the first date. This is just as it should be. The second date is, no doubt, the date of the issue of the plates. It is generally the case that the charters are issued some time after the actual occasion of the grant. The grant, made at the time of the coronation of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal, was not issued till the second year of his reign (*Ibid.*, No. 1686).

Let us now see if we can corroborate our calculation by further evidence. The Goharwā (Allahabad) plates of Karṇadeva were issued on the full moon of the month of *Kārttika*, Thursday, in the seventh year of his reign (*Ibid.*, No. 1578). Kielhorn calculated the date and found it to correspond to Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 1047. This, we find, has been calculated according to the *amānta* system, which is apparently wrong. For we know that these Chedi kings used the Kalachuri

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era, which is *pūrṇimānta*. According to this system the date is equivalent to Thursday, 18th September, A.D. 1046. But calculating the regnal period from the date of death of Gāṅgeyadeva, i.e. 14th January, 1039 A.D., September, 1046 A.D. falls in the 8th year. This discrepancy of one year is probably due to the fact that the regnal period here has been counted from the actual coronation date, and not from the date of taking over the reins of government. The auspicious event of coronation could not, we believe, have taken place during the continuance of the *kālāśaucha*, which is generally a period of one year from the date of death. So the coronation must have taken place some time after the first annual *śrāddha* in 1040 A.D. We hope we have now been able to satisfactorily fix the date of death of king Gāṅgeyadeva and the accession of his son Karṇadeva.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE REIGN PERIOD OF KING MAHĪPĀLA I OF BENGAL

From the Tibetan source we learn that Atīśa Dīpaṅkara caused a treaty to be made between king Nayapāla and the Chedi king Karṇa (*Journal of the Buddhistic Text Society*, Vol. I, p. 9, note). Monmohan Chakravarti referred this to 1035 A.D. and further suggested that Nayapāla succeeded his father Mahīpāla I sometime between 1030 and 1033 A.D. This, we are afraid, is not correct. For there is no evidence to show that Nayapāla or Karṇa was ruling so early.

We have seen that Karṇa became king in 1039 A.D. We shall presently see that Mahīpāla succeeded his father still later. From the Tibetan source again we learn that Bheyapāla's (Mahīpāla's) son Neyapāla (Nayapāla) ascended the throne just at the time when Atīśa set out for Tibet (*Pag. Sam.*, p. 119 and *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VI, p. 159). This took place at the end of the year Vikrama of the Southern Bṛihaspati cycle, i.e. 1040-41 A.D. (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. VI, p. 158). This gives us the last date of Mahīpāla. If we can now find out the length of the reign of Mahīpāla, we shall be in a position to ascertain the date of his succession to the throne. Tāranātha says that Mahīpāla's father died when he was a child of seven. His maternal uncle Chāṇaka administered the government for him for 29 years and that Mahīpāla himself ruled for 32 years (*I.A.*, Vol. IV, pp. 366-67). From the Imādpur image inscription we know definitely that he ruled at least 48 years (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1628).

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But according to the above account his reign period was 29+32=61 years. We may, therefore, say tentatively that he ruled from 981 to 1041 A.D.

Let us see if this is corroborated by some other evidence. The colophon of a MS. in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, shows that it was copied in the 6th regnal year of king Mahîpāladeva, son of Vigrahapāladeva, on the 13th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of *Kārttika*, which fell on a Tuesday (*Proc. A.S.B.*, 1899, p. 69). This was copied by one Kalyāṇamitra at Nālandā. We have assumed above that Mahîpala succeeded to the throne in 981 A.D. and on calculation, we find that, according to the *amānta* system, the date of copying regularly corresponds to Tuesday, the 2nd November, 986 A.D. We may thus be pretty sure that Mahîpala I reigned 61 years from 981 to 1041 A.D.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

THE DATE OF THE NĀLANDĀ INSCRIPTION OF VIPULAŚRĪMITRA

This inscription has recently been published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, pp. 97–101. The editor of the inscription, Mr. N. G. Majumdar, places it palæographically between cir. 1030 and 1183 A.D.; but he is in favour of assigning it to the first half of the twelfth century A.D. We shall here try to see if we can make a nearer approach to the date.

The inscription says that a Buddhist ascetic named Karuṇāśrîmitra of Somapura (identified with modern Pāhārapura in Rajshahi), fourth in spiritual ascent from Vipulaśrimitra, the donor of the benefactions recorded therein, was burnt to death by the approaching Vaṅgāla army, setting fire to his house. Assigning 25 years to a generation, as is generally done, the event falls in the reign of Mahîpāla I or his son Nayapāla. Now, Tāranātha says that when Chāṇaka, the maternal uncle of Mahîpāla, was ruling for him (981–1010 A.D.), the people of Bengal revolted and entered Magadha by force, but he subdued them (*I.A.*, Vol. IV, p. 366). Further the Nālandā inscription of the 11th regnal year of Mahîpāla refers to the destruction of Nālandā by fire (Bh. *N.L.I.*, No. 1626). We are inclined to make the revolutionary Vaṅgāla army responsible for all these three acts.

If our surmise is correct, the events must have occurred in the reign of Mahîpāla, and on or before the 11th year, i.e. 991 A.D. Taking into account the preservation of the manuscript copied in

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Nālandā in the 6th year of reign referred to above (986 A.D.), we are led to think that the incendiarism was committed before that date. Again the Vaṅgāla people possibly rose in rebellion after the 3rd year of reign (983 A.D.), when the Bāghāurā image was inscribed in Samaṭaṭa (*Ibid.*, No. 1624). More approximately these occurrences took place in 984-5 A.D. This being the time of Karuṇāśrîmitra, the time of Vipulaśrîmitra must be about 1060 A.D. The date of the inscription can, therefore, be assumed to be in the neighbourhood of 1060 A.D.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

REVOLT OF VAṄGĀLAS IN THE REIGN OF MAHĪPĀLA I

We have shown above that there was a rising of the people of Vaṅgāla during the reign of Mahîpāla I at about 984-5 A.D. The army of the revolutionaries set fire to the monasteries of Somapura and Nālandā and entered Magadha by force, but was ultimately routed. We do not know who was the king of Vaṅgāla at this time that led the insurrection, and what was the cause of this insurrection. Let us see if we can throw any light on these questions.

That these revolutionaries set fire to the Buddhist monasteries shows that they were other than the Buddhists, and bore animosities towards Buddhism. The rising, therefore, seems to be more of the religious nature than political. Of what religious persuasions were they? The Tibetan accounts give us some inkling of the state of religion in Bengal at this time. S. C. Das writes in his *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. 57, that 'the Tîrthikas and the followers of other heretical religions were unfriendly to the Buddhist', at this time. It thus appears, that although the majority of the population was Buddhist, an active reaction had set in against Buddhism. Who could have been these active agents? Who were bold enough to rise against the king and the state religion? Religious zeal of this militant nature is generally found among the new converts to some new religion. So they cannot be the Brāhmanists.

We know that two religious sects came into being at this time in Bengal. They are the Dharma cult in Rāḍha and the Nātha cult preached by Matsyendranātha and Gorakshanātha and their followers in East and North Bengal. As the revolutionaries were from Vaṅgāla or Eastern Bengal, they must have been the

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followers of the Nātha cult.[1] That the Nāthas were among the anti-Buddhists will be clear from the following passage in p. 68 of the same book :—

'Of the Tîrthikas, among whom were the Śaivas, Vaishṇava and Kapilas, the sons of Śiva were jealous of the Buddhists. They did not like the idea of a Buddhist propaganda in Tibet. It is said that attempts were made by them to assassinate Atîśa'.

Who could have been these 'sons of Śiva', other than the 'Śaivas' mentioned separately? They can be no other than the followers of the Nātha cult. For they identify their Ādinātha, from whom Matsyendranātha got the cult, with Śiva, and call themselves of Śiva gotra, i.e. sons of Śiva. Haṭha-yoga is said to have been introduced by Matsyendranātha and Gorakshanātha. The same book again tells us in p. 64, that the Tibetan messenger who came to take Atîśa to Tibet saw a Yoga-panthi ascetic, who lay like a dead man, with his breath stopped. People said that his age was from three to four hundred years. The messenger reported the fact to Atîśa, but he spoke disparagingly of this Yoga system. This shows that there were some powerful Haṭha-yogis, for whom the Buddhist monks had not much respect. In all probability, they were Nātha Yogis. So, it appears, Nātha cult was well established when Mahîpāla was reigning in Magadha.

According to the story of Gopîcānd or Govîcandra of folk song, queen Mayanāmatī was converted to this cult by Gorakshanātha and her son king Govîcandra by Hāḍipā, who was also a Nātha siddha. Govîcandra was king of Meherakula and Pātikerā in the district of Tippera. There is still a hill called Maynāmatī where an underground *gumphā* has been found. A large number of Nāthas or Yugis still reside in the neighbourhood of this hill. In fact, Nātha or Yugi as a preponderant caste is found only in Bengal, and the largest number of them live in East Bengal where the cult originated. With the conversion of the king Govîchandra the cult became a sort of state religion and a large number of his subjects were converted to the faith.

Some identify this king Govîchandra with king Govindachandra of Vaṅgāla-deśa of the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola,

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[1] This is corroborated by the *Pag. Sam. Jon. Zang* (p. 122), which refers to Gorakṣa's religious conflict with the Buddhists. He converted a large number of Buddhists to his *Tāntrika* cult. We are indebted to Dr. P. C. Bagchi for this information. Probably Gorakṣanātha gave the Nātha cult a Hindu turn, so he is looked down upon as a heretic, although his *guru* Matsyendranātha is worshipped as an *avatāra* of Avalokiteśvara, in Nepal.

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who was a contemporary of king Mahîpāla.[1] If there is any truth in this identification, this newly converted king with his newly converted subjects, most probably, rose against the Buddhists, burnt their monasteries, and invaded Magadha.[2]

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

TWO BUDDHAGHOSAS

The greatest known Pāli scholiast is not the only Buddhaghosa noted in the Pāli commentarial tradition. There is another Buddhaghosa to be reckoned with, I mean a second Buddhaghosa at whose instance the Pāli scholiast undertook to prepare his famous commentary on the Vibhaṅga, the second Book of the Abhidhamma Piṭaka. This commentary is no other than what is called Sammohavinodanī. The commentary itself was based upon an earlier commentary called Porāṇaṭṭhakathā. The work has no reference to the Mahāvihāra (Great Minister) tradition of Ceylon. By Porāṇaṭṭhakathā one may understand, no doubt, the commentary which became current in Ceylon from the time of Mahāmahinda (3rd century B.C.),—which is ascribed by tradition to Thera Mahinda of ancient fame. From the reference it is not at all decisive whether the other Buddhaghosa was a celebrity of South India or of Ceylon. The reference is as follows :

> .....yācito ṭhitaguṇena
> yatinā adandagatinā subuddhinā Buddhaghosena
> yaṁ ārabhi racayituṁ aṭṭhakathaṁ sunipuṇesu atthesu
> sammohavinodanato sammohavinodanī nāma
> Porāṇaṭṭhakathānaṁ sāram ādāya sā ayaṁ niṭṭhaṁ.
> (Sammohavinodanī, Nigamana-gāthā).

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[1] Dr. P. C. Bagchi in the introduction to his recently published *Kaulajānavinirṇaya* has assigned Matsyendranātha to the tenth century A.D. This also brings Govindachandra, the son of the disciple's disciple, to the latter part of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century.

[2] The cause of the rising might have been combined with a political reason also. A MS. of a Bengali drama in the Cambridge University Library, called the *Gopichand Nāṭaka*, gives an account of the attack of Gopichand's Kingdom by a Vaṅga prince (Proc. Sixth. Orient. Conference, p. 273). This prince might have been Mahîpāla himself or a feudatory of his. Govindachandra was the King of Vaṅgāla. So according to this Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla were two different provinces.

These Vaṅgālas were perhaps the Karṇāṭakas, referred to in the *Chaṇḍakauśikam*, from whom Mahîpāla reconquered Kusumanagara (Pāṭaliputra), with the help of his maternal uncle Chāṇaka or Chāṇakya.

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Here Buddhaghosa praises the thera bearing his name, as a saintly man endowed with steady moral qualities, following a decisive course of life, and acting wisely. This would seem to suggest that his namesake was rather an elder than a younger contemporary of his.

B. M. BARUA.

THE ṢŪFĪ MOVEMENT IN INDIA

(Early Period—1000 A.D.-1150 A.D.)

The early period of the Ṣūfī movement in India begins from the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. and extends to the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Itinerant Ṣūfīs, generally known as darvishes, of Bukhārā, Samarqānd, and Persia and probably also Arabia and Syria, turned their attention to India during this period. The first and foremost duty in the lives of these saints was to preach the true faith among those who were outside it, dedicating their lives to the service of humanity. Inspired with these ideals they crossed the western boundaries of India, which were known to them as early as the eighth century A.D. Who was the first Ṣūfī to enter India and who were those to follow him are not definitely known to us. Stray names of saints are available from many a quarter of India, but unfortunately they are so mixed up with myth and legend that we are not in a position to make any definite statement with regard to these earliest personalities. So far as we know, these earliest preachers had worked singlehanded, since they had either no worthy deputies (Khalīfahs) or very few followers who could take up the work left unfinished by themselves. They came to India without any definite mandate from any particular group of Ṣūfīs. Their activities were confined only to the localities where they came or where they settled, and they do not seem to have been so very successful in their propaganda owing to the existing political and social conditions of the country. Their attempts at proselytism were probably merely sporadic ones and their advent to this land was really occasional. We give below the brief life-sketches of a few of the Ṣūfīs who seem to have formed the earliest known mission of Islām to India :—

(*a*) Shaykh Ismā'īl :—He came of the celebrated Sayyad family of Bukhārā and was well-versed in both secular and theological learning. He came to India and settled at Lahore in or about the year 1005 A.D. It is said that crowds 'flocked to listen to his

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sermons, and that no unbeliever ever came into personal contact with him without being converted to the faith of Islām.'[1]

(*b*) Sayyad Nathar Shāh :—The Muhammadan community of the Ravuttans, found in large numbers in the districts of Madura, North Arcot, Coimbatore, Tinnevelly, and the Nilgiris in the Madras Presidency, assert that they were converted to Islām by a group of Muslim preachers among whom Sayyad Nathar Shāh (969–1039 A.D.) was the most famous one. It is said and generally believed that this saint travelled through many countries, such as Arabia, Persia, and many parts of Northern India, and entered at last the Deccan to settle in Trichinopoly where he died in the year 1039 A.D. His tomb is one of the holiest places of pilgrimage to the Muslims of Southern India.[2]

(*c*) Shāh Sulṭān Rūmī :—One old Persian document, executed in the year 1671 A.D. (1082 A.H.), has revealed the name of this saint, in whose memory were dedicated certain rent-free lands which the government tried to take away from the possession of the Mutawallī or trustee. This document records that the Koch King of the locality of Madanpur in Netrakona sub-division of Mymensing district (Bengal) tried to poison the saint who arrived at his dominion with his religious preceptor Sayyad Shāh Surkh Khul Antiah in the year 445 A.H. (1053 A.D.). This saint with his wonderful miraculous powers baffled the aim of the Rājā who afterwards was obliged to accept Islām and dedicate the whole village to the revered memory of the saint and future spiritual successors.[3]

(*d*) 'Abdullāh :—This saint landed on the shore of Gujarat in 1065 A.D., and carried on his missionary propaganda in or around Cambay. He came to India from Yaman and belonged to Ismā'īlī faith of Islām. It is said that on account of his active missionary propaganda among the Hindus of Gujarat, many of them were converted to Islamic faith. These converts are now called the Bohrahs, who still regard him as their first saint and missionary.[4]

(*e*) Dātā Ganj Bakhsh Lāhorī :—He was a great Ṣūfī, a well-known traveller, and an eminent Ṣūfī savant. His learned book, Kashfu-'l-Maḥjūb, where he treated of the lives, teachings, and observances of the Ṣūfīs, speaks of his profound learning in the

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[1] Arnold, Preaching of Islam, p. 280 ; Titus, Indian Islam, p. 42.

[2] Madras District Gazetteers, 1907, Trichinopoly, I, p. 338 ; Arnold, Preaching of Islam, p. 267 ; Titus, Indian Islam, p. 48 ; Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. XI, p. 69.

[3] Bengal District Gazetteers, Mymensing, 1917, p. 152.

[4] Titus, Indian Islam, pp. 43 and 98 ; Madhāhibu-'l-Islām, p. 272.

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Sūfī-istic lore. His real name was Makhdūm Sayyad 'Alī Uluwwī al-Ḥujwīrī.' After a long travel over the tracts of Muslim world, he came to India in the latter part of his life and settled at Lahore. From the inscription, attached to his shrine at Lahore, we come to know definitely that he died in the year 465 A.H. = 1072 A.D. His shrine is still a famous place of pilgrimage to the thousands of visitors hailing from the different distant places of Northern India.[1]

(*f*) Nūru-'d-Dīn :—This saint is generally known as Nūr Satāgar. He belonged to the Ismā'īlī sect of the Musalmans, and was sent from Alamūt, in Persia, to Gujarat during the reign of Siddha Rāj (A.D. 1094–1143). It is said that he was a great missionary of wonderful divine power who converted the Kaubis, Kharwas, and Koris, all of whom belonged to low-caste Hindus. The Muslim community of the Khojahs regard him as their first missionary.[2]

(*g*) Bābā Ādam Shahīd :—Many versions of a single story, relating to the activities of this warrior-saint, are still current in East Bengal. He came to Bengal during the reign of Rājā Ballāla Sena, with whom he fought for the cause of Islām and courted martyrdom probably in 1119 A.D., the year of the death of Rājā Ballāla Sena.[3] He lies buried in a sepulchre of architectural beauty, situated in the village of 'Abdullāhpur' in Bikrampur, Dacca.

(*h*) Muḥammad 'Alī :—This saint landed on the shore of Gujarat in the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. He is generally given the credit of being the first missionary to one section of the Khojas. He died in the year 1137 A.D. and his tomb in Cambay is regarded as a holy place.[4]

These are the few historical personages who figure prominently in the early history of Ṣūfiism in India. There are many other persons, claiming to belong to this period, of whom we either know very little or hear of only myths and legends of absurd and quite incredible nature. The short accounts of the lives of saints, given above, will show that these missionary-saints did not come to a single tract or province of India in quick succession. This vast continent of India, extending from Lahore on the north and Trichinopoly on the south, from Gujarat on the west and Bengal on the east, was, as if, chosen to be a field of their activities. In comparison with the vastness of the country, the inspiration, claimed

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[1] Kashfu-'l-Maḥjūb, Nicholson's tr., introduction ; Encyclopædia of Islam, p. 927 ; Bhāratīya Madhya Yuge Sādhanār Dhārā (Cal. Univ.), p. 9.

[2] Arnold, Preaching of Islam, p. 275, Titus, Indian Islam, p. 43.

[3] Blochmann, Contributions to the Geography and History of Bengal, pp. 76-77 ; R. D. Banerji's Bāṅgālār Itihāsa, 2nd Ed., Vol. I, pp. 320–323.

[4] Titus, Indian Islam, p. 98.

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to be divine but drawn from within, was but simply inadequate, and the numerical strength of these preachers was but very negligible. Religious intolerance and persecutions were not unheard of things in those ancient days when the local kings (of course there had been some honourable exceptions) often tried to extirpate the foreign missionaries from their kingdoms. It is not unlikely that the activities of some were cut short by martyrdom at the hands of kings or people who did not like their preaching and their ways. These were the chief causes largely contributing to the failure of the mission of the early Ṣūfīs of India.

But one thing they achieved and that is the preparation of a suitable field of work for generations to come. On the foundation laid down by their piety, zeal, and self-sacrifice, the succeeding generations of Ṣūfīs could easily build a lofty but beautiful fabric with the materials of India as well as of Persia. These first missionaries awoke the consciousness of the Indians to the advent of a new light and that was Islām. This produced a good result for the future propaganda so that when in the latter part of the twelfth century, the Ṣūfīs began to come to India in an unbroken chain of succession, they were often welcomed and accepted as men of good life who had a message to give. In this way, the early Ṣūfīs laid a good foundation of success by their failures.

MD. ENAMUL HAQ.

WERE THE MAUKHARIS MĀLAVAS? WERE THE MĀLAVAS AN ETHNIC TYPE?

According to the Hārātā Inscription the Maukharis (also called Mukharas) were descended from the hundred sons whom King Aśvapati obtained, through his wife, from Vaivasvata (i.e. Yama). The originator of this dynasty was thus Aśvapati who, obviously, has been intended by the author of the inscription to be the same as the father of Sāvitrī of epic and puranic tradition.

The Sāvitrī-Satyavāna story of the *Mahābhārata*, however, seems to suggest that the Maukharis belonged to the tribal stock known as the Mālavas. This will be evident from the following citation from the *Mahābhārata*. Sāvitrī said to Yama:—

> 'My request is that Satyavāna may be alive again, for I am as if dead without my husband. Without him I do not want to be happy, nor do I wish to go to heaven. I do not want wealth and riches, nor do I care to live without my husband. You have already wished that I may give birth to hundred sons,

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how then are you taking my husband! So I pray that Satyavāna be restored to life so that your wish may be fruitful'.

Then Yama became much pleased with her devotion and said, 'Be it so'. Satyavāna came back to life, and then Yama addressed her again :—

> 'O auspicious one! here I release your husband . . . . . you may now take him with you. He will now be free from diseases and will always be successful in his attempts. . . . . *Your father will also beget through your mother Mālavi hundred sons who will be remembered for ever with their sons and grandsons.*'

> Pituścate putraśataṁ bhavitā tava mātari |
> Mālavyāṁ Mālavānām śāśvatāḥ putrapautrinaḥ ||

If, then, the claim of the Maukharis in the Hārātā inscription has any value, it follows that they were descended from the sons of Aśvapati through Mālavi who were known as Mālavas.

The Mālavas, according to Dr. Rai Chaudhuri (Pol. Hist. Anc. Ind., 2nd Edn., p. 361 n.), were at different times in occupation of at least seven regions known as Mālava (*Sapta-Mālavaḥ*), among which were the districts round Bhilsa, the districts round Prayag which, according to Vātsyāyana, was called Pūrva-Mālava (cf. my paper on 'The Maukharis of Kanoj' in the Cal. Rev., 1928, Feb., p. 210 n.), and the Fatehpur districts of the United Provinces. It is significant that the Maukharis were in occupation of the major portion of these tracts.

Incidentally it may be pointed out that the Mālavas were considered to have been an important ethnic group in ancient India. Mr. Jogendrachandra Ghosh kindly drew my attention sometime ago to several passages in the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* and the *Samarāṅganasūtra* where the name Mālavya occurs as a particular type of men. It was later on found that this name conveying the same meaning and import was also referred to in the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*. In all these texts, men, obviously of India, are divided into five standardized types: Haṁsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Rucaka, and Śaśaka, for purposes of artistic representation; and their physiognomical peculiarities have been very clearly and elaborately described. According to the *Viṣṇudharmottaram* (III, 35) a Mālavya is 104 aṅgulas in measure while according to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, 108. The *Viṣṇudharmottaram* describes a Mālavya as 'dark like the Mudga-pulse (Kidney bean) with a body very beautiful on account of the slender waist with arms reaching up to the knees, with broad shoulders, broad jaws, and nose like that of an elephant' (Kramrisch's Edn. and Trans., p. 32). The description of the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* is more detailed. 'The Mālavya will be marked by arms resembling an

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elephant's trunk, and by hands reaching to the knees. His members and joints are fleshy, he has a well-proportioned and neat frame, and a slender waist. His face, of oblong form, measures 13 digits, the transverse measure between the ears being 3 digits less. He has fiery eyes, comely cheeks, even and white teeth, and not too thick lips', (Kern's Trans., J.R.A.S., Vol. VII, 1875, pp. 93–97). It is evident that these descriptions refer to an ethnic type to which the Mālavas belonged.

NIHARRANJAN RAY.

State Museum Library Lucknow

WHO WERE THE AUTHORS OF MOHENJO-DARO CULTURE ?

Since the publication of Sir John Marshall's *Mohenjo-Daro*, it has practically been accepted as an established fact that the authors of the chalcolithic culture found at Mohenjo-Daro belonged to four racial types. They have been named as follows :—

1. Proto-Australoid, as inferred from skulls, Nos. 2, 11, and M.
2. Mediterranean, as inferred from skulls, Nos. 6, 7, 9, 10, and 26.
3. Mongolo-Alpine, as inferred from skull, No. 3.
4. Alpine, as inferred from skull, No. 14, of a child.

Sir John Marshall himself is not of course the father of this theory of four racial types at Mohenjo-Daro. He has in fact merely repeated what Col. Sewell and Dr. Guha of the Zoological Survey of India have jointly recorded in the course of a long chapter in his work. These gentlemen have based their conclusion on the craniometrical measurements of the skeletons recovered from Mohenjo-Daro. To test the validity of their conclusion, it is, therefore, up to us to enquire into the age and nature of the skeletons and the circumstances under which they were found. Such an enquiry, however, casts grave reflection on the validity of their conclusion.

Their conclusion is based upon the examination of some 26 skeletons of which 22 were complete bodies and four only skulls. 17 of these skeletons were recovered by Mr. Hargreaves during Sir John Marshall's excavations of 1925-26, and as such his opinion on the finds should carry great weight. Of these 17 skeletons, only Nos. 1 to 4 are considered by the official archæologists to be in all probability true burials. Nos. 5 to 16 were found huddled together in such a queer, awkward and topsyturvy fashion that Mr. Hargreaves could not but conclude that they were 'more like

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evidence of a tragedy than a form of burial, for the intermingling of the skeletons points to simultaneous interment'. (P. 600.) The rest of the skeletons were found lying on the streets. It is thus more than obvious from the description of the official archæologists that if any serious conclusion is to be drawn from the skeletal remains at Mohenjo-Daro, it is to be from the skulls found in the four burials.

But of these four burial-skeletons, No. 4 was not at all received by the official anthropologists. No. 1 was on examination found to be 'only a few hundred years old, if indeed as old as that'. The skull, No. 2, was found in a damaged state and so was No. 3. On the last one Col. Sewell and Dr. Guha observe: 'Extensive reconstruction of the back part of the skull was necessary; and as a result of this, *many of our measurements must be regarded with considerable degree of caution*'. (P. 613.) Yet, it is from this particular skull only that they have inferred a Mongoloid element in the population of Mohenjo-Daro! Even if it be taken for granted that this particular skull possesses the usual Mongoloid facial characteristics, we would still look askance as to the propriety of inferring a summer from a single swallow,—and particularly when that swallow was found in a badly mangled state!

We would now come to a consideration of skull, No. 14, which is that of a child, and from which an Alpine strain has been inferred in the population of Mohenjo-Daro. But here also we cannot but wonder at the hardihood of these official anthropologists to infer a type from the skull of a child! It is well-known that anthropometrical measurements to be of any value are always taken on adult people. The skull of a child is still in a plastic condition, and it has considerable potentiality of undergoing subsequent transformations. How dubious is its value in concluding a type from it, is evident from the following observation of the official anthropologists themselves: 'It must, however, be borne in mind that some of these skulls have undergone a certain amount of posthumous deformation owing to the pressure of the super-incumbent earth, and this process has probably also been assisted by the deterioration of that part of the skull that lay below'. (Pp. 606-607.)

It is thus obvious from what has been stated above that we have very meagre or practically no conclusive evidence for inferring a Mongoloid or an Alpine type at Mohenjo-Daro. There now remain two more types for our consideration, namely, the Proto-Australoid and the Mediterranean. Now excepting a badly mangled skull, the evidence for these two types come from the skulls found either huddled together in a room as described above or lying on the streets. Of the skulls found on the streets, only two throw any

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light on our point,—namely Nos. 19 and 26. These two skulls have afforded to the official anthropologists confirmatory evidence of a Mediterranean type at Mohenjo-Daro. Yet they themselves say that one of these (No. 26) was found in a badly crushed state, and the other (No. 19), 'judging from the condition of the bones and the character of teeth, which are not at all worn, this skull belongs to a later period'.

There thus remain for our consideration only the skeletons found huddled together in a small room. Now the question is, Were they contemporary with the chalcolithic culture, of Mohenjo-Daro, or if they were, are they to be accepted as representing the population of Mohenjo-Daro? Considerable doubt is expressed as to the contemporaneity of the skulls with the chalcolithic period by the fact that two of the skulls found lying cheek by jowl with the chalcolithic remains should be pronounced after examination by the official anthropologists to be of later date. Even if they are accepted as being contemporaneous with the other finds, we think it would be wise to hold with Mrs. Dorothy Mackay that 'the very fact that these skeletons were together in one room, whereas the remains of the rest of the large population are conspicuously absent, suggests that they may have been a group of slaves or prisoners who died in captivity of some sudden pestilence and were hastily covered over where they lay instead of undergoing the customary burial or cremation rites. Indeed, the fact that these skeletons represent more than one race is in favour of their being foreigners, whether prisoners or slaves'. (Dorothy Mackay, Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1932, p. 436.) More plausible would, however, be the suggestion that they were squatters in the ruins or treasure hunters who met this tragic fate in later time. If skulls recovered from what were considered by the excavators to be contemporary burials be on scrutiny pronounced by the anthropologists to be only a few hundred years old, how much more dubious is the value of the evidence of the skulls found on the streets or crushed under the ruins!

ATUL K. SUR.

SOME NOTES ON TRIBES OF ANCIENT INDIA

1. *Śālvas*

The Śālvas were an important people of Ancient India and are referred to in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇiṇi, the Epics, and the Purāṇas. But they do not seem to have been able to maintain their

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integrity till down to the historical period ; they are hardly referred to in inscriptions or in later Sanskrit or Pāli literature.

The earliest mention of the Śālvas as a tribe is found perhaps in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (1, 2, 9), where they appear in connection with the Matsyas. The Matsyas, it is well-known, were inhabitants of the region identical with the kingdom of King Virāṭa of the Mahābhārata, and the Matsya capital has been identified with Virāṭ in the Jaipur State. The Śālvas probably occupied the territory now occupied by the native state of Alwar (Cunningham, An. R.A.S.I., XX, p. 120 ; Matsya P., Ch. 113). According to the Mahābhārata (Virāṭa P., Ch. I), the Śālva country was situated near Kurukṣetra ; and was the kingdom of the father of Satyavāna, the husband of Sāvitrī (Vana P., Ch. 282). The capital of the Śālvas seems to have been Śālvapura (Mbh. Vana P., Chap. 14) which is also called Saubhaganagara which was ruled over by King Śālva.[1] His kingdom or territory was known as Mārttikāvata or Mṛttikāvatī [2] ; it follows therefore that Mārttikāvata or Mṛttikāvatī and the Śālva country were one and the same. King Śālva is said to have attacked Dvārāvatī but was killed by Kṛṣṇa (Mbh. Vana P., Ch. 14). In the great Kurukṣetra war the Śālvas along with the Matsyas, Kekayas, Ambaṣṭhas, Trigarttas, and others lent their support to the army of Duryodhana against the Pāṇḍavas. They along with the Ambaṣṭhas and Trigarttas formed an unit of the army led by Bhīṣma (Bhīṣma P., Ch. 20. 10, 12, 15). In the Udyoga Parva (54. 18) they are associated with the Pañcālas, Kekayas, and Sūrasenas ; elsewhere (56. 18) in the same *parva*, they are associated with the Mālavas. In the Bhīṣma Parva, the Śālvas, Matsyas, Ambaṣṭhas, Traigarttas, Kekayas, Sauvīras, and six other tribal states are said to have arrayed themselves by the side of Bhīṣma (Ch. 18. 13-14). The mighty Śālva king is said to have been laid low in the battle-field by Bhīmasena (Karṇa P., Ch. 5, 42). The Śālvas are referred to in the Mahābhārata (III, 14, 633-4 ; 17. 695, 710 ; 22. 885-86) as Dānavas and Daiteyas.

The *Vāyu* and the *Matsya Purāṇas* locate them amongst the central nations (i.e. Madhyadesa) ; but the Viṣṇu Purāṇa places them in the extreme west along with the Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Hūṇas, Śākalas, Madras, etc. (II, Ch. III, 16–18 Sl.). The Brahma Purāṇa practically repeats what is stated by the Viṣṇu and locates them in the Aparānta or western country (Brahma P., Ch. 19.

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[1] According to the Mahābhārata (XII, 234, 8607 and XIII, 137, 6267) Dyutimant was a king of the Śālvas who gave his kingdom to Ṛcīka.

[2] Pargiter, A.I.H.T., p. 279. According to Pargiter, 'Mārttikāvata must be distinguished from Mṛttikāvatī. Mārttikāvata existed before, e.g. according to the story of Rāma, Jāmadagnya' (Mbh. III, 116, 11076 ; VII, 70, 2436)—*Ibid.*, f.n. 7.

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16–18). In the Bengali recension of the Rāmāyaṇa (Kisk. K., XLIII, 23) also they are classed among the western nations.

The *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇiṇi gives very interesting information about the Śālvas. Commenting on *Sālvabayaba* in the śloka, *Sālvābayaba pratyagrathakalakūtāśmakādiñ* (4. 1, 173), the *Kāśika* states Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakāra, Yugandhara, Bhulinga, and Śaradatta as the six *abayabas* or parts of the Śālvajanapada. Bhuliṅga of Kāśika is probably the same as Bolingai of Ptolemy (McCrindle's Ptolemy, p. 163). Among the Bhargas in the śloka, 'Na Prācya Bhargādi Yaudheyādibhyaḥ' (4. 1, 178), the Kāśika includes the Karūṣas, the Kaśmīras, and the Śālvas. The Kāśika on another śloka (4. 2, 76) refers to a city named Vaidhumāgni of the Śālvas, built by Vidhumāgni. The Śālvas, according to the Kāśika, are included among the *Kacchadis* (4. 2, 133) along with the Kaśmīras. A Śālveya is referred to in the śloka '*Śālveya Gāndhāribhyāṁ*' (4. 1, 169); the Kāśika explains *Śālveya* as referring to the prince of the Śālvas.

2. *Śūdras*

The Śūdras as a tribe seem to have played some part in Ancient Indian History, and are often mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas, as also in the accounts of Greek geographers and historians.

The Śūdras were an important tribe of the north-west when Alexander invaded India. They were, however, among those who were vanquished by the Macedonian conqueror. Greek authors refer to them as Sodrai in association with the Massanoi and Monsikaros all of whom occupied portions of modern Sind. The next reference to the Śūdras to which a definite date can be assigned is that contained in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (I, 2, 3) where they are associated with the Ābhīras. In the *Mahābhārata* also they are associated with the Ābhīras and are said to have occupied the region where the river Saraswatī dries herself into the desert, i.e. near Vinaśana in Western Rajputana (*Śūdrābhīrān prati dveṣād yatro naṣṭā Saraswatī, Mbh.*, IX, 37. 1). Elsewhere also in the *Mahābhārata* (Śalya Parva, 2119) the Śūdras are associated with the Ābhīras. In the *Harivaṁśa* (Cal. Ed. 12, 837), we have *Madrābhirāḥ* (Madras and Ābhīras in conjunction) just where we would expect to get *Śūdrābhīrāḥ*; obviously Madra is a misreading for *Śūdra*, for Madras are hardly anywhere connected with the Ābhīras.[1]

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[1] M. Langolis reads 'Śūrābhīrāḥ' following obviously the Viṣṇu, Bhāgavata, and some other Purāṇas. See his translation of the Harivaṁśa, Vol. II, p. 401. Also Goldstücker's Dictionary, p. 299.

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According to the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (57. 35), the Śūdras were located in the Aparānta region or western country, and are associated with the Bāhlikas, Bātadhānas, Ābhīras, Pallavas, etc. The *Brahmapurāṇa* (19. 17) also places them in the west and associates them with the Saurāṣṭras, Ābhīras, Arburdas, Mālavas, etc.

Tathāparāntyāḥ Saurāṣṭrāḥ Śūdrābhīrāstathārbudāḥ |
Marukā Mālavāścaiva Pāriyātranivāsinaḥ ||

The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* has *Śūrābhīrāḥ* (II, 3) in place of what obviously should be *Śūdrābhīrāḥ*. So also in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (XII, 1, 36) we have :—

'Saurāṣṭrāvantyābhīrāśca Śūrā Arbuda Mālavāḥ.'

The *Śūrāḥ* here is almost certainly a misreading for Śūdrāḥ. The Śūras are hardly known to have been of any importance as a tribe in Ancient India.

3. *Śavaras*

The Śavaras referred to in both the epics were a non-Aryan tribe, but their earliest mention is to be found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 18) where it is stated that the elder sons of Viśvāmitra were cursed to become progenitors of such servile races as Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śavaras, Pulindas, and Mutibas (Roth, *Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des weda*, p. 133). The implication of the Aitareya passage seems to be that the Śavaras were a non-Aryan people dwelling somewhere in the *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. The Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas definitely locate them in the South describing them as Dakṣiṇāpathavāsiṇaḥ (*Matsya*, 144, 46–48 ; *Vāyu*, 45, 126). The *Mahābhārata* (XII, 207. 42) also places them in the Deccan along with the Andhras and Pulindas :—

Dakṣiṇā-patha-janmānaḥ sarve naravar-Āndhrakāḥ |
Guhāḥ Pulindāḥ Śavarāś cucukā Madrakaiḥ saha ||

Ptolemy mentions[1] a country called Sabarai which is generally held to be identical with the region inhabited by the Śavaras. Cunningham identifies the Sabarai of Ptolemy with Suari of Pliny and further identifies 'both with aboriginal Śavaras or Suars, a wild race who live in the woods and jungles without any fixed habitations, and whose country extended as far southward as the Pennār river. These Śavaras or Suars are only a single branch of a widely spread race found in large numbers to the south-west of Gwalior and Narwar and South Rajputana where they are known as Surrius'.[2]

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[1] McCrindle : Ptolemy's Ancient India, Ed. by S. N. Mazumdar, p. 173.
[2] *Ibid.*

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The Rāmāyaṇa story of the Śavara women who were deeply attached to Rāmacandra also seems to indicate that the Śavaras were a wild tribe inhabiting the forest regions of the south.

B. C. LAW.

BOGUS BODH-GAYĀ PLAQUE

Much has been made of an earthen plaque, found at Kumrahar, near Patna, in a mound, buried some 6 inches below the surface. In the same mound and not far from the place of the plaque was unearthed a purse containing the coins of Huviṣka, buried about 6 feet below the surface. The plaque adorns the cover of the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society as its label, and forms the subject-matter of the very first article contributed by so eminent a writer as late Dr. Spooner.

It looks like a small circular disc of burnt clay, convex in its outer face. Its convex face presents a number of designs, with the design of the temple in the centre. The temple stands as a high round-shaped tower with three pinnacles on the top, approached on its two sides by the flying angels, poised in the air. The sanctuary appears as an arched chamber with a seated figure of Buddha, enshrined inside. The courtyard is enclosed by a quadrangular stone-railing, which is provided with a gateway in front. On two sides of the entrance of the sanctuary and within the courtyard one may see two standing human figures, both of which are marked by a halo (aureola), precisely like the seated figure inside the sanctuary.

Within the same enclosed courtyard in front of the sanctuary and on the right side of the entrance stands an Asokan monolith bearing on the top the standing figure of an elephant. A short Kharoṣṭhī inscription runs lengthwise from the foot of the monolith, and is found to be a votive label recording the plaque, as it does, to be a gift from a donor of the Kauṭhuma family, who is described as a Saṃghadāsa, 'the servant of the Buddhist holy order'—*Koṭhumasa Saṃghadasasa kiti*. Judging by the early form of the Kharoṣṭhī characters in which the inscription is written, Dr. Sten Konow, to whom the credit of its decipherment is due, is inclined to regard it as a pre-Kaṇiṣkan record and to assign it to so early a date as *circa* 134 A.D.[1]

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[1] *J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XII, Pt. II, p. 131.

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BODH-GAYĀ PLAQUE.

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The temple is surrounded in its outer circle by various shrines and artistic representations of legends connected with the life of Buddha, while all are enclosed by an outer wall of brick or of stone.

The observed difference in style between the Bodh-Gayā temple as it stands and the temple as designed in the plaque led late Professor Vincent A. Smith to doubt if the design in the plaque was at all a design of the temple at Bodh-Gayā. He felt even inclined to suggest that the design was a design rather of the temple of Tiladaka as described by Hwen Thsang than of the temple of Mahābodhi.[1]

There is little doubt that the plaque is intended to present various shrines at Bodh-Gayā and artistic representations of various legends connected with the period of enlightenment. The representation of the Neat-herd's Banyan and the shrine under it precisely on a spot, where Hwen Thsang would locate them, leaves no room for doubt as to the plaque being a plaque of Bodh-Gayā.

The great question still remains: Is the plaque genuine or spurious? There is an air of modernity about it, there being nothing at all amongst the ancient finds in India that bears the faintest resemblance to it. The first suspicion begins to deepen into a settled conviction as we detect in it the figure of a gentleman, who remains standing with his fat body, long beard and a felt hat on his head.

It is impossible for any one to conceive the various designs who has not seen the Barhut representation of the scene of enlightenment of Buddha Śākyamuni, who has not read Hwen Thsang's account of Bodh-Gayā, and who is not acquainted somehow with the observations in Cunningham's monograph—Mahābodhi.

Let the plaque continue to adorn the cover of the J.B.O.R.S. as its label. Let it receive the honour of treatment from the suggestive pen of Dr. Spooner. Even let its inscribed label be assigned to a pre-Kaṇiṣkan date by so expert an Indian palæographist as Dr. Sten Konow. We have to declare the plaque, as it appears, as spurious, nothing but spurious.

B. M. BARUA.

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[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 375ff.

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THE RĀJUKAS AND PRĀDESIKAS OF AŚOKA IN RELATION TO THE YUTAS

The Yutas have been mentioned twice in the third Rock edict of Aśoka, first along with the 'Rājuka' and the 'Prādesika', and secondly, in connection with the Parisā, without the 'Rājuka' and the 'Prādesika'. In all the versions of R.E. III, we read of the Yutas in the plural form, while the other two are invariably put in the singular number. This construction strikes one as implying some sort of distinction between the Yutas on the one hand and the 'Rājuka' and the 'Prādesika' on the other. What can this distinction possibly be ?

Aśokan scholars have treated the three terms as denoting three distinct classes of royal officers who were required to go out on tours of inspection every five years. In this view, they have been mainly guided by the Girnar version, which alone connects the three terms by thrice using the particle *ca*. But, one would ask—if the Rājuka and the Prādesika were separate from the Yutas, why is it that in the concluding part of the same edict the Parisā issues directions in the matter of the said tours of inspection to the Yutas only and not also to the Rājuka and the Prādesika (who, too, were closely concerned)—to count the king's instructions or rather his principles, in letter and in spirit ?—

Parisā pi Yute āñapayisati gaṇanāyaṁ[1] hetuto ca vyaṁjanato ca.

Why, again, is it that while the Rājukas are met with elsewhere (e.g. in pillar edicts IV and VII and the Yerraguḍi copy of the Minor Rock Edict[2]), there is absolutely no mention of the Yutas anywhere else ? Let us see if we can get any clue from any other edicts.

The Parisā, according to whose directions the Yutas were in R.E. III expected to act, is re-introduced in R.E. VI ; we find it there as a deliberative body competent to discuss independently even the propriety of royal action. It was such an important body that even the King felt it necessary to keep himself informed of its proceedings through the agency of the Reporters (Paṭivedakā). From the preamble of this edict it is easily deduced that ordinarily the Mahāmātras or official magnates were to receive orders from the Parisā and that only in cases of emergency would the king entrust duties to the Mahāmātras direct, for actually we read in R.E. VI

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[1] For *gaṇanāyaṁ* meaning 'counting', 'recording', 'registering', see D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka* (second edition), p. 305.

[2] See B. M. Barua's reading in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. IX, 1933, pp. 116–18.

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that one of the apprehended causes of commotion in the Parisā was the 'sudden imposition' of urgent business by the king on the Mahāmātras :

Ya vā puna Mahāmātresu ācāyike āropitaṁ bhavati tāya athāya vivādo nijhatī va saṁto parisāyaṁ, *etc.* (Girnar)

The position of the Parisā would then seem to be that normally it was to direct the Mahāmātras. That it directed the Yutas also we have already noticed in R.E. III. We notice further that in the context where the Yutas figure as persons receiving instructions from the Parisā, the Mahāmātras are absent, and in the context where the Mahāmātras are normally to receive instructions from the same body, the Yutas are absent. Does it not show that the Yutas stand for the Mahāmātras and *vice versa* ?

The question now arises who were the Rājukas ? Were they Mahāmātras ? The Kurudhamma-Jātaka mentions 'rajjuka' (lit. 'rein-holder of the royal chariot' i.e. of the State) as a highly important functionary.[1] In the prose narrative he is described as a 'rajjugāhaka-amacca', whose main function was to settle land-disputes. Now, *Amacca*, in Pali literature, is also a *Mahāmatta*. For instance, Vassakāra-brāhmaṇa is mentioned in the Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta as a Magadha-*mahāmatto* (Dīgha, II, p. 73) and in the Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī (Part II, pp. 522-24) as a Vinicchayâ-*macco*. Hence, the Rājuka can be called a Mahāmatta. Although the edicts nowhere describe the Rājukas as Mahāmātras, yet comparing the two texts, R.E. III and Sep. R.E. I, it is not difficult to detect that in the latter the Mahāmātra is mentioned in the same connection as that in which the Rājukas and the Prādesikas are mentioned in the former :

R.E. III :—

Savatā vijitasi mama yutā lajūke pādesike paṁcasu paṁcasu vasesu anusaṁyānaṁ nikhamaṁtu etāye vā aṭhāye imāya dhaṁmanusathiyā yathā aṁnāye pi kaṁmāye. (Kālsi)

Sep. R.E. I :—

[Etāye ca aṭhāye dhaṁmate] paṁcasu paṁcasu vasesu anusaṁyānaṁ nikhāmayisāmi mahāmātaṁ. (Jau.)

Ujenite pi cu kumāle etāye va aṭhāye nikhāmayisa(mi) hedisaṁmeva vagaṁ no ca atikāmayisati tiṁni vasāni. Hemeva Takhasilāte pi. (Dhauli)

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[1] See Fausböll, Jātaka No. 276, p. 367 :—

Rājā mātā mahesī ca uparājā purohito
rajjuko sārathi seṭṭhī doṇo dovāriko tathā
gaṇikā te ekādasa Kurudhamme patiṭṭhitā.

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It will also be noted that when R.E. III was promulgated, Aśoka made it a rule for the whole of his empire that the Rājukas as well as the Prādesikas should be out on *anusaṁyāna* at the interval of five years. The Sep. R.E. I, on the other hand, goes to show that subsequently he found it necessary to modify the rule to this extent that the quinquennial system was reduced to a triennial one in the case of Mahāmātras attached to such provinces as Ujjenī and Takkhasilā which were under the viceroyalty of the Kumāras, while the Mahāmātras attached to the centre were to stick to the quinquennial arrangement.

Two things stand out here: (1) anusaṁyāna of the Mahāmātras *belonging to the centre*, i.e. the government directly under the control of the king, and (2) anusaṁyāna of similar officials (*hedisaṁmeva vagaṁ*[1]) *for the provinces*.

If this is of any importance, it is for the reason that here we get a clue to the meaning of and distinction between the Rājukas and the Prādesikas, which terms would respectively suggest the Mahāmātras of the central government and those of the provincial governments. That is to say, the Rājukas are to be connected with the direct rule of the king (*rājā*) and the Prādesikas with the provincial rule (*Padesa-rajja*, as it would be called in Pali). The connection of the Rājukas with the central government is also borne out by the Yerraguḍi copy of M.R.E., where we read that it was to them at first that the king's message had to be officially communicated before they proclaimed it by the beating of drums to the Jānapadas and the Raṭhikas.[2] In other words, the Rājuka was the central Mahāmātra and the Prādesika the provincial. That is why in Sep. R.E. I, in connection with *anusaṁyāna*, with which the Yutas are concerned in R.E. III, we have, in place of the Yutas, the Mahāmātras, including those for the centre and those for the provinces, i.e. both Rājuka and Prādesika. Is it not then clear that the 'Rājuka' and the 'Prādesika' of R.E. III are not entities distinct from the 'Yutā', but only a classification or description of them.

This interpretation, namely that *Yuta* is a generic term for Officers of the royal State, is also supported by evidence from the Pali literature. In the Rāja-Vagga of the Aṅguttara-Nikāya,[3] *rāja-yutta* or *rājāyutta* occurs as a general term for officers in the king's service: *Rāja-yutto rājakaraṇīyesu yutto*. Buddhaghosa, in

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[1] That *Vaga* cannot but mean the class of officials called Mahāmātras is also clear from M.R.E., Siddāpur.

[2] Cf. Rājuke ānapitaviye bherinā jānapadaṃ ānapayisati raṭhikānaṃ ca.

[3] Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Part III, p. 156.

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this connection, further enlightens us that the Rāja-yuttas were the official agents for transacting State business in the *janapadas* ('territories', 'districts') of the king: *Rāja-yuttā ti raññ janapadesu kiccaṁ saṁvidhāyakā āyuttapurisā.*[1] It is noteworthy that the edicts also speak of the Rājukas as engaged among the jānapadas (e.g., P.E. IV and VII).

The Girnar use of *ca* after Yutā would really be no obstacle to this interpretation. For instance, in R.E. XII and particularly in its Girnar copy, we have the same repeated use of the particle after the general term *sava-pāsaṁḍāni* ('all denominations', 'all religious orders'), which includes both *pavajitāni* and *gharastāni* (those who had renounced home life and those who adhered to it): *sava-pāsaṁḍāni ca pavajitāni ca gharastāni ca pūjayati.* The plural form of *pavajitāni* and *gharasthāni* need not prejudice the case. For, these being adjectives to *savapāsaṁḍāni* must have to be put in the plural, which is not essential in the case of 'Rājuka' and 'Prādesika' in the context of R.E. III.

SAILENDRANATH MITRA.

AŚVAMEDHA

In a note in this Journal, pp. 114-5 Mr. A. K. Sur has suggested that since Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka have been called simply *Mahārāja* in the inscriptions, they are to be taken as petty chiefs even though they performed the *Aśvamedha.* In support of this theory, Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar says that 'even a feudatory chieftain can perform a Horse-sacrifice' (*ibid.*, p. 115) and that the *Aśvamedha* 'may or may not be preceded by a *digvijaya*' (p. 116). These theories however are not only against the evidence of the Śruti literature, but also go against the evidence of the inscriptions of these kings. Keith has rightly pointed out that the *Aśvamedha* 'is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring, to increase their realms' (*Relig. Philos. Ved. Upaniṣ.*, p. 343). The *Baudh. Śraut. Sūtra* (XV, 1) says that a king victorious and of all the land should perform this sacrifice. According to the *Taittirīya Br.* (III, 8. 9. 4), 'he is poured aside who being weak offers the *Aśvamedha*',

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[1] Manoratha-pūraṇī, Siamese ed., Pt. II, p. 413.

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and again (V, 4. 12. 3), 'it is essentially, like the fire-offering, an *Utsanna-yajña*, a sacrifice of great extent and elaboration'. See Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxxii–iv. According to the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* (XX, 1, 1) quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma-pariśiṣṭa* (Hitabadi Office, Calcutta), *s.v. Aśvamedha*, a universal (*sārvabhauma*) king can perform the *Aśvamedha*, but not (*n=āpi*) an ununiversal (*asārvabhauma*) king.[1] It is clear from these statements that a subordinate king could never perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. In inscriptions, Pravarasena I has been called *samrāṭ* which never signifies a subordinate chieftain; (cf. *samrāṭ[jo]*) *Vākāṭakānāṁ mahārājaśrī-Pravarasenasya, etc.*, in the Bālāghāṭ plates, (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 270, l. 4, and note 4; also the Chammak plates, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 235). That Mādhavavarman I was not incapable of *digvijaya* is proved by a reference to his expedition for conquering the eastern countries in the Polamuru grants (*J.A.H.R.S.*, VI, p. 17). Moreover, an essential feature of the *Aśvamedha*, besides the actual slaying of the horse, is that about the completion of the performance, at the bidding of the Adhvaryu 'a lute-player (*vīṇā-gāthin*), a Rājanya, sings to the lute three Gāthās, verses, *made by himself which refer to the victories in battle connected with the sacrifice*' (Keith, *Relig. Philos. Ved. Upanis.*, p. 344). Further, 'As revealed in the later texts the sacrifice is essentially one of princely greatness. The steed for a year roams under guardianship of a hundred princes, a hundred nobles with swords, a hundred sons of heralds and charioteers bearing quivers and arrows and a hundred sons of attendants and charioteers bearing staves (*Sat. Br.*, XIII, 4, 2, 5; *Baudh. Sraut. Sūtra, XV*, 1)'. See Keith, *Black yajus*, loc. cit. To manage these requirements is simply impossible for a subordinate chief. Moreover, that the progress of the *Aśvamedha* was sometimes impeded when other

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[1] In place of *n=āpi* there is an alternative reading *api*, which is a later interpolation according to Keith (*Black Yajus*, p. cxxxii), but which means to say that ununiversal (*asārvabhauma*=king who is not master of all the land) kings could also perform the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice. The word *asārvabhauma* never means a subordinate chief. The alternate reading only shows that in later times kings who were very powerful, but who did not claim to be ruler of the Earth, i.e. the whole or major portion of India, did also perform the *Aśvamedha*. Pulakeśin I, founder of the great Cālukya line of Badami, is known to have performed a Horse-sacrifice. He cannot be called a *sārvabhauma* (ruler of all the land) king; but, though he has sometimes been called simply *Mahārāja* in some Cālukya inscriptions, no historian will think that he was a feudatory chief. Pulakeśin II and his father are generally called *Mahārāja*, while Maṅgaleśa is sometimes called *Rājā* (*I.A.*, VI, 17; VII, 161; XX, 15; *E.I.*, V, 7; VI, 4, etc.). *Mahārājādhirāja* based on *Rājātirāja* or *Shaonano Shas* of the Scytho-Kuṣans was not very often used in South India.

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kings challenged one's authority to perform the sacrifice, is not only proved from the two cases referred to in the *Śat. Br.* (XIII, 5, 3, 21-22), but is also proved from an instance recorded in the Udayendiram grant (No. 2), *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 273. Udayacandra, general of Nandivarman-Pallavamalla, is here reported to have defeated the Niṣāda king, Pṛhivīvyāghra, who was accompanying the *Aśvamedha-turaṅgam*, i.e. horse let loose in connection with a Horse-sacrifice. Quarrels with neighbouring kings in connection with the *Aśvamedhas* of Puṣyamitra are distinctly referred to in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* (Act V). It is stated that Puṣyamitra's sacrificial horse was let loose to roam for a year at its own will, under the guardianship of his grandson Vasumitra, who was attended by a hundred princes and, when the horse perchance reached the southern bank of the Sindhu and was captured by the Yavana horsemen, brought the horse back after defeating the Yavanas.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

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REVIEWS

KĀLIDĀSER PĀKHĪ: With an Appendix on the List of Birds mentioned by Kālidāsa and an Index. By Satya Churn Law, M.A., F.Z.S., M.B.O.U. Published by Gurudas Chatterjee and Sons, Calcutta. Price Rs. 6.

There is hardly anybody, not even a stranger, who has not heard of the great Laha family of Calcutta. But up till a quarter of a century ago they were known to be votaries of Śrī only. Thanks, however, to the Law Trinity of Calcutta, their House has now become the common abode of Śrī and Sarasvatī who were so long so notorious for their *śāśvatika virodha*. There was however some danger of the three Laws beating the same beaten path. Fortunately, for us, Dr. Satya Churn Law has very wisely shewn himself to be *rara avis in terris* by turning an Ornithologist. In fact, he is the first Indian who is an ornithologist in the proper sense of the term. He has developed and maintained a beautiful aviary in Agarpara in which one can see some rare specimens of Indian birds. The other day again Dr. Law presented some rare stuffed birds, which are not found even in the Zoological Gardens of Calcutta, to the Indian Museum for exhibition. He is also the Editor of the Bengalee ornithological journal. This is just as it should be.

Some time ago Dr. Law's book, *Pākhir Kathā* was much welcomed and widely appreciated by the public. Now he has given a delectable treat to the scholar by bringing out this illustrated volume of Kālidāser Pākhī in which he has identified the birds mentioned by Kālidāsa in his works. In this book he has attempted to shew how far the bird life depicted by the great poet as part of the background for his characters is true to nature. In fact, one is tempted to believe from a perusal of this unique book that Kālidāsa was himself an ornithologist. We obtain, for example, glimpses into Kālidāsa's powers of accurate observation through what he says about the migrations of Rājahaṁsas. As Dr. Law has shewn it, the poet is also intimately acquainted with the habitations, associations, and breeding periods of his birds. Again, his minute and lucid descriptions of the birds cannot be challenged by the modern ornithologists.

The book is divided into four parts corresponding to the following works of Kālidāsa: (1) Meghadūta, (2) Ṛitusaṁhāra, (3) Raghuvaṁśa and Kumārasambhava, and (4) Dramas. In the first part the learned author has identified Rājahaṁsa with the Bar-headed Goose (Anser indicus, Lath); Chakravāka with Brahminy Duck (Casarca ferruginea); Balāka with heron; Sārasa with Sarus Crane (Antigone a. antigone, Linn.); Śikhī with Peacock (Pavo cristatus, Linn.); Sārikā with common Mayanā (Acridotheres t. tristis, Linn.); Chātaka with Pied Crested Cuckoo (Clamator J. jacobinus, Bodd); Pārāvata with Rock Pigeon (Columba livia intermedia Strickl); and Grhabalibhuk with House Crow or House Sparrow. In the second part he has identified Kādamba with Grey Lag Goose (Anser anser Linn.); Krauñca with Pond Heron; (Ardeola grayii Sykes); Kāraṇḍava with Coot (Feluca a atra Linn.); and Kokila with Koel (Endynamis scolopaceus). In the third part the author has identified Cakora with Chukar (Alectoris g. Chukar Gray); Hārita with Green Pigeon; Gṛdhra with Vulture; Śyena with Falcon; Kurāri with Osprey (Pandion h. haliaetus Linn.); and some other minor birds.

The opening chapter of the book which deals with the migrations of Rājahaṁsas is extremely interesting. It illustrates the poet's intimate knowledge of bird life. He knows of the irresistible breeding impulse of the Rājahaṁsas with the approach of the rainy season and the urge which makes them restless. They take to their flight with a short supply of vegetable food, the slender fibres of the lotus stalk,

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towards the mountain Kailāsa, to find their home, their breeding grounds, in Lake Mānasa. They halt for a short while on their way there, if their supply of food is exhausted. It is again not easy for the birds to fly over the Himalayas. So they cross them by certain passes in those mountains. Thus, the Rājahaṁsas, as Kālidāsa informs us, fly through *Kraunca-randhra*, aptly called *Haṁsa-dvāra*. This *Kraunca-randhra* has been identified with the Nilī Pass in the district of Kumaun.

As all the birds mentioned by Kālidāsa are found in Malwa, some scholars are of opinion that the poet was a native of that province. Others again have argued with some cogency that his native country was Kashmir. It is possible that like Bilhaṇa of the Cālukya court at Kalyāṇī, Kālidāsa was a Kashmiri Pandit settled in Malwa.

The style of Dr. S. C. Law's book is chaste and straightforward, and the arguments and details have been set forth so lucidly and so beautifully that one wonders whether the book belongs to the domain of science or of literature.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA, by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Manindra Chandra Nandi Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University—Published by the Indian Bookshop; Benares city, pp. 386. Rs. 3.

In this book an attempt has been made to trace the history of education in India from the earliest times down to about 1200 A.D. The subject is, no doubt, a fascinating one and the learned author has done a service to the cause of ancient history by trying to put together the scattered threads of Indian culture into the skein of a connected narrative.

Dr. Altekar has tried to construct a consistent and systematic account on the materials available to him. The sources of these materials are of course the ancient literature of the country, accounts of foreign travellers and others, inscriptions and coins, grants and deeds of gift, etc. Dr. Altekar has used almost all the materials hitherto made available by the researches of well-known scholars in this field of work.

According to Dr. Altekar, home was the centre of education, when there were no educational institutions of the modern type; people naturally looked after the education of their children in their own homes. Upanayana, according to him, was the first ceremony by which the child was brought before his teacher. Generally the priests of the village combined in themselves the functions of the village school master and in course of time upanayana was made compulsory for all. In one's student life, one had to perform the Upākarma or Śrāvanī annually and it was a ritual which marked the beginning of a school or college session and the teachers and students joined in it. It was performed immediately after the rains, i.e., in the month of Śrāvaṇa. The session was usually a short one of about six months and closed in Pauṣa or Māgha when the Utsarjana ceremony used to be performed. The ceremony of Samāvartana or Snāna (bathing) was performed when the student period or Brahmacarya came to an end. The Guru was himself to give the student a bath in fragrant water and it was he who had to make the first offering of new clothes and ornaments to his pupil.

Many students used to live with their teacher and the relation between the teacher and the student was a cordial one. Sometimes matrimonial relations sprang up between the teacher's daughter or niece and a student who happened to live under his roof, but in later times it was forbidden by the Śāstras to marry a teacher's daughter.

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It is difficult to say whether in the Vedic times, educational institutions or organizations of any kind replaced this individual teaching system. Perhaps it is not until we come to the Buddhistic times that we find educational institutions or monasteries in which far larger numbers of students received their education that it would be possible for any individual teacher to entertain. We know that in some cases these institutions developed into universities.

It was enjoined by the Śāstras that a gift of books to the scholars was an act of great merit. This explains the process by which manuscripts were multiplied. Encouragement was given to the copying of sacred books by wealthy men and princes. Sometimes gifts were made for this purpose. In this way rich collections of books grew up and the universities with their army of teachers found no difficulty in the matter of an adequate supply of books without which teaching in the proper sense of the term would be impossible. Nālandā was famous for its Ratnasāgara and other libraries which attracted students and teachers from far and near.

The fundamental object of education was the formation of character. How far this object was attained is clear from the evidence of foreign travellers and ambassadors such as Megasthenes and Strabo, Yuan Chwang, Al Idrisi, Ibn Batuta, Marco Polo, and others who unequivocally testified to the honesty and truthfulness of the Indians of their time.

These are only a few of the many interesting facts with which the book is replete. It is not suggested that all the conclusions of the author are correct or that they are all based upon cogent evidence. But the author has, in our opinion, succeeded in presenting the materials for a history of education in ancient India with a true historical insight and a clear appreciation of the difficulties which are inherent in the subject-matter of his study.

KHAGENDRANATH MITTER.

THE HISTORY OF NORTH-EASTERN INDIA, by Dr. Radha-Govinda Basak, M.A., Ph.D., Professor, Presidency College, pp. 340; price Rs. 7-8-0, published by The Book Company, Ltd., College Square, Calcutta, 1934.

The present work is a history in a limited sense. It is an attempt to write a political history of North-Eastern India from the foundation of the Gupta Empire to the rise of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal (*c.* 320–760 A.D.). The author who has been a teacher of Sanskrit and Epigraphy to many of our research workers has given long years of devotion to this branch of study. Of his numerous contributions his edition and study of the *Damodarpur Copperplates* have not only thrown much light on various questions relating to the Imperial Guptas, viz. the extent of their suzerainty in Bengal, their administration, etc. but also borne clear testimony to the depth of his scholarship in these matters. The present work which is the result of many years of study is therefore welcome as it comes from a scholar on whom we can rely.

The chapters on the Imperial and later Guptas are more than repetitions of earlier works as the author has made many new contributions in matters of details. After carefully examining the previous views he has tried to identify Maharaja Candra of the Mehaurali Iron Pillar Inscription with Chandragupta I. He has established with greater precision than had been possible before the extent of the Gupta rule in northern Bengal and has shown that Puṇḍravardhana was an integral part of the Gupta empire. In the last chapters the author has traced in a connected way the history of the various dynasties which ruled in north-eastern India till the accession of the Pālas and in this connection he has treated fully the history of Śaśāṅka, and of the early rulers of Orissa, Nepal, Kāmarūpa, and Vaṅga-Samataṭa. Generally speaking these chapters are well written.

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However in matters of detail some criticism may be levelled against the book of Dr. Basak. North-Eastern India is neither a geographical nor a political unit and as such any treatment of the history of this portion of the country cannot but appear as a collection of articles. The two dates 320 and 760 A.D. do not mark in any way a period which has unity. These things do not matter to a specialist in the subject searching for a critical examination of the sources and previous discussions on different questions relating to the period in the book but they certainly disturb the mind of a common reader.

The statement of Yi tsing about the King Śrī-Gupta cannot be seriously regarded as a reference to the founder of the Gupta dynasty. Yi tsing only says that 'a tradition handed down from ancient times by old men relates that the temple was built in olden times by Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta for Chinese monks'. These monks are said to have come to India 'more than 500 years' before the time of Yi tsing from South-West China by the route of upper Burma (*via* Yong tch'ang). This is reported to have been a local tradition of the place which was visited by Yi tsing. There is no corroboration of this fact on the Chinese side. The institution if it had existed at all would not have disappeared in the time of Fa-hien who is silent about it.

It is better to regard Chandravarman of the Susunia Rock Inscription as a local chief as there is still a place called Pokharana about 25 miles to the east of Susunia hill where some antiquities have been discovered. The reading of the name of Samāchāradeva (p. 193) on the two coins is still open to doubt.

By trying to revise the chronology of the Kings of Nepal the author has complicated matters. He makes a new suggestion: 'The group of kings of the Licchavi dynasty of the first period from Mānadeva to Vasantadeva used only the *Vikrama-saṁvat* in their records; the group of kings of the same dynasty from Śivadeva I to Udayadeva and the kings of the Ṭhākuri family and their successors, e.g. Aṁśuvarman, Jiṣṇugupta, and Viṣṇugupta belonging to the middle period, used respectively the *Gupta-saṁvat* and *Harsha-saṁvat* simultaneously; while the third group of the Licchavi kings from Narendradeva to Jayadeva II used only the *Harsha-saṁvat*'.

Prof. Lévi previously established that during this period there were two eras in Nepal, the Licchavi era commencing in 110 A.D. and the era of Aṁśuvarman commencing in 595 A.D. Prof. Lévi obtained the first date from astronomical calculation based on data supplied by the Pillar Inscription of Changu Nārāyaṇa (Bhagvanlal I, Lévi I) of the year 386. The date is described as 'the first day of the bright half of the month of Jyaiṣṭha of Saṁvat 386 while the moon was in the constellation Rohiṇī in the excellent muhūrta called Abhijit'. This astronomical phenomenon, according to the calculation of Prof. Lévi, was possible on Tuesday the 1st May, 496 A.D. and the era thus available satisfies the requirement of the year 449 (date obtained from Kisipidi Inscription of Vasantadeva—date which according to Dr. Basak also belongs to the same era as used by Mānadeva) in which year there was an intercalary month of Āsāḍha.

Dr. Basak, who has nothing to say against this argument, avoids it and rejects the theory of Prof. Lévi on two grounds:

(1) If the theory of Lévi is endorsed we would fall into great difficulty in solving the dates in two inscriptions, viz. his own No. IX (but Dr. Basak really means No. XI, the Dharampur inscr.) and XII both of which bear the same date—520.

(2) Dr. Basak thinks that both Bhagavanlal and Lévi were mistaken in reading the numerical figures as 520 and that it is really 320. Thus Dr. Basak would read 300.. where they read 500... He states that

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Prof. Lévi himself doubted this reading of the symbol for hundred specially the element 5 of 500 which seemed to him as written in the manner of 3 (*en maniére du* 3).

The first argument does not carry any weight at all because both the inscriptions are of local importance, the first recording certain privileges granted to the inhabitants of the village where the inscription has been found and the second recording certain other privileges granted to the inhabitants of the village Kurppāsī (mod. Khopasi)—the place where the inscription has been discovered.

The second argument is weak because Dr. Basak has not clearly followed the intention of Lévi as expressed in his statement. Prof. Lévi has not expressed any diffidence about his own reading of 5 but on the contrary he has clearly said that unlike 3 which has a double belt it is written as a kind of S reversed on its axis ('an lieu de la double boucle en maniére de 3. . . . une sorte d'S retourné sur son axe'). Prof. Lévi has given his full arguments for reading the symbol for hundred as 5 on p. 75 (Vol. III) which Dr. Basak seems to have missed.

'La différence des deux signes 300 et 500 éclate si on les rapproche . . . Le signe de la centaine (quelqu'en soit le tracé) avec l'addition de deux traits attachés à la hampe de la centaine et qui fléchissent en śécartant de leur attache ; c'est la une forme regulière constante et qui se constate au Népal mème dans les inscriptions de Mānadeva á Changu Nārāyaṇa et á Lajanpat.'

We have therefore no reason as yet to discard the theory of Prof. Lévi on the Licchavi era.

As for the era of Aṁśuvarman Prof. Lévi has pointed out the difficulties in considering it to be the same as that of Harsha. He has shown (*Notes sur la chronologie*. . . . Journ. Asiat., 1894, p. 55) that for astronomical reasons the year 34 of the era cannot but correspond to 629 A.D. and thus the starting year of the era was 595 A.D., which happens to be the date of the foundation of the Tibetan empire.

In spite of these defects the book is on the whole a useful contribution and does credit to its author.

P. C. BAGCHI.

THE BASIC CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM, by Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, Principal, Vidyabhavana, Visvabharati, Adharchandra Mookerjee lectures for 1932, Calcutta University, published in 1934.

Of the two lectures now published in a book form, the first is 'introductory' and the second is concerned with 'the main problem'. The subject itself is happily chosen: it is at once deep and fundamental. But the lectures are mostly made up of quotations either from the Upanishads and the Bhagavadgītā or from the Buddhist works of all ages, in Pali as well as Sanskrit, accompanied by translations made by other scholars or by the author himself. All that the two lectures offer is but a sweet dish of 'gleanings from a dense forest', which is likely to be palatable to the taste of helpless infants of an isolated nursing home. These are lacking in proper co-ordination and logical coherence which characterise systematic thought and have nothing to commend themselves to serious consideration but sincerity and noble intention. That the doctrines of Buddha are difficult to understand stands out prominently not only as a frank confession on the part of the author but also as a reverberation of the declaration on the part of Gautama himself about his own doctrines: '*ye dhammā duddasā duranubodhā*'. A well-intentioned dose of medicine may be appreciated even if it is inefficacious, but the administration of it is a criminal offence if it kills the patient. In the author's presentation Buddhism dwindles into a' shibboleth', a 'parrot-cry', a 'babbling

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nonsense'. What does the author mean when he naively remarks that 'according to Buddhists, there is nothing known as a *living being*,' and that accordingly 'the question is the question whether the son of a barren woman black or white'? His 'living being' is obviously an English rendering of the term *jiva* which is frequently met with in Buddhist texts. It is, the author ought to have borne in mind, the 'abbhantare jivo' (as in the Milindapañha), the *vedagu*, i.e. the ego or internal percipient which was generally held out as a 'sufficient explanation for all mental operations', denying local independence to the sense-organs. The unknowability of 'self' (biological quantity) is one thing, and the tenability of the theory of 'soul' another. The confusion of the two has given rise to a good deal of misunderstanding of the issue. Most of the renderings which are attempted by the author are but paraphrases in English which are in almost all instances misleading: e.g., 'What is void? Being devoid of its own being.' In interpreting the oft-quoted Kālāma-sutta, the author has religiously depended on Buddhaghosa's explanations uncritically, without caring 'to examine whether *piṭaka-sampadāna* was a mistake for *piṭaka-sampadāya* which crept into the text and misled the Pali scholiast. The regrettable feature of the whole performance is that the author has introduced the citations in such an artless and at the same time a subtle way as to delude his reader into a belief as if the texts cited were all his first detection. Thus what are the new data actually furnished and what are the new ideas—these are the important questions before the reader? With us it is jujune, common place, uncritical, display without depth, thought without coherence. It is a pity that the author has failed to give the right title of the sutta quoted in p. 45 of his book (Mahāparinirbbāna sutta). In our opinion the whole book should be re-written and a readable treatment of the subject is expected from the author.

B. C. LAW.

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IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Part III, July, 1934.

1. A Note on the Name of the Last Great Sātavāhana King, by Dines Chandra Sircar.
   Mr. Sircar shows from the evidence of inscriptions and coins that the name of the last great Sātavāhana king was Gautamiputra Śrī-Yajña Śātakarṇi and *not* Yajñaśrī-Sātakarṇi.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Vol. XX, Part I, March, 1934.

1. Six Unique Silver Coins of the Śuṅgas, by K. P. Jayaswal.
   Two of these coins record new kings whom Mr. Jayaswal calls the kings of Mathura, 'for the coins have come from Mathura and the symbols are not assignable to any known class of coins'.
2. The Initial Date of the Gaṅga Era, by G. Ramdas.
3. The Date of the Patna Museum Plates of Raṅabhañjadeva, by Jogendra Chandra Ghosh.
4. The Maukharis of Kanauj, by Dr. Ramshankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D.
5. Date and Place of Sher Shah's death, by Prof. Paramatma Saran, M.A.

Journal of Oriental Research, Madras. Vol. VIII, Part II, April-June, 1934.

1. Substance and Attribute in Śaiva Siddhānta, by S. S. Suryanārāyana.
2. Pūrṇabhadra and his Pañcatantra, by A. Venkatasubbiah.
3. The Artist in Ancient India, by C. Sivarāmamūrti.

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. Vol. XXIV, No. 4, *April,* 1934.

1. Notes on Popular Religion in Bihar, by Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.
2. Is the Advaita of Śaṅkara Buddhism in disguise? by G. V. Budhakar.
3. Studies in the Indus Scripts, by S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A.

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Man in India. Vol. XIV, No. 2, June, 1934. *Special Number for the first session of the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences.*

1. Caste, Race, and Religion in India : Inadequacy of the current Theories of Caste, by Sarat Chandra Roy, Rai Bahadur, M.A., B.L.

   This is the second article of a series that Mr. Roy is contributing to the pages of his journal. In the present article he briefly discusses the inadequacies of the current theories, and comments on the theories of Ibbetson, Nesfield, Risley, Senart, Ketkar, Gait, Slater, Hutton, Gilchrist, Johnstone Blunt, N. K. Dutt, Ghurye, Hayaradan, Rao, B. Banerjea, Ambedkar, and a number of other scholars, with special emphasis on the 'mana' concept among the different races and tribes of the world from the earliest times to the present day.

Journal of Indian History. Vol. XIII, Part I, April, 1934.

1. The Genealogy and early Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Vanavāsī, by Mr. M. Govinda Pai.

   This is the second of a series of articles by the author on the subject in which Mr. Pai is ably reconstructing the genealogy and chronology of this important dynasty.

2. Samudra Gupta's Aśvamedha Sacrifice, by Dines Chandra Sircar, M.A.

   According to the author Samudragupta's boast as *anekāśvamedha yājī* (Poona Plates of Prabhāvati Guptā) is unfounded. Incidentally he shows that Mahārāja Devavarman of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty was earlier than Samudragupta, and that Samudragupta 'got the inspiration of performing the horse-sacrifice from his connection with the southern countries'.

3. The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals, by Abdul Aziz, Bar.-at-law.

4. The Ambaṣṭhas, by Dr. B. C. Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D.

   Dr. Law gives in his article a very clear and readable account of this important tribe from the earliest time to practically the end of the Hindu period.

Journal of the Assam Research Society. Vol. II, No. 1, April, 1934.

1. Mahādeva : The Iṣṭadeva of the kings of Kāmarūpa, by Pandit Padmanath Bhattacharyya Vidyabinod.

   The writer of the article shows from literary and epigraphic sources that Mahādeva was the Iṣṭadeva of the

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Kāmarūpa kings even supported by the tradition as contained in the Kālikā Purāṇa.

2. The Hātimuriā Temple in Nowgong, by Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur.

The temple, judged from the art and iconography of the image enshrined in it has been assigned to the 9th-10th centuries A.D. The sculpture is iconographically very important.

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society. Vol. III, Parts 2 and 3, October, 1933 *and January,* 1934. *Decennial Commemoration Volume.*

1. Sources of early Andhra History, by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar.
2. History of the Gavaras, by P. Seetaramaiah.

The author gives a very nice account of the history of the Gavaras who are, in the present time, an agricultural caste, mainly inhabiting the Vizagapatam districts in Madras. He seems to show that the term Gavara has been derived from Gauḍa, and seeks to prove his contention by pointing to the migrations of the Gauḍas in different parts of India.

3. Six New Eastern Ganga Copperplate Inscriptions, by Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D. and Prof. R. Rubba Rao, M.A., L.T.

These copperplates belong to the time of Vajrahasta V, Rājarāja I, Madhukāmārṇavadeva, Anantavarma Choḍa Gangadeva, and Anantavarmadeva.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Vol. XV, Parts I-II, October, 1933—*January,* 1934.

1. Geographical Data from Sanskrit Buddhist Literature, by Dr. B. C. Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L.

'In my book—Geography of Early Buddhism—recently published I have attempted to present a geographical picture of ancient India as can be drawn from Pali texts. Here, however, my attempt has been to follow the same subject of investigation drawing materials from Sanskrit Buddhist texts. It is thus practically a supplement to my work just referred to.'

2. Pañcatantra Studies, by A. Venkatasubbiah.

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3. The Ādibharata and the Nātyasarvasva-Dīpikā, by Monomohan Ghosh, M.A.

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Journal of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute, Vol. III.

1. Recent Archæological Discoveries in India, by Colonel A. E. Mahon, D.S.O.

Col. Mahon gives a summary of archæological work conducted by the Archæological Survey of India during the year 1927-28.

2. The Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya Sūtra as an Inscription, by Prof. N. D. Mirinoff.

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3. Chronicle of Central Asiatic Explorations for 1932.

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The Young East, Vol. IV, No. 11 (*July–Sept.*, 1934).

1. Buddhism, the fountain head of intellect, by J. Takakusu. It gives an exposition of Dhamma for the beginners.
2. Indebtedness as Buddhism teaches it, by Shundo Tachibana.

The Buddha Prabha (*Journal of the Buddha Society, Bombay*), *Vol.* 2, *No.* 3, *July*, 1934.

1. The Late Dr. A. L. Nair—A life sketch.
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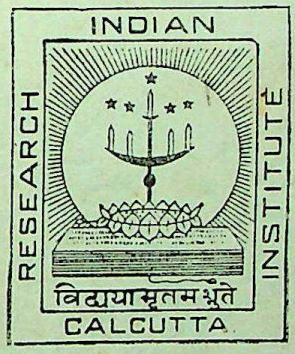

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CULTURE AND SCHOLARSHIP

By E. J. THOMAS

Culture and scholarship are illustrations of two ultimate mysteries of existence—the individual and the universal. In the individual there is an entity differing from all other entities conceivable, and not merely that. The entity comes to be looked upon as the only thing in the universe having an absolute value. Whether it is the lover in pursuit of his ideal or the yogi intoxicated with devotion to an *iṣṭā devatā*, nothing else will suffice. As an ancient Welsh prophet said, in words that might have been uttered on the banks of the Jumna, 'without God, without anything: God is enough'.

It is the same on another plane of thought. Culture, and there could be no better example than Indian culture, is always individual. It is all that is peculiar to one people, all their ideals, frustrations, hopes, and achievements, all that gives love of country its value, and causes its people to salute it as their mother.

There is another aspect of the love of country. It may be so blind as to cause a pessimistic philosopher like Schopenhauer to call patriotism the most foolish of passions and the passion of fools. But it need not be blind. The truest love is that which is so convinced of the worth of its object that it is eager to accept and understand all. Not that it can ever understand all. In the life of a people as in the life of an individual 'the abysmal depths of personality' appear. That is but a stimulus to the student of any culture who wishes to understand the past and to grasp the significance of the actual life of a people in its mysterious origins and growth.

I have called the individual and the universal mysteries. They are mysteries in the sense that no one, since Plato first spoke of the One and the Many, has ever succeeded in winning general assent to any attempt to harmonize them. The philosopher may, as Mr. R. Das has recently told us,[1] emancipate his mind from the tyranny of objective facts, but there are others who think this process itself tyrannical. Any reduction of empirical facts to no facts would extinguish the student of culture himself, but yet he has to admit the universal. He studies the facts on universal principles, and uses scholarship. He is sure that if he has really got at the facts every other thinker will see the sense of what he says. The principles of

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[1] *Ajñāna*, by G. R. Malkani, R. Das, and T. R. V. Murti, p. 90.

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scholarship are universal, and their application requires universal co-operation. This was stated emphatically by the German classical scholar, the late Professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: 'the co-operation of all civilized nations is a necessary consequence of activity on a large scale. He who does not see that does not understand what science is. He who in spite of this tries to hinder it commits the sin against the Holy Ghost'.[1]

The co-operation of the ancient scholarship of India with the scholars of the West may be said to have begun a century and a half ago, when in 1784 Sir William Jones founded the Bengal Asiatic Society. More exactly speaking the beginning was a circumstance not so easily noticed, the intercourse of Sir William Jones and his colleagues with his pandits. The initiation of the new journal, *Indian Culture*, in the present year is a development that he would have welcomed. How has Indian scholarship fared in the last 150 years, and what are its present tasks? Happily that is a question that Indian scholars are able to answer, and to *Indian Culture* we look for much. But it is interesting to notice how Sir William Jones looked at the matter, and what appeared to him the outstanding problems. His list of *Desiderata* is no doubt well known. It was published by Sir John Shore when he gave a memorial discourse before the Asiatic Society, May 22, 1794, two months after the lamented scholar's death.[2]

The Indian section contains fourteen items.

1. 'The ancient geography of India, etc. from the Purāṇas.'

Evidently when this modest proposal was made there was no idea of the real magnitude of the task. Even now much special work, like Dr. B. C. Law's *Geography of Early Buddhism*, will be needed before we get what is really wanted, a dictionary that will tell us all that is known of ancient Indian topography, and Indians must do it.

2. 'A botanical description of Indian plants, from the Kośas, etc.'

The information from the Kośas is now embodied in the dictionaries, but who can guarantee the botanical information? There is a recent History of India which confuses the Aśvattha or Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*) with the Nyagrodha or Banyan (*Ficus indica*). It is not Indian scholarship that is to blame there, but how many of the identifications in the dictionaries can be trusted? Rhys

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[1] *Geschichte der Philologie*, p. 71. The sin against the Holy Ghost is the unpardonable sin. What that means in particular does not matter. The point is that a sin which is not repented of is not forgiven.

[2] I have normalized the spelling of Sanskrit words.

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Davids once told me that the material in the dictionaries depends on H. H. Wilson ; but however good his work was over a century ago, we evidently need a trained Indian botanist to do the work again.

3. 'A grammar of the Sanskrit language from Pāṇini etc.' Little remark is needed here. This is perhaps the section in which the desideratum has been most fully filled. It may be noticed that the Sanskrit grammar of most reputation in the West tries to ignore as much as possible any specially Indian grammatical features. But perhaps that was due to Whitney's peculiar temperament. Anyhow, that attitude was only temporary, for the respectful study of Pāṇini still goes on. Only this year a sympathetic and penetrating investigation of Pāṇini's method and system has been published by a Dutch scholar.[1] I need not speak of weighty Indian works, still keeping up the Indian method, like the *Citraprabhā*[2] of Bhāgavata Hari Śāstrī.

4. 'A dictionary of the Sanskrit language, from thirty-two original vocabularies and Nirukti'.

Here also far more has been done than Jones could have imagined, but something more will be needed when the geographical, botanical, and other scientific sections can be revised.

5. 'On the ancient music of the Indians.'

This is, too, technical a subject for one far from the sources to speak with profit. As far as my knowledge goes I have never seen anything more authoritative than *Contribution to the study of ancient Hindu music*, by Rao Sahib Prabhakar R. Bhandarkar in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1912. He points out that Ouseley, J. D. Paterson, W. C. Scafford, Capt. Willord, Col. French, Carl Engel, Rājā S. M. Tagore, J. Grosset, S. J. Ellis, A. W. Ambros, and Capt. Day were all wrong about the position of the śrutis, and all for the same reason—they followed the original mistake of Sir W. Jones himself in his article *on the musical modes of the Hindus*. Grosset, who edited the text of Bharata, thought Bharata was wrong. Rājā S. M. Tagore even discovered the error, but did not recognise it as such. He called the error the modern arrangement. Here surely is a province specially for Indian scholars. There is another instance which shows how the most complete technical and grammatical knowledge is required. In 1913, Mr. E. Clements published *Introduction to the study of Indian music*. He speaks of the text of

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[1] *Pūrvatrāsiddham : analytisch onderzoek angaande het systeem der Tripādī van Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāya*. By H. E. Buiskool, Amsterdam, 1934.

[2] It is a commentary on Haridīkṣita's *Laghuśabdaratna*. Andra Univ. Series, Waltair, 1932.

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Bharata, but seems to have used a modern Indian (Marathi ?) translation. It sometimes differs from the published Sanskrit text, but he shows no knowledge of this. Even the Sanskrit text is not final, as is shown by the corrections that Rao Sahib P. R. Bhandarkar had to make. But Clements has a remark that is worth quoting: 'that English Orientalists and educationists have so long ignored this music is the measure of their misunderstanding of India'. I am making no attempt to record what has already been done in India, but the introduction to Mangesh Rāmakrishṇa Telang's edition of Nārada's *Saṅgītamakaranda* (1920) is notable as giving materials for a history of Indian music. It contains a list of over fifty manuscripts of works on music in Sanskrit.

6. 'On the medical substances of India, and the Indian art of medicine.' Here again is further material for the dictionary, especially when we remember the shaky basis on which this part of our present dictionaries rests.

7. 'On the philosophy of the ancient Indians.'

Sir William Jones would probably be surprised to find how this subject has developed. His parallels between Greek and Indian thought have all vanished. Yet thought is universal, and human experience is the same, but can it be said that East and West have found a common standing ground? We now have three Indian histories of philosophy, complete or in progress. In the West the only works of account are in French and German, and here, if the truth must be told, scholarship has not yet reached that community of thought which we may some day expect. This only means that the work has not yet gone far enough. But there is one aspect of this subject which probably never entered into Sir W. Jones's head. Indian philosophical thought is still alive and capable of holding its own. Here we touch on a deep question. Philosophy is ultimately religion, and religion is an expression of the soul. That was outside the thought of Jones, but not outside the thought of India.

8. 'A translation of the Veda.'

A translation may have a merely vicious effect. It is vicious when it leads historians and others to depend on it and draw fanciful conclusions from what may be only the translator's last attempt to give a meaning. It has been especially vicious in the case of the Rig-veda, when Wilson's translation was used or even a metrical version that effaced all the difficulties. Wilson in his time inevitably depended on Sāyaṇa, and those who used him were quite unable to know whether what they took was really in the Rig-veda, or whether it was only a possible interpretation some thousands of years later. I am far from disparaging Sāyaṇa, but it is poisoning the wells to

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confuse the two. Geldner's translation of the first four maṇḍalas has for some years been available in German. The rest was hindered by the World war, but the whole of it revised was intended to appear in 1933 as volumes 33, 34, 35 of the *Harvard Oriental Series*. The good result of a translation is that the translator is forced to face the whole, and the real difficulties get focussed. If Geldner's work is like Whitney's translation of the *Atharva-veda* and Keith's *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* in the same series no one will have any excuse for quoting doubtful or ambiguous language as evidence.

9. 'On ancient Indian geometry, astronomy, and algebra.'

The most important of these is astronomy, but except for Thibaut's *Astronomie* in German, where is there a work from which Western readers can learn anything sound about it. How much they know can be seen from the fact that the new Pāli Dictionary knows nothing of the nakṣatras as twenty-eight. The editors were puzzled at finding the number given as twenty-eight in the *Niddesa*, and supposed that one of them was reckoned twice over. Yet in two well-known Buddhist Sanskrit works, *Lalitavistara* and *Divyāvadāna*, the whole twenty-eight occur with Abhijit in his proper place.

10. 'A translation of the Purāṇas.'

11. 'A translation of the Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa.'

Translations of classical Sanskrit works are not now so important as in the case of the Vedas, but both epics have been rendered into English by Indian scholars. What is now wanted is rather the study of their historical and antiquarian features.

12. 'On the Indian Theatre, etc. etc. etc.'

Sylvain Lévi and Keith have done this. The only question is, what are the problems still remaining, or perhaps, how much of it needs doing again?

13. 'On the Indian constellations, with their mythology, from the Purāṇas.'

This is perhaps the chief item which in itself is of minor importance. Jones was no doubt thinking in terms of Greek antiquities. All that matters would come under astronomy—or under another subject, which scarcely seems to have been in his mind.

14. 'The history of India before the Muhammadan conquest, from the Sanskrit-Kashmir-histories.'

Here is the backbone of the undertaking. There is no doubt that Jones did not realize the difficulties and the magnitude of the task. Yet he did not, just because the materials for Indian history have their own peculiarities, say that Indian history does not exist. There are two points here to be noticed—the fact that when we find certain periods of Indian history to be very scanty in events, we

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are often referring to times when other peoples had no history at all. History is not all dates, and what would the historians of ancient Greece and Rome give for anything resembling the rich social history found in early Indian works? Further, the writing of history in India began much, as it began in Greece, with the epic poems. Down to the fifth century B.C. Greece had much the same kind of historical material as India, but it was much more scanty. The difference came when two geniuses arose, Herodotus and Thucydides, and developed a new type of literature. That greatly advanced the conception of history-writing as a science in Europe. But the principles of this science are not Western. They are the general possession of historical scholarship, which aims at recording the facts 'without anger or bias', as Tacitus said, and, in the words of another historian, making the result 'a possession for ever'. Of the achievements of India in this province already, I will not speak. There is no need to point to the work which, even by turning these pages, we can see is being done.

It is remarkable to see how much ground Sir William Jones, with all the limitations and hindrances then before him, was able to cover. To find out what his omissions were will be even more instructive than to consider what came within his purview, for these omissions are the subjects to which modern students of the culture of India can give profitable attention.

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THE ṢŪFĪ MOVEMENT IN INDIA

II

(Period of Establishment—1150-1400 A.D.)

By MD. ENAMUL HAQ

Real and continuous Ṣūfī activities in India began from the closing years of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth centuries. Henceforward Ṣūfīs of outstanding personality began to come to India one after another in quick succession. They worked vigorously and their work was not in vain. People did no more turn their backs to them. Hearty responses from all quarters of India came forth and the Ṣūfīs soon found them amidst a large number of disciples. Within a few centuries, they, their disciples, the disciples of their disciples, were able to capture the imagination of large masses of people who voluntarily accepted the new faith and propagated the new ideas. In this way, through the agency of both Indian and extra-Indian Ṣūfīs, Ṣūfīism was established in this country on a firm footing.

A. The Chishtīs.—During the close of the early period, the first Ṣūfī, known by his association with one of his disciples of far wider fame, was perhaps Shaykh Ḥusayn of Zanjān, a city near Azarbījān. We know nothing about this Ṣūfī save that he settled at Lahore where he died and was interred and that Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī was under his instruction for sometime at Lahore (Aīn., Vol. III, p. 362). Probably this early saint died before 1200 A.D.

The next and most prominent Ṣūfī to name, was Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī. His name is still a household word to almost all of the Muslims of India. He not only left behind him an immortal name but also a long line of spiritual successors, almost equally celebrated, enthusiastic and active. He was born in Sistān, a southern district of Afghanistān in the year 1142 A.D., and became an orphan on the death of his father at the age of fifteen. In a village called Hārūn in Nīshāpūr, near Mashhad, he lived a long life of austerity and self-mortification under the instruction of Khwājah 'Uthmān Chishtī' (d. 1220 A.D.) from whom he ultimately inherited spiritual successorship. In course of his long travel through Persia, Irāq, Mecca, and Medina, he met with many eminent Ṣūfīs of his time, viz. 'Abdu-'I-Qādir Jīlānī (1078–1166 A.D.),

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Khwājah Quṭbu-'d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (1142–1236 A.D.), and many others, from whom, it is said, he derived spiritual benefit.

The cause of his arrival in India is accounted for in a miraculous way. It is said that when he was at Medina as a pilgrim to the Prophet's sepulchre, he was invisibly ordered by the Prophet to repair to India, the home of the heathen, and preach the religion of Islām in and around the locality of Ajmir. Whatever might have been the cause of his arrival in India, there is no doubt that a voice from within inspired and prompted him to undertake the task of preaching Islām. With this self-imposed duty in view, only a few months before the last invasion of India by Sulṭān Shihābu-'d-Dīn Muḥammad Ghūrī (1189–1205 A.D.) he entered India in the beginning of the year 1193 A.D., reached Lahore where he lived for two months in the shrine of Dātā Ganj Bakhsh and then after a few halts at several places arrived at Delhi whence he reached Ajmir in the last part of the same year (i.e. 1193 A.D.).[1]

When he reached Ajmir in 1193 A.D., his proselytizing activities became very conspicuous within a few days of his arrival. Many people were attracted to him by his miraculous deeds and consequently he came in collision with Rājā Prithvīrāj, the then king of Ajmir, and with many Hindu Jogīs or Saints whom he is said to have vanquished by his superior miraculous power. As a result of his collision with Prithvīrāj, he, it is said, prophesied that the king would soon be defeated and killed by the Muslims. If he really prophesied thus, truly his prophesy was fulfilled. A few months after the arrival of the saint at Ajmir, Sulṭān Muḥammad Ghūrī invaded India for the last time and defeated, captured, and killed Rājā Prithvīrāj during the close of the year, 1193 A.D., on the memorable battlefield of Tarain or Tirauri, where all powerful princes of Northern India assembled under the banner of the latter to give battle to the Muslim invader. It is a well-known fact that on this historic battlefield the Turks broke the back of Hindu power in Northern India. If, for this reason only, we give so much historical importance to the battle, we do not know, why we should not attach

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[1] As regards the date of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī's arrival at Ajmir, there are many discrepancies. But in all hagiologies, it has been unanimously admitted that from Delhi he came to Ajmir at a time when Rājā Prithvīrāj was reigning there and that following his arrival the fall of the Rājā occurred. In almost all of the Urdu memoirs of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī with which we have come across, the date of his arrival at Ajmir has been fixed at 561 A.H. corresponding to 1165 A.D. In Firishtah (Chap. XII) too, the date is 561 A.H., but in Aīn (p. 362), it is 589 A.H.=1193 A.D. We do not see any way how the date 1165 A.D. can be reconciled with the historical date of the last invasion of India (1193 A.D.) by Muḥammad Ghūrī. Hence we accept the date of Aīn here.

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the same, nay even more, historical importance to the arrival of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī at Ajmir; for, with the preaching of Islām a new order began in India. No matter, whether as a result of the saint's prophesy or of some accidents, the fall of the Rājā was hastened; but it seems to be a historical fact that the saint's arrival at Ajmir was followed by the Rājā's fall. As if, the saint heralded the news of the decline of Hindu power and the rise of that of the Muhammadans in India. In short, he was the man who first planted the true seed of Islam in Indian soil and introduced a new set of Islamic ideas and thought, hitherto unknown to the Indians. This great saint died on the 18th March, 1236 A.D. in Ajmir.

Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī was a great Ṣūfī, a great preacher, and great saint of uncommon piety. He was an eminent organizer too. He organized an efficient group of Ṣūfīs, both Indian and foreign, and with their help he started a regular mission of Islam which survived him and worked for centuries. The Ṣūfīs belonging to his group are generally known as the Chishtīs and many of them were active propagandists, powerful preachers, and men of reputed miraculous powers (Karāmāt). Islamic thought and mystic philosophy were brought home to the people of India by them. Within a few years, their zealous and ever-increasing activities were felt from one corner of India to the other. Khwājah Quṭbu-'d-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī (1142–1236 A.D.) of Ūsh, near Baghdād, was the principal 'Khalīfah' or spiritual vicegerent of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī. He settled in Delhi, the capital city of India, whence he exerted a great influence over the whole of Northern India. Leaving aside the question of western part of Northern India, where hundreds of Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn's spiritual successors worked for him, the eastern provinces such as Bihar and Bengal also were brought under their influence. Shāh Abdullāh Kirmānī of Bīrbhūm, Bengal, was the first Chishtī saint who worked in Bengal for his master Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī in the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D. (Tadhkirah, part I, p. 103). He was a great saint who organized a new group in his own name and his activities were chiefly confined to the West Bengal and Bihar.

Of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī's spiritual successors, the name of Bakhtiyār Kākī has just now been mentioned above. Among Kākī's spiritual successors, the name of Bābā Farīdu-'d-Dīn Shakrganj should be mentioned first. He was born in a village called Khutwāl near Multān and buried at Pakpattan in the Punjab. He died on Monday, the 15th September, 1269 A.D. (Aīn., Vol. III, pp. 363-64) and was a great Ṣūfī, preacher and traveller. So far as our present information goes, he was the first

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Chishtī Ṣūfī who visited the Deccan and converted a large number of Hindus to the Muslim faith. These converts are known as the Dudekulas of Southern India (Pre. Is., p. 267 ; In. Isl., pp. 47, 48). Everywhere in Bengal a tradition of Bābā Farīd's arrival in the country is still current and a close examination of this tradition, as it is preserved by the people of different localities, convinces us that he came to Bengal at least once.

Bābā Farīd was succeeded by two of the most famous saints of India and they were 'Alā'u-'d-Dīn 'Alī Aḥmad Ṣābir of Pirān Kalīr (1196–1291) near Rurkī, and Niẓāmu-'d-Dīn Awliyā of Delhi (1236–1325). These two saints were as active as their master and both of them formed two distinct groups of followers, known after their own names. Two of the disciples of Niẓāmu-'d-Dīn Awliyā were successively sent to Dewgīrī, Deccan, and they were Mīr Ḥasan 'Ulāyī of Sanjīr (d. 1335 A.D.) and Shaykh Burhānu-'d-Dīn Gharīb (d. 1339 A.D.). Both of them died and were buried in Dewgīrī. His another disciple Akhī Sirāju-'d-Dīn (d. 1357 A.D.) was sent to Bengal and from him a long line of spiritual successors proceeded.

B. The Suhrawardīs.—Another man, a contemporary of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī, exerted a tremendous influence in India during the period of establishment. He was Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Suhrawardī of Baghdād (1147–1234 A.D.). He was a great saint of wide renown, whom the people of Baghdād, Persia, 'Irāq, Samarqand, Bukhārā, and Afghanistān used to visit for spiritual training. He never came to India ; but India owes so much to him for Ṣūfiism that his revered name cannot be omitted here. Many of his disciples and successors were famous saints of India. Like his illustrious contemporary Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn, he left behind him a long line of successors who covered the whole of Northern India within a few centuries. One of his Northern Indian disciples, named Shaykh Jalālu-'d-Dīn Tabrīzī (*vide* Chapter on Bengali Ṣūfīs—Varendra centre), reached Bengal before 1200 A.D., when Rājā Lakṣmaṇa Sena, the last Hindu king of Bengal, was reigning. He was born of a very poor Muslim family of Etawa (Aṭṭāva) in the United Provinces and after a twelve year's study in different branches of Learning, he was compelled to leave his native place and roam over a vast tract of land. In course of his wanderings, he acquired, by dint of his long service, the merit of spiritual succession from Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Suhrawardī. He at last settled in Bengal and converted many people to Islamic faith. He died in Pānduā in the district of Maldah, Bengal, in the year 1225 A.D.

Qāḍī Hamīdu-'d-Dīn of Nāgūr, another great saint of India, was born in Bukhārā and came to Delhi with his father during the reign of Mu'īzu-'d-Dīn Shām. He served for three years as Qāḍī

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at Nāgūr ; but at last he resigned the service, went to Baghdād, and became the disciple of Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Suhrawardī. From Baghdād he returned to India and settled in the capital city of Delhi whence he tried to exert his influence all round. He died on Sunday, the 9th November, 1246, in Delhi and was buried there (Aīn., Vol. III, p. 367 ; Tadhkirah, part I, p. 47). One of Nāgūrī's disciples, Shaykh Aḥmad by name, attained a high celebrity and his field of activity was at Badāyūn where he died and was buried (Aīn., Vol. III, p. 369).

Among the Indian spiritual successors of Shaykh Shihābu-'d-Dīn Suhrawardī, Bahā'u-'d-Dīn Dhakriyā of Multān (1169–1266 A.D.) was the most celebrated and most active. He followed the tradition of his master like a devoted and a loyal lieutenant. It was through his activities, the specific theosophical creed of the Suhrawardīs was established in India. He gathered around him a large band of followers many of whom attained India-wide fame. Among these the name of Sayyad Jalālu-'d-Dīn Surkhpūsh of Bukhārā (1196–1291 A.D.) requires special mention here. He belonged to the celebrated Sayyad family of Bukhārā, which gave birth to a good number of famous saints having an intimate connection with India. He came to India and settled at Ūch (now in Bhowalpur State) where he died in the year 1291 A.D. Surkhpūsh was spiritually succeeded by his grandson Sayyad Jalāl-bin Aḥmad Kabīr, generally known as Makhdūm Jahāniyan (Lord of Mankind) (1307–1383 A.D.). He was a great traveller, who visited all parts of the Muslim world and preached Islam everywhere. A large number of Hindus of Bengal and Sind were converted to Islam by him. He died on the 2nd February, 1383 A.D. at Ūch and was buried there (Aīn., Vol. III, p. 369 ; Tadhkirah, part III, pp. 147–150). One grandson of Makhdūm Jahāniyan, named Sayyad Muḥammad Shāh 'Ālam (d. 1475 A.D.), was no less famous than any of his ancestors. 'He played an important part in the political and religious life of his time ; his tomb is at Rasulābād near Ahmadābād.' (Ency. Is., part II, p. 488 ; In. Isl., p. 123).

C. The Junaydīs.—So far as our knowledge goes, the Junaydīs were the earliest Ṣūfīs, of whom we know something. Although they had a very early history to tell, yet owing to utter lack of materials, we cannot discover a link of their Indian successors. Ḥujwīrī was the earliest of the Junaydīs, of whom we have already said something in connection with the earliest Ṣūfīs of India. Ḥujwīrī, better known as Dātā Ganj Bakhsh, was a native of Ghazna in Afghanistān. He settled at Lahore where his tomb is still visited by a large number of pilgrims every year. He was spiritually connected with Junayd of Baghdād (d. 910 A.D.), the founder of the

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Junaydī order of darvishes (Kashf. preface, pp. I, XVII, and footnote, p. XVII). In his famous book on Ṣūfiism, Ḥujwīrī himself admits that he was the disciple of one Abū-'l-Faḍl Muḥammad bin al-Ḥasan al-Khuttalī who held the doctrine of Junayd in Ṣūfiism (Kashf., p. 166). Who spiritually succeeded Ḥujwīrī in India, we do not know. Perhaps, he had none to succeed him here. In case there was a succession, there is no doubt that the link was broken by a long gap of nearly two hundred years, which was not filled up until after the advent of the Suhrawardīs to India.

During the first half of the fourteenth century, we hear of the career of a prominent Ṣūfī, called Bābā Isḥāq Maghribī who belonged to this order of Ṣūfīs. Born in Delhi, he came in contact with many eminent Ṣūfīs of his time and chose Khattu as a place of his activity and permanent residence. Henceforward, Khattu became the centre of considerable interest to all belonging to this order of Ṣūfīs. He flourished during the reign of Sulṭān Muḥammad Tughlaq (1325–51 A.D.) (Aīn., Vol. III, p. 371).

The work begun by Bābā Isḥāq was vigorously carried on by one of his spiritual successors, named Shaykh Naṣīru-'d-Dīn Aḥmad of Khattu. He was born in Delhi in the year 1336 A.D., of a noble family of that city. This man directed his missionary campaign to Gujrat where he reached during the reign of Sulṭān Aḥmad (1411–1443). He was successful in his mission and many people received him with honour and respect. He died and was buried at Sarkhech, near Aḥmadābād (Aīn., Vol. III, pp. 352, 371).

One of the Ṣūfīs belonging to this order, was Shaykh Bāhā'u-'d-Dīn Junaydī. He worked in Sirhind and died there in the year 1515 A.D. It is said that he liked perfumes of any kind (Tadhkirah, part III, p. 18). Unfortunately, we have not yet met with any further account of activities of the Ṣūfīs of this order. Only one or two stray names are found here and there, which require no special mention. Probably, this order produced no other prominent Ṣūfīs in India in the succeeding ages.

D. The Shaṭṭārīs.—During the last half of the fourteenth century another man introduced a new order of the darvishes to India. This man was Abdullāh Shaṭṭārī who died in Malwa in the year 1406 A.D. (In Isl., p. 123). Just like his eminent predecessors, Abdullāh might have been spiritually succeeded by a long chain of successors, but unfortunately no such record is at present available. When he entered India, other orders of darvishes were very active. Abdullāh brought with him a new set of ideas and somewhat fresh system of Sūfī thought which had a very little similarity with those of other orders of darvishes. (For the detailed study of the thoughts and ideas of the Shaṭṭarīs, *vide* 'Irshādatul'

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'Arifīn', translated by Khājā Khan; *vide* article on 'Shaṭṭārīya' in the Encyclopædia of Islam.) Indians could not, in all probability, accept him very warmly for the reasons of novelties introduced by him. However, his struggle for the establishment of this new order in India, was not in vain. Though we do not know the extent of his success in India, we are more than sure that Abdullāh left behind him a long line of spiritual successors who took up the unfinished work, already begun by their master. Among his successors, many saints were of outstanding personality and India-wide fame: Muḥammad Ghawth, the spiritual instructor of Emperor Humāyūn, was a great saint of his time who died in A.D. 1562 at Gwalior (M.T., III, pp. 4–6); Bahā'u-'d-Dīn of Jaunpur and his spiritual successor Mīr Sayyad 'Alī Qawsām (d. 1499 A.D.) of the same place were Shaṭṭārī Ṣūfīs of wide repute (Aīn., Vol. III, p. 373); Shah Pīr, who died in the year 1632 A.D., and was interred at Meerut, was another great Shaṭṭārī saint in whose memory the Empress Nūr Jahān built a magnificient tomb (E.R.E., Vol. XI, pp. 68–73).

E. The Qādirīs.—One of the living and most prominent Ṣūfī orders of the Muslim world was introduced to India by 'Abdu-'l-Karīm ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jīlī' in the year 1388 A.D. This order was the order of the Qādirīs. 'Abdu-'l-Karīm' was born in A.D. 1365, in Jīlān or Gīlān, a province south of the Caspian Sea, where 'Abdu-'l-Qādir,' the accredited founder of the famous Qādirī order, was born exactly two hundred years before the birth of 'Abdu-'l-Karīm.' He was a great Ṣūfī poet and a learned theosophical author whose 'Insānu-'l-Kāmil' or the 'Perfect Man' and 'Nawādiru-'l-'Ayniyyah' or the 'Rarity of Vision' still testify to his wonderful ability as an independent Ṣūfī thinker. 'He mentions that in A.H. 790 corresponding to A.D. 1388 he was in India at a place named Kushi where he conversed with a man under sentence of death for the murder of three notables' (Studies in Islamic Mysticism, R. A. Nicholson, p. 81, footnote No. 2, appendix I, p. 143). For how many years he had been in India, we do not know. Probably just after his Indian tour, he settled 'at Zabīdan in Yemen with his Shaykh, Sharafu-'d-Dīn Ismā-'il ibn Ibrāhīm al-Jabartī. The earliest date referring to his stay at Zabīdan is A.H. 796=A.D. 1393-4, and the latest A.H. 805=A.D. 1402-3'. From this, we can surmise that the period of his stay in India might have covered six to fifteen years. He died at Zabīdan sometime between A.D. 1406–1417.

The next Qādirī saint who visited India, was one of the descendants of the illustrious founder of this order. His name was Shāh Sayyad Niamatullāh. Though he was a Ṣūfī of no mean order, it seems that he could not popularize his order in India. Probably

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without any active spiritual successor, he died in the year 1430 A.D. (Tadhkirah, part III, p. 17).

The work, which he could not finish, was ably performed by another man of his own illustrious family and he was Sayyad Muḥammad Ghawth of Jīlān or Gīlān. This great saint and propagandist came to India in the year 1482 A.D. and soon took up the work of his predecessors in his hand. He succeeded in his mission and died in the year 1517 at Ūch where he permanently settled and left behind him a long chain of spiritual successors many of whom were famous and capable men. As, for example, we may cite the name of Shaykh Mīr Muḥammad, generally known as Miyān Mīr (d. 1635 A.D.), the religious and spiritual guide of prince Dārā Shikūh, brother of Aurangzīb (Tadhkirah, part III, p. 18 ; Majma', introduction).

F. The Madārīs or the Ūwysīs.—This order was first introduced to India by Badī'u-'d-Dīn entitled Shāh-i-Madār. So long, scholars had been entertaining doubt about the historicity of this renowned saint. Although the saint played a very conspicuous part in the development of Ṣūfīism in India and though the historic relics and traces were not wanting in many places of Northern India, yet he was considered as a mythical person to whom the ignorant people of the whole of Gangetic plain were fabulously attached with gross superstition. We hope these doubts will now be dispelled by the following account of Badī-'u-'d-Dīn taken from 'Mirāt-i-Madārī' written in the year 1653 A.D. and kept in manuscript form in the Buhar Library, Calcutta.

Badī'u-'d-Dīn was the son of one Abū Isḥāq of Syria, a descendant of ancient Israelites. At one of the auspicious dawns of 1315 A.D. (A.H. 715), he was born amidst the halo of heavenly light which brilliantly illuminated his father's house in Syria. His real name was Badī'u-'d-Dīn, but as he was the most illustrious saint of his time, he was called the 'Shāh-i-Madār' or 'Quṭbu-'l-Madār', both the titles meaning 'Axis of Saints'. He received a good education in his early days. He mastered the Qurān, the Old and New Testaments, the Psalms of David and other theological lores before he passed his teens (MS., pp. 8–23).

Shāh-i-Madār belonged to the Ūwysī order of darvishes. The reputed founder of this order was the famous saint Ūwys Qaranī, a younger contemporary of the Prophet. The chief characteristic of this order is the non-admissibility of 'Pīr' as a guide to the goal of union with God (MS., pp. 40–43).

The exact date of the advent of Shāh-i-Madār to India is not known. From 'Laṭāif-i-Ashrafī' of the famous Indian Saint Mīr Ashraf Jahāngir Samānī (d. 1405 A.D.), we come to know that Mīr

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Ashraf was a companion of Badī'u-'d-Dīn in one of his tours to the holy city of Mecca, on the arrival at which Mīr Ashraf parted with his companion who started for India (MS., p. 40; Tadhkirah, part I, p. 147). When Badī'u-'d-Dīn reached India, Emperor Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq (1351–88 A.D.) was then reigning in Delhi (MS., p. 64). From this, it is clear that he came to India in a certain year between 1351–1388 A.D. On his arrival at India, he first visited Gujarat and then Ajmir (MS., pp. 55-56), where he visited the tomb of Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī from whom he received invisibly the permission to leave the place for Kanuj. On his way to Kanuj, he lived for sometime at Kalpi (MS., p. 57), where he was received with great honour by the deputy of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughlaq (MS., p. 64). Then he visited Kanuj, Lucknow, Kantur, and Jaunpur (MS., pp. 68, 111, 114, 117). When he reached the neighbourhood of Jaunpur, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (1400–1440 A.D.), his Qāḍi, and all the people of town came out in procession to give a hearty reception to the great saint. He stayed at Jaunpur for a few years and preached his new creed among the people who became his disciples in large numbers. From Jaunpur, Badī'u-'d-Dīn Shāh-i-Madār repaired to Makanpur, near the city of Cawnpore in Oudh where he settled permanently and died there on Thursday, 18th Jumādī I, A.H. 840, corresponding to 1436 A.D., at the age of 125 years (MS., p. 141).

During his long tour from one end of the country to the other, he made many converts to Islām and many disciples to take up the task he had already begun. We do not take any notice of the incredible accounts of thousands of miracles which are said to have been worked by this great saint. These stories only testify to the veneration in which he is held by the people.

Shāh-i-Madār was succeeded by many eminent Ṣūfīs of India, among whom 'Abdu-'l-Quddūs of Gangūh (d. 1543 A.D.) was very famous. Emperor Humāyūn visited him for the decision of some controversial points on religious matters (Aīn., Vol. III, p. 374).

One of the Bengali disciples of Shāh-i-Madār was Shāh Allāh who was perhaps the first Madārī deputy in Bengal. He was stationed at Gour in the district of Maldah (Mirāt-i-Madārī, p. 136).

G. The Naqshbandīs.—In the last part of the fifteenth century, another new darvish order, called the Naqshbandī, was introduced to India by Khwājah Bāqī Billah (d. 1603 A.D.). The founder of this order was Bahā'u-'d-Dīn Naqshband or the Painter. He was a native of Turkistān, died in the year 1398 A.D., and was buried in Bukhārā. Khwājah Bāqī Billah, who first brought the teachings of the Naqshbandīs to India, was born in Delhi but educated and brought up in Kabul and Samarqand where he came in contact

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with the Naqshbandī school of thought and admitted himself to that school. Being imbued with the teachings of that school of Ṣūfī thought, he returned to India and preached his new ideas to this country. But he was not very successful in his mission. He settled in Delhi and died there in the year 1603 A.D. (Tadhkirah, part III, pp. 90–92 ; In. Isl., p. 124).

'This order does not seem to have been as much favoured with success as the earlier orders. Perhaps this is due to the fact of its late entry on the scene, as it came to India about four centuries after Khwājah Mu'īnu-'d-Dīn Chishtī made his appearance with his order, which has the largest following of all the fraternities. However, in recent times there has been a Naqshbandī revival in the Punjab and Kashmir. It is specially favoured by the educated' (In. Isl., pp. 124-125).

From the above accounts where we have tried to trace the history of Ṣūfī movement in India, it will be seen that this movement of Islāmic theosophic thought was firmly established on the Indian soil in the course of three centuries, viz. twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth. It is really amazing to note that in the course of these three centuries, every nook and corner of India was resounded with the Ṣūfīstic echoes produced by the Indians.

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YAVANAS IN EARLY INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

By O. Stein

1. The earliest Indian inscriptions in which the ethnical term Yavana, middle-Indian Yona, occurs are the Rock-inscriptions of Aśoka, II, V, XIII. The Yonas comprise here evidently the peoples of the five kings : Antiochos, Ptolemaios, Antigonos, Magas, and Alexander, i.e. Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Kyrene, Epirus or Corinth, respectively. It is remarkable that the Kambojas and Gandhāras, peoples of the North-West too, are enumerated distinctly from the Yavanas (RI., V, cf. XIII). The RI., II and XIII refer to Antiochos as the representative of the Yona-kings.[1] The conclusion seems to be that the term Yona in Aśoka's time has been restricted to the western peoples outside India, the Jambudīpa of Minor RI. ; and it had to be added that in spite of the different nationality of the five peoples the common link which united them in the eyes of Aśoka was the nationality of their kings, or, their official language at least, Greek. On the other hand, Aśoka was aware of Yonas within his own realm,[2] as he refers in RI., XIII (K. 9 ; Sh. 9 ; M. 10) to Yonas and Kambojas in his *viṣaya* ; in the same inscription, however, he distinguishes the former from all the other peoples by the statement (K. 38) that everywhere exist Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas *ānatā Yoneṣu* 'except among the Yonas'. To be strict, therefore, one cannot say that Aśoka meant by Yona Greeks alone, though essentially he might have thought the subject of these five kings to be Greeks.

1*b*. Chronologically the following passage in Rudradāman's Junāgaḍh I. (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 43, l. 8 = L.[3] 965) belongs to the 2nd cent. A.D., but the Yavana Tuṣāspha, alluded to here, was a contemporary governor of Aśoka. Besides the form of the word Yavana (against Yona) the apparent Iranian nationality of the officer has to be noted.

2. To the beginning of the first century B.C. perhaps one may attribute the Besnagar I. (L. 669 ; add : D. R. Bhandarkar, JBBRAS., XXIII, 1914, 104–6) ; in that epigraph the ambassador of Antialkidas to Kāsīputa Bhāgabhadra calls himself a Yona ; his name is Heliodoros, his father's name Dion, both real Greek names

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[1] Cf. J. Charpentier, BSOS, VI, 1931, 303ff.
[2] Cf. CII, I, p. xxxix ; Bhandarkar, Asoka, 2nd ed., p. 29ff.
[3] L. = Lüders' List in *Ep. Ind.*, X, Appendix.

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as that of king Antialkidas. Heliodoros, the diplomat, was born in Takṣaśilā, but had embraced the Bhāgavata-religion (cf. below, p. 15, n. 14).

3. BÜHLER believed (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 395) the inscriptions at Sanchi to belong to the 3rd cent. B.C.; it is not possible without any reproduction to say to which age each inscription may belong. No. 364 (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 395=L. 547) announces the gift of the Setapathiya Yona. The latter word, Yona, cannot be here anything but the personal name of the donor, i.e. he was called '(the) Yona from Setapatha'. Whether he was really a Yona, or an Indian by nationality, who got that name only, it is hardly possible to decide. May be that the foreigner, a Yavana by birth, became a Buddhist and settled down among his Indian co-believers; for them he was 'the Yona', that became his personal name. It may be the same with the monk who appears twice—it is very likely the same individual—as the Kāboja, i.e. Kāmboja, from Nādinagara, i.e. Nandinagara (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 97, no. 7=L. 176; p. 387, no. 287 =L. 472).

4. Archæologists date the *caitya*-hall of Kārli to the 1st cent. B.C.[1] There is found a number of inscriptions, containing the term Yavana. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 53f., no. 7=L. 1093=*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 327, no. 7, mentions the gift of a pillar by the Yavana Sihadhaya from Dhenukākaṭa, as it has been translated hitherto. The syntactical peculiarity of that and some other inscriptions (see below) is the genitive plural of the personal name, constructed with the genitive singular of the ethnicon Yavaṇa (*Yavaṇasa Sihadhayāna*). SENART referred for that anomaly to Kārli I. No. 3 (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 51f.=L. 1089), where *therānaṃ bhaṃyaṃta I/ṃ/dadevasa* is found. It is obvious that here the genitive pl. means a collective, a member of which is the venerable Indradeva; and even as a pluralis majestatis would it be intelligible with a *bhadanta*, but hardly with a foreigner.

Before proposing a new translation, a survey of inscriptions may find place here in which references to some corporation are evident.

A Kuḍā I. (L. 1058) speaks of a Adhagacchaka Rāmadata; the goṭhī of the Bhaṭṭiprolu I. (L. 1332) mentions in l. 15f. (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 327, no. III) a Janako Gosālakānaṃ, the name of a family perhaps. In the Amarāvatī I. (L. 1244) a householder Sidhatha of the Jaḍikiyas is met; his wife who erects a pillar for lights does it together with her relatives; thus the husband may belong to the

[1] See Cambridge History of India, I, 637; A. K. COOMARASWAMY, Geschichte der indischen und indones Kunst, p. 31.

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family of the Jaḍikiyas. Two brothers, Budhamita and Budharakhita, sons of Asasama, inhabitants of Bharukaccha, are called the Laṃkuḍiyas (L. 1169); it is to be seen from that epigraph that neither the father's nor the town's name could be meant by Laṃkuḍiya. A physician belongs to the Māmakavejiya (L. 1048), that may be a family or school of Mamaka-vaidyakas. The donors of an *upaṭhāṇa*, a reception-hall, are Mala, the Mudhakiya, and Ānada, the Golikiya; LUEDERS (L. 1151) sees in them members of the Mūrdhaka, resp. of the Golika caste; the former would correspond to the Mūrdhābhiṣikta, Mūrdhavasikta, the latter to the Golaka (Manu, III, 174); as these castes are rather of different rank and the names, too, are not quite identical, it seems preferable to explain them as families again or corporation. Pābhāsasāhas of Kākanava appear as donors in a Sanchi I. (L. 659); it is rather tempting to connect the Pābhāsasāhas with the Kākaṇāva-pabhāsana in another Sanchi I. (L. 681); Kākaṇāva (cf. L. 200, 340, 350; *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 366) is the ancient name of Sanchi; the *pabhāsana* was perhaps the officer who illuminated the Stūpa, *pābhāsanasāha* were the people who carried the illuminating utensils. A family-name is represented by the Pusiliyas (L. 1207); the same is to be supposed with the Saphineyaka. For, a Sanchi I. (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 374, no. 161=L. 229) runs thus: *Ujeniyā Saphineyakānā Isikasa dānam*; another epigraph from the same place (l.c., p. 371, no. 137 =L. 198) mentions the gift of the mother of the venerable (Ra ?)hila, the Sāphineyaka; a third inscription (l.c., p. 401, no. 69= L. 644) records the gift of the mother of Saghā the Sāphineyakā; this family must have been prominent in Ujjain, and proud, too, of her origin.[1] Another famous family (or tribe, see BUEHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 94 and n. 28) of Ujjain have been the Tāpasiyas which are represented by six inscriptions (l.c., p. 105, no. 73=L. 307; p. 373, no. 151=L. 219, cf. L. 560; p. 373, no. 152=L. 220; p. 374, no. 160=L. 228; p. 380, no. 223=L. 409). A Kaṇheri I. (L. 1012) records that a cave of the *thera bhayata* Mītabhūti is the gift of the Sāgarapaloganas; that may be a family of merchants who went over the sea. A matronymical feudatory name is perhaps the Vākiliya (l.c., p. 100, no. 27=L. 237, cf. 172), the descendent of queen Vākalā or Vākilā (l.c., p. 370, no. 127=L. 169), mother of Ahimita (cf. BUEHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 92f.). Besides *goṭhīs* (L. 273, 1339) there appear families of high officers (L. 1112),

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[1] That the name of the mother is not mentioned occurs in Sanchi I. (l.c., p. 381, no. 225=L. 411) also, the daughter's name is given only, perhaps because the votive gift was for her sake.

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or *upāsikās*[1] (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 372, no. 147=L. 214) as donors, nowhere an individual's name, in the genitive plur. An individual's name *Kulika* occurs on three copies of a matrix of a Bhīṭā seal, but there is also a seal with the legend *Kulikanigama*[*sa*] which points to a corporation (Annual Report, ASI., 1911/12, p. 56).

With these inscriptions in which a collective body, either a family or some corporation appears, are to be linked together those Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions in which *sahaya* or *sahayara*, *sahara* are met. The Fatehjang Stone I. of the year 68 (CII., II, 1, no. XII, p. 21f.) mentions *Vadhitiraṇa sahayaṇa daṇamukho*, a gift of the Vadhitira companions; the Muchāi I. of the year 81 (CII., II, 1, no. XIV, p. 29f.) records the well of the Vaṣiśuga companions; a well is the gift of the Pipalakhaa companions in the Kala Sang I. of the year 100 (CII., II, 1, no. XVIII, p. 52ff.) as in the Mārguz I. of the year 117(?), where *sahaya* . . . . . *daraṇa* is read (CII., II, 1, no. XXV, p. 66f.), again a genitive plur. The same contents are offered by the Peshawar Museum I. of the year 168 (CII., II, 1, no. XXVIII, p. 77ff.): *sahayara Tradaśakuraṇa daṇaṃmukhe kue khaṇavide viharami*, as a gift of the Tradaśakura companions this well has been caused to be dug in the *vihāra*; or in the Shakardarra I. of the year 40 (CII., II, 1, no. LXXXIII, p. 159f.), where the well is a gift of the Droṇivaḍra companions. An individual is connected with father and sons, the Uḍiliaka; the word before *pida*° has been restored to *sahaehi* by STEN KONOW (CII., II, 1, no. XLV, p. 110ff.) and to *suhaehi* by N. G. MAJUMDAR (JASB., XX, 1924, p. 8, no. 14) in the Jamālgarhī I. of the year 359. Here a family may be meant, as it happens to be the case in no. 2 of the Dharmarājika I. (CII., II, 1, no. XXXV, p. 90f.), where the family of the Hoḍreas seems to be connected with the gift (cf. CII., II, 1, pp. 74 and 164). Also the Uṇḍ I. of the year 61 (CII., II, 1, no. LXXXVII, p. 170f.) suggests a gift of a family or some corporation of the Savira; doubtful is the Naugrām I. (CII., II, 1, no. LXIII, p. 129).

The meaning of *sahāya* in those inscriptions is uncertain; by no means one had to believe these companions to be mendicants, as the inscriptions use for the brothers who offer a votive gift for the sake of their co-fratres the expression *sārdhaṃcara* or *sārdhaṃvihārin*.[2] In the legal literature the term sahāya is not found; the Kauṭilīya Arthāśāstra mentions twice *sahāya* after *syāla*, the

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[1] For the sect of the Dhamutariyas (Dharmottarīyas) see L. 1094, 1095, 1152, not to speak of Jinist schools.

[2] Cf. KONOW, CII., II, 1, p. 107, and nos. XL, XLII, XLIII, XLIV; H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, 84; Pali Text Soc. Dict., s.v., *saddhiṃ*.

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wife's brother (III, 11, 68) ; in IV, 8, 85 the *sahāya* is either a friend or some partner, in the same chapter and in IV, 6, 83 the *sahāya* is found to be a partner or sympathizer in crimes. That cannot be the exclusive meaning of *sahāya*, rather the word means a companion, co-partner of any undertaking ; it is not the same as a mere friend with whom do not necessarily exist common interests ; on the other hand however, there is no proof that a *sahāya* was the member of a guild. That the gen. plur. appears either with a king's name to indicate the dynasty or without a personal name, is known from inscriptions.[1] In the Amarāvatī I. No. 7 (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 263) the word *-kula* is found with a name of donors ; in no. 10 (*ibid.*, p. 264) occurs the name of Revata *Paḍipuḍi/ni/yānaṃ*, and nobody would be inclined to translate that otherwise than by (a gift) of Revata of the P. family or community ; that inscription proves also that in such cases where a personal name is followed by a name in gen. plur., the former must be an individual name. Sons of some man or a *nigama* are the donors in the Amarāvatī I. Nos. 14 and 15 (*ibid.*, p. 265).

There is little doubt that the inscription, mentioned above, means therefore the Yavana of the Sihadhayas, i.e. Siṃhadharas. Whether these had to be understood as a family or some corporation, it is not possible to decide.

5. Again, an inhabitant of Dhenukākaṭa was the donor, mentioned in the Kārli I. No. 10 (*Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 55f. = L. 1096) ; it contains the words only : *Dhenukākaṭā Dhaṃmayavanasa*. SENART preferred to a translation : (gift) of Dhaṃma,[2] a Yavana from Dh., the explanation : community of the Buddhist Yavanas, ' or rather a Buddhist Yavana who has modestly omitted his personal name '. That a pious layman omits his name, is not proved by votive inscriptions, the less is it probable for a foreigner who wants to underline his new faith ; from a grammatical point of view the compound Dhaṃmayavanasa cannot be divided in the sense suggested, that would be *Dhaṃṃasa Yavanasa* ; a community, again, would not use the singular. There is no other way than to explain the name as a personal one, the donor was called Dhaṃmayavana ; either he was a Yavana by birth who got after his conversion that new name or he was called so by his Indian friends, as he had no Indian name as yet. From that epigraph it is to

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[1] Cf. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 269f. ; JBORS., 19, 1933, p. 130, n. 1 ; *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 263, no. 8 ; the identity of the Pākoṭakas with the Vākāṭakas, suggested here, p. 260f., and p. 268 on no. 27 (*Ep. Ind.*, XV) is rather doubtful.

[2] SENART's argument (p. 56) that the simple name of Dhaṃma applied to a Buddhist is surprising, cannot be upheld nowadays in face of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa I., *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 25, K, line 1, and p. 37.

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be seen that the Yavanas of which nationality they may have been, either retained their indigenous name, or were called only Yavana; some of them, perhaps after entering the order, received Indian names.

6. The collection of Kārli I. was enriched by the publication of newly found inscriptions by Mr. M. S. VATS, *Ep. Ind.*, p. 325ff., no. IV (l.c., p. 326) mentions the gift of a pillar *Yavanasa Dhamadhayānaṃ* from Dhenukākaṭa. In accordance with the remarks, made above (p. 8), the donor is not the Yavana Dhamadhaya, but the Yavana of the Dhamadhayas. Like the Siṃhadharas of no. 4 these may have been the Dharmadharas,[1] either a family into which the Yavana was received, or a corporation.

7. No. X (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 328) records the gift of a pillar by the Yavana *Yasavadhananā/ṃ/*, that is of the Yaśovardhanas, from Dhenukākaṭa.

8. While in the previous inscriptions the genitive plur. follows after the genitive sing. Yavanasa, in no. IV (p. 327), the order of words is inverted: *Dhenukākaṭā Culayakhana Yavaṇasa thabhodāna.* The editor believes Culayakha to be a personal name, he reads °*khan/āṃ/* and translates (Additions and Corrections, p. x): gift of the Yavana Yakṣa the Junior. In accordance with the grammar and with that of the inscriptions the reading had to be °*yakhānaṃ*, but the reproduction of the impression does not show a long ā.[2] Nevertheless the translation would be: gift of a pillar by the Yavana of the Culayakhas (=Kṣudrayakṣas) from Dhenukākaṭa.

9. Of greater importance is no. 1 of these Kārli I. (*Ep. Ind.*, l.c., p. 325f., cf. Additions and Corrections, p. ixf.); the corrected reading runs as follows: *Umehakākaṭā Yavanasa Ciṭasa Gatānaṃ dānaṃ thabho*, (this) pillar is the gift by the Yavana Ciṭa of the Gatas from Umehakākaṭa.

10. It seems natural to connect with that Kārli epigraph two inscriptions from Junnar. One of them (L. 1182) mentions the gift of a *bhojanamaṭapa* to the *saṃgha* by the Yavana Ciṭa of the Gatas. Though there is no evidence, it seems probable that these two Ciṭas are the same individuals, as both are described as Yavana and of the Gatas.

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[1] Dhārmadharā appears as the name of a Jinist female or nun in a Mathurā I. of Saṃv. 99, L. 75, cf. Additions, p. 168.

[2] The personal name Yakṣa, in a diminutive form or as a pet-name, is met in inscriptions as Yakhila (L. 376, 580, 816), nuns are named Yakhī (L. 254, 344, 500). For Cula-, prefixed to personal names, cf. Culakanha in L. 1243, and names like Culacaṃadamukha (F., l. 2); Cula-Cāṭisiriṇikā (B., 4, l. 5); Culabudhā (K.); Culamūla (F., l. 2) of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa I. (*Ep. Ind.*, XX; XXI, p. 68, in N., l. 3: Jakhana . . .).

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11. The second Junnar I. (L. 1154) says that two cisterns are the gift of the Yavana Irila of the Gatas. It is for the first time that in these votive inscriptions besides the word Yavana a personal name occurs, and further the genitive plur. of a noun. The strange appearance of the personal names, Ciṭa and especially of Irila, has led some scholars to see in them foreigners of the Gatas, i.e. the Goths, a Germanic people [1]; LUEDERS explained the ethnicon as corresponding to a Sanskrit Garta. An Indian people, it must be admitted, of Gartas is not known; in some lexicons is found the explanation for *garta*, containing *inter alia Trigartāṃśe* (Hemacandra, Anekārthas, II, 163), resp. *Trigartabhede* (Medinī), and *Trigartadeśe* (Viśvakośa, quoted in the Vācaspatya); that is hardly satisfying for an assumption of a real people of Gartas. The 'Gothic' theory gets support by the personal names, Ciṭa and Irila; the former has been explained as east-gothic Tzitta, old-engl. Tidda; Latin inscriptions offer Tzita, Zita as personal names; M. OLSEN, however, preferred to an east-gothic stem Hild-, which has been suggested, a Germanic +Skeldwa, +Skildwins. The name Irila has been told to be Gothic ErilaR, or EirilaR. But it cannot be denied that there exist objections against the 'Gothic' theory. The first argument *contra* is the name Gata; the name of the Goths was Gutan-, anglos. Gotan-, old-nordic Gotar-, in Greek and Latin authors forms occur with *u*, generally with *o*, in Ptolemy's Geography, III, 5, 20, the name appears as Gythōnes, nowhere, however, a form with *a* is met. I am aware that linguists will say that the first *a* is due to the harmony of vowels; but, as the Indian alphabet possesses a long *o*, the reason for application of that law is not to be seen. There existed a people of the Guḍas in Madhyadeśa, so that the name Gutan- cannot have been anything strange for the Indian language (Varāham. Bṛhats., XIV, 3; Mārkaṇḍeyap., LVIII, 7). The various readings on coins of the Parthian rulers, Gondopharos and Abdagases, in Kharoṣṭhī Guduvhara, who is supposed to be a member of the Guḍas, offer Guḍa and Gada.[2] But that is irrelevant for the explanation of the word Gata itself,

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[1] STEN KONOW, JRAS., 1912, p. 379ff.; later literature quoted by A. V. PREMERSTEIN, Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur 60, 1923, 72f.

[2] See CII., II, 1, Introd., p. xlv f.; SMITH, Catal. of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, I, p. 55, no. 10; p. 57, no. 2; WHITEHEAD, Catal. of Coins in the Panjab Museum, I, p. 151, nos. 39–41; p. 157, no. 64f. The change of intervocalic *d* to *t* is not found in Western India, while Jaugada (cf. CII., I, Introd., p. c), e.g. knows that hardening of the dental media between vowels. In Kharoṣṭhī I., as shown by KONOW (CII., II, 1, Introd., p. c), however, intervocalic *t* had a voiced pronunciation; there are many examples of *d* instead of Skt. *t* in these Kharoṣṭhī I.

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as well as the supposed readings on two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (CII., 1, LIV and LV, A, p. 120f.) of /Ga ?/ta, resp. Gadaasa; in the former name *Ga* is uncertain and in the latter, too, the reading is far from being unquestioned. Again the name Gotan- for the Goths would not have caused obstacles to an Indian tongue, as a monk is called Gota in a Sanchi I. (L. 685); one may compare also the often-occurring name Gotiputa and its variants of early inscriptions. Further, in the earliest inscriptions we find *Yona*, which later on in accordance with the Sanskritization of public records becomes *Yavana*; would it not be logical to await a *Gavatana* instead of +*Gotana*? The inscriptions, where these 'Gothic' names appear, belong on palæographical reasons to the first half of the 2nd cent. A.D. Ptolemy whose Geography has been quoted above and who wrote in the first decenniums of the same century, though his source may be some years earlier, knows the Goths as a people of Sarmatia, in Eastern Europe, north of the Black Sea, where they settled about the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D.[1] The probability to find Goths in India, shortly after they had taken hold of their new home on the Black Sea, is not great. Now, for the personal names the necessity to look for foreign etymologies is not given. Ciṭa does not quite comply with the rules of a Skt. Citra which corresponds to an middle-Indian Citta; a negama in a Bhaṭṭiprolu I. (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 328f., third casket) is called Citaka; the cerebralization in Ciṭa may be due to the same circumstance to which Yavana owes its cerebral *ṇ* in nos. 4 and 8 above and 13 below. Irila does not look like an Indian name; the reading is correct; otherwise one would suggest the reading *Isilisa*,[2] a name occurring in inscriptions.

In the former Yavana I. Yavana has been explained to be a personal name, here we meet, besides Yavana, special personal names, but also the name of the people. The third possibility, where Yavana and a personal name without the people to which he belonged is indicated, is found in a third inscription from Junnar.

12. L. 1156 mentions the gift of a *barbhadvāra* by the Yavana Caṃda; here the Yavana bears an undoubtedly Indian name, Candra. And this name is given again in the genitive plur. It seems that the genitives must be taken as family-names. There are other instances of that in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa I.; the clans or families of the Kulahaka (B., 4, l. 3; *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 18; therefrom, apparently the Kulaha-vihāra in F., l. 3); of the Dhanaka (B., 2, l. 4; *ibid.*, p. 18); of the Pūkiya, Pukīya, or Pugiya (A.,

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[1] Cf. L. Schmidt, Philolog. Wochenschrift 47, 1927, 176.

[2] Franke, ZDMG., 50, 1896, 595, reads *Trilisa*; perhaps the *r* could be a dissimilation on account to the *l* and to the two *s*.

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2, l. 6 ; C., 3, l. 7 ; *ibid.*, p. 16 ; C., 5, l. 2, p. 20 ; E., l. 1, p. 21 ; M., 1, l. 4 ; *ibid.*, XXI, p. 65 ; M., 9, l. 3 ; *ibid.*, p. 67) ; of the Hiraṃñaka (B., 4, l. 4 ; *Ep.*, *Ind.*, XX, p. 18). There is no proof at all that the Yavanas, where they appear in connection with a genitive plur., are 'Yavanas' at all, they may be personal names of members of Indian families, or, of some corporations (cf. above nos. 3 and 5). Only in the cases where, besides the term Yavana, a personal name is found there we could assert that a foreigner has been received as a member of an Indian family, nothing more.

13. To the end of the 1st cent. A.D. may belong the Nasik I. No. 18 (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 90f.=L. 1140), as it shows palæographical forms like Uṣavadāta's Nasik I. No. 11 (*ibid.*, p. 78f.). Īdrāgnidata (=Indrāganidatta), son of the Northerner from Datāmitī, the Yoṇaka Dhaṃmadeva, made a gift of a cave, excavated on the hill of Tiraṃṇhu (Triráśmi), a *cetiya ghara* and a cistern and his own son to the saṃgha for the sake of his parents. The father of this pious Buddhist is said to be a Northerner from Datāmitī (Dātāmitiyakasa) ; the excavation of the place sees in it the town Demetrias, mentioned by the geographer Isidore of Kharax, chap. 19 ; in that case a metathesis of syllables had taken place which is not found in other forms of that name.[1] Be it as it may, the Yoṇaka, though aware of his paternal home, perhaps from Arachosia, uses Indian forms for his family names as well as for his relatives. Perhaps it is not hazardous that he again is a Buddhist ; for the teaching of that faith has cancelled the barriers of racial and social groups ; the Bhāgavata Heliodoros and his father did not change their Greek name, hardly they had become naturalized Indians, as the former was only an embassy to India proper, the latter had not left his home, Takṣaśilā, at all.

14. The Nasik I. No. 2 (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 60, l. 5 ; L. 1123) of Gotamī Balasirī refers to the king Siri-Sātakaṇi Gotamīputa's victory by the destruction of the Sakas, Yavanas, and Palhavas. Whether that is a fact or a mere rhetorical-panegyrical repetition of the Epic formula, it is difficult to decide.

15. In the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa I., F., l. 1 (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22), the Yavana seems to belong to the countries which have been con-

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[1] A sealing from Besnagar mentions a Timitra (ASI., AR., 1914-15, pp. 77f. see IHQ., IX, 1933, p. 798f. ; cf. the Yavanarājā Ḍimata of the Khāravela I., to be read according to the last publication (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 84, n. 31), Dimita ; finally, the coins in Kharoṣṭhī (WHITEHEAD, Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, I, p. 14, no. 26) read : *Dime*..—For the suggested town Demetrias cf. Pauly-Wissowa, Real encyklopædie der klass. Alert., IV, 2765, 5.—For theophoric names of Hindu religion in inscriptions of Buddhist devotees cf. L. 605, 943, 944, 1089.

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verted to Buddhism, as told in literary sources (see VOGEL, *ibid.*, pp. 7f., 36).

As far as the material at disposal allows it, these are the early inscriptions in which the term Yona, resp. Yavana, occurs. But there are some epigraphs where that term, indeed, is not found, but personal names at least of Greek make.

16. On the Swāt relic vase (CII., II, 1, no. 1, p. 1ff.), the *meridarkha Theudora* is found in an inscription which, according to the editor, STEN KONOW, might belong to the 'middle of the first century B.C.' Not only the name, but also the official title which occurs once more on a Taxila copper-plate (*ibid.*, no. 2, p. 4f.), point to a Greek individual. He as his colleague, the name of which has not been preserved, was a Buddhist. It may be remarked already here that in this, as in the following epigraphs where Greeks are mentioned, if it is allowed to infer from the name to the nationality of its bearer, that nowhere the term Yavana is to be found. The explanation of that fact is not far to seek : while the former inscriptions are the memorials of foreigners or people with a foreigner's name in an Indian ruled country, here the donor is a citizen of a Greek State or at least a State, organized according to Hellenistic norms. The somehow odious attribute 'Yavana' was out of place in such a case ; on the other hand it is interesting to see how far Buddhism had influenced the foreigners in their own territory when high administrative officers without being forced from selfish reasons professed Buddhism.

17. The name Theodoros (a Greek Devadatta) is met twice more in Kharoṣṭhī I. The Kāldarra I. of the year 113 (CII., II, 1, no. XXIV, p. 65f.) records the laying out of a tank by Thaidora, the Datiaputra. Though the name of the devotee is Greek, his father's name is someway strange ; SENART saw in him an Iranian name Dati, while KONOW explains Datiaputra as a tatpuruṣa, 'it may represent *datika*, *dattika*, or *dantika*,[1] and be a name, an ethnic, or an occupational designation'. The analogies, quoted by the same scholar on behalf of the Mathurā Lion capital (p. 35), point to a personal name, and it would be natural to suppose a Greek one. The rare occurrence of a name like Dátos and Datós does not recommend itself ; taking into account the misrepresentation of the vowels in Thaidora it is difficult to say which name it may be.

18. It is curious that among the many names of Greek rulers in India the name Theodoros is not found while it occurs a third

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[1] Dati is a monk's name (L. 148), Datia would correspond, as pointed out by KONOW, to Dantika ; Dāṭhika is a Tamil ruler of the 1st cent. B.C., conquered by Vaṭṭagāmaṇī, see CHI., I, p. 610.

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time on two silver cups from Taxila (CII., II, 1, no. XXXVII, 1 and 2, p. 97f.). The form is a new one again, Theutara who is a son of Thavara ; the inscription is said to be contemporaneous with the Jihoṇika record. KONOW explains the name as Indian Sthāvara, one may compare the Mathurā I. (L. 140 Add.) where a Sthāvara-jātra is read. As Thavara does not look like a Greek name, it is difficult to say of what nationality Theutara may have been.

19. A case like that should warn a hasty assertion of Greeks in India though their names seem to indicate it. Approximatively to the ' first half of the first century of the Christian era ' is assigned the Bajaur seal (CII., II, 1, no. III, p. 6) which offers the legend : *su Theudama/sa/*. KONOW has discussed the meaning of the puzzling syllable *sy* on the Coins of Hermaios und Kujūla Kadphises, explaining it as the Śakan *shau*, ' king ' (Introd., p. lxiii f.). There are heavy hesitations to be brought forward against such an assertion ; first, one would expect such a title to see used in Kharoṣṭhī legends also, but it does not appear ; further, if *sy* follows the Greek legend *basileōs stēros* before the personal name of Hermaios, it does not in the legend *Xoran sy zaoou Kozola Kadaphes* ; and where at all the title *shau* is used ? KONOW states himself (p. 175) that Kaniṣka used the Khotanī Śaka form *shao* ; in inscriptions *ṣāhi* or *ṣāha* only is found. The *ṣ* in *Kuṣaṇasa* has been rendered by Greek *r*, we had to expect the same, as on the coins, here too, but find a clear *s*. Greek *y* may represent Indian *u*, but the latter is in these legends in Greek language always *o*. And the fact that the well-known title *paonano pao* is never rendered by *sy* is decisive against the explanation, proposed by KONOW ; and why should it be *su* in Kharoṣṭhī on that Bajaur seal ? There is no urgent reason to connect *su* with the *sy* of the coin-legends, except it would be a misunderstood formula. But why again should a Greek ruler use the unintelligible *su* ? Greek *o* is represented by *u* in these inscriptions, if it were Greek, the name would be : *Sotheodama/sa/*. Such a Greek name does not exist ; and as it is very doubtful that a Greek (Hellenistic) king would have used the unintelligible titie *su*, without a Greek legend, the syllable may be explained as the Indian prefix *su-*, or the name is not a Greek one at all.

20. Among the minor finds from Taxila are two silver plates (CII., II, 1, no. XXXVII, 3 and 4, p. 98f.) with the inscription : *Muṃjukritasa*, resp. *Mimjukritasa*. KONOW believed the second part of the name to be Greek, like in Demokritos, while the former part seems to be strange. Mañju- is well known from the Mahāyāna pantheon, while Muñja is a later king's name ; on the Bīmarān Vase occurs Muṃjaṇaṃda, and Mu/ṃ/javaṃda ; on a greenish soapstone plaque from Taxila the reading in Kharoṣṭhī letters is found :

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Maṃjuminasa.[1] These different forms might point to a foreign element in that name, as the freedom in the use of vowels in Theodoros-names shows; but it may be due to the dissimilation, resp. assimilation of vowels too. For *krita* it seems not necessary to suggest a Greek form, because in the Kharoṣṭhī I. *r* is represented sometimes by *ri*, as shown by KONOW himself (CII., II, 1, Introd., p. xcvii) who calls it 'Sanskritism'. Thus the name Muñju-, resp. Miñjukṛta would range with Mañju-, or Muñjakṛta. The compound of a Greek *kritos* with a non-Greek *Muñja-* or *Miñja-* is not less improbable as a Greek name.

21. One would be inclined to take the inscription on a copper seal (CII., II, 1, no. XXXVII, 7, p. 101) to represent a Greek name according to the reading: *Denipasa* which could be a Greek Deinippos. But the first letter seems to be rather *ja*, as met many times in the first line of the Sui Vihār I. (Plate XXVI); the second letter is *ni*, while the third must be read as *la*; *sa* is certain. Thus the reading of the name runs: *Janilasa.* Here one observation may find place: the often-occurring suffix *-la* in personal names; whether these forms are due to the expression of affection only or to some substratum, that question may be left open.

22. The impression to have to deal with a Greek name is evoked also by a Jamālgarhī image halo I. (CII., II, 1, no. XLVII, p. 114) by its reading: *Sapahae daṇamukha.* KONOW suggested 'Sapha or Supha might correspond to Greek *Σόφη*'. It does not seem necessary to think of a Greek female name, though one would remember rather a name like that of the Lesbian poetess Sappho, a name, occurring in Greek inscriptions. On the other hand, there has been found a Greek inscription in the temple of AmmonRa (at the modern village Redēsīye, Egypt) in which an Indian whose name is given as *Σόφων Ἰνδός* renders his thanks to the god Pan Euodos for the happy journey.[2] May be that this name is a Greek transliteration of the same Indian name the feminine form of which is *Saphā*; cf. the family of the *Saphineyaka.*

23. No doubt is possible on the Greek name on a Peshawar sculpture no. 1938 (CII., II, 1, no. LXX, p. 134), offering the inscription *Miṇaṃdrasa*, i.e. the gift of Menander.

24. The Zeda I. of the year 11 (*ibid.*, no. LXXV, p. 142ff.) mentions the gift of Hipeadhia according to the reading of KONOW, who says 'It is tempting to compare Greek names, such as Hippeos,

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[1] Annual Report, ASI., 1928/29, 1933, p. 55.
[2] Cf. ZII., 3, 1925, p. 318.

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Hippias'. In this case the second part of the name remains unexplained; it is hardly an Indian or Greek name.

25. On the Kaniṣka casket (CII., II, 1, no. LXXII, pp. 135ff.) the reading and interpretation have been unanimously accepted[1] that it deals with a gift, 'the slave Agiśala was the architect', as KONOW puts it. The interpreters have found also that this name represents a Greek Agesilaos. One circumstance, however, must strike the reader: that Agiśala is said to be or calls himself a *dasa*, i.e. *dāsa*. The institution of the clerical office of a *navakammika* is known not only from the Buddhist texts, but also from many inscriptions. To the early Brāhmī I. are to be added Kharoṣṭhī I., so that the institution was a common one and not restricted to a special school. From the former we learn that the *navakammika* is a pupil of a monk (L. 154) or a *bhadanta* and *bhāṇaka*, or *thera* (L. 773; 1250); and more insight allows a Kaṇheri I. (L. 987) into the working departments of the monks. From the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa I. we learn that the title *navakammika* is derived from the 'new building', whatever it may have been a *cetiya* or a *stūpa*, etc. (*Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 11f., cf. p. 30). Besides the Kaniṣka casket three other Kharoṣṭhī I. offer the title: in the Taxila copper-plate of Patika of the year 78 the *navakamika* Rohiṇimitra carried out the building order of Patika, viz. a relic of Buddha and a *saṃghārāma*; he is mentioned in the last line, written distinct in smaller letters than the others (CII., II, 1, no. XIII, p. 23ff., cf. 28); in the Māṇikiāla stone I. of the year 18 (*ibid.*, no. LXXVI, p. 145ff.) the *navakarmiga* appears in the last line again. And the same position takes the *navakarmia* in the Hiḍḍa I. of the year 28 (*ibid.*, no. LXXXII, p. 157f.); his name and title are the last words of the historical portion of the epigraph. From all that it seems but a sound deduction that also in the inscription of the Kaniṣka casket the last words must be those containing the name and title of the *navakarmia*. As the rules of Vinaya and the inscriptions show the *navakammika* cannot have been a slave, already from the reason that no monk could be called a slave.[2] KONOW refers to the

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[1] Besides KONOW, l.c., p. 135ff., cf. FOUCHER, L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara, II, p. 531f.

[2] Whether the reading of a *navakamikā* in the Amarāvatī I. No. 40 (*Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 270) is correct, though the photograph supports it, may be questioned; probably the left part of the horizontal stroke is missing, *navakamiko* seems to be intended (cf. l. 3: *dhamakadhiko*); for nuns in that office see KERN, Manual, p. 84, n. 1. The following *padhāna*° cannot mean 'the chief of the overseers', as *padhāna* has neither in Pāli that meaning nor the office would be called thus; cf. the *mahānavakamaka* in no. 55 (*ibid.*, p. 274). If the reading of *pari*° is preferred after *padhāna* perhaps the monk may be meant who had to inspect the *padhāna*, cf. the *padhānamaḍava* in the Amarāvatī I., L. 1230, Corr., p. 179.

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interval between *da* and *sa*; 'and some dots are visible below the ornamental streamers which depend from the frieze, but they are not part of the writing'; whether *dasa* is to be connected with some other word, being perhaps the genitive, it is not possible to say from the reproduction.[1] Though there is every probability that the artist has been a Westerner, there is no certainty to call him a Greek as long as the riddle of *dasa* is not solved.

26. Names like that do not necessarily indicate the nationality of their bearers; but sometimes it seems difficult not to suggest a Western name at least, if not a person of that nationality which is indicated by the name. Thus on a gem of the Pearse-Collection (now Indian Museum, Calcutta) a Śaka warrior with pointed head-dress is found and a Kharoṣṭhī inscription reads: *Titasa* (Annual Report, Arch. Survey of India, 1928/29, p. 137). That legend remembers a Roman name Titus. In that atmosphere of Roman connections might belong the title *kaisara* in the Ārā I. of the year 41 (CII., II, 1, no. LXXXV, p. 162ff.).

From a strict historical point of view, to sum up, there is little proof of Greeks in India besides some few clear instances like that of the Besnagar inscriptions (no. 2 and p. 15, n. 14), or the Theodoros inscriptions (no. 17f.). The term Yavana does not indicate Greek nationality, and it is remarkable that in inscriptions where that term appears no Greek names are to be found, except the instance of Besnagar, just mentioned. On the other hand, personal names of Greek appearance do not possess the attribute Yavana. It would be, therefore, commendable to be cautious to infer anything from the term Yavana in early Indian inscriptions.

As the places from which the Buddhist Yavana-donors come have not been identified, it is difficult to say whether there existed Yavana-colonies in places like Dhenukākaṭa, Umehakākaṭa. And it agrees with the remarks, just made, that there, where we have to deal really with Greeks, they are either ambassadors or officials (cf. meridarches) of Hellenistic States or princes. Finally, the occurrence of Indian names as *navakammika* on Buddhist monuments belonging to the Gandhāra school may be a memento not to lay too great stress on the Greek nationality of Agiśala (no. 24), all the less as the word *dasa* seems rather puzzling. From a social point of view one gets the impression that Yavanas, whoever they

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[1] The passage in question is to be seen best in A. K. COOMARASWAMY's Geschichte d. ind. u. indon. Kunst, Pl. XXIV, fig. 89; L. BACHHOFER, Die fruehindische Plastik, I, p. 80f. and n. 1, points out that the work must have been trusted to a first-class artist, and that the joining of the three free figures show much more the western origin of the work than the name of the artist.

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might have been, were absorbed by the Indian society, if we can infer from the Buddhist votive inscriptions ; that these foreigners became also adherents of Indian religious systems is clearly to be seen from their own confession. Nowhere, therefore, existed, according to these early inscriptions, Greek colonies in the last centuries before and in the first centuries after the beginning of the Christian era in India, with social or religious independence.

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A BUDDHIST ESTIMATE OF UNIVERSALS

By SATKARI MUKERJEE

The philosophers of the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* school have postulated two different types of universals or genuses (*jātis*), viz. (1) Existence (*sattā*), and (2) Substantiality and the rest. The first is the highest universal, the universal par excellence, the summum genus (*parā-jāti*), because it only serves to bring all existents together under one category and emphasizes their community of nature without any reference to their mutual differences. A universal has been defined as a unitary (*ekam*), eternal (*nitya*) principle underlying and informing a number of individual beings.[1] Different individuals are grouped under one category by virtue of this unitary principle which inheres in them, one and all. Its supreme function is assimilation. The highest universal, viz. existence, exercises this function par excellence. The other universals, viz. the substance-universal (*dravyatva*), the quality-universal (*guṇatva*), the action-universal (*karmatva*), are minor universals (*aparā jāti's*), because they not only assimilate different individuals into one class or group, but they also serve to differentiate one class and the members thereof from another class and its constituent members. Thus these universals have a double function and a double aspect, viz. assimilation and differentiation. The highest universal exercises the function of assimilation alone, which is the proper function of a universal. Hence it is called the highest and supremest of all universals.

These philosophers further maintain that these universals are objective entities and are envisaged in perceptual cognitions as much as individual objects, as the idea of universals arises on the operation of sense-object contact. And the existence of these universals can be demonstrated by a regular syllogistic inference also. Our perceptual experience is not of the particular cow, but contains a reference to another distinct principle, which is not confined to the individual concerned but continues in other individuals in the same manner and in the same degree. Had this experience been cognisant of the particular individual alone, the reference would have been different in different individuals, as in the case of a cow and a horse. But this is not the case; there is a sameness of reference in our cognitions of different cows and this

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[1] nitya ekam anekānugatam sāmānyam. The words *sāmānya* and *jāti* are synonymous.

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identity of reference, linguistic and psychological alike, can be accounted for only on the assumption of a universal element superadded to particulars.[1] The existence or non-existence of an objective reality can be determined by the arbitration of experience alone and the dictum that excess in knowledge presupposes a corresponding excess in the objective order,[2] should be accepted by all believers in extramental reality. So the particular and the universal should be accepted as equally true and equally real and there is no contradiction or logical incompatibility in these two factors coalescing in one substratum. Logic becomes a tyrant when it arrogates to itself the power of dictating terms to experience *ex cathedra*. You cannot dictate that the universal and the particular are mutually contradictory and so cannot be found together. After all, what constitutes incompatibility and contradiction? Well, we consider a position incompatible, which has not the sanction of valid experience, in other words, which has not been cognized by means of any of the recognized instruments of knowledge. And we regard any two things to be mutually contradictory, when we do not find them to co-exist in one substratum. When there is contradiction between two things, there can be no co-existence; on the contrary, one of them is superseded by another. Light and darkness are regarded to be contradictory, because they are not found to co-exist. But if co-existence of two things is attested by uncontradicted experience, there is no earthly reason why they should be regarded as mutually contradictory. And in the present case of the universal and the particular, there is absolutely no contradiction or logical incompatibility as they are found to co-exist in perfect amity and peace. Nor can this experience be challenged, as there is no other experience to contradict its truth. The experience of silver in the mother-o'-pearl is regarded as false, as it is sublated by a subsequent experience of the mother-o'-pearl. So the co-existence of the universal and the particular is neither incompatible, as it is attested by undisputed experience; nor is it contradictory as there is no sublative experience to prove its falsity.[3]

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[1] tasmād ekasya bhinneṣu yā vṛttis tannibandhanaḥ, sāmanyaśabdaḥ sattādāv ekadhīkaraṇena vā. S. V. Ākṛtivāda.

[2] viṣayātiśayam antareṇa pratyayātiśayānupapatteḥ. N.M., p. 314.

[3] yad apy abhihitam-itaretaraviruddharūpasamāveśa ekatra vastuni no 'papadyata iti tad api na samyak:

parasparavirodho 'pi nāstīha tadavedanāt
ekabādhena nā 'nyatra dhīḥ śuktirajatādivat

yatra hi virodho bhavati tatrai 'katararūpopamardona rūpāntaram upalabhyate, prakṛte tu nai 'vam iti ko virodhārthaḥ. chāyātapāv api yady ekatra dṛśyete kiṁ kena viruddham abhidhīyate, adarśanāt tu tad viruddham uktam, na cai 'vam ihā 'darśanam ity avirodhaḥ. N.M., p. 311.,

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The doctrine of universal flux, which maintains that all existents are momentary, cannot be accepted as it fails to render an adequate explanation of the class-concepts, which cannot be denied an objective foundation unless the position of extreme subjectivism is seriously maintained. The subjective idealists (*vijñānavādins*), who regard the whole objective world to be a phantasmagoria conjured up by a diseased imagination, have at any rate the virtue of consistency to their credit; but the *Sautrāntikas*, the so-called critical realists, have not got this redeeming virtue. Their philosophy is at best a compromise between honest realism and honest idealism and like all compromises, it is but a hopeless failure. They choose to deny reality to relations and class-concepts, which are as much unreal and fictitious creations of the morbid imagination as they are in the idealist's scheme, and yet they believe in the reality of the extra-mental world. But this realistic concession is neither here nor there. It satisfies neither the idealist nor the realist. It is not a healthy philosophy, whatever else it might be.

The Sautrāntika's reply to the realist's charge :—

Śāntarakṣita and Paṇḍitāśoka, whose works have come down to us in their original form, have given crushing replies to the realist's charges. The idea of a continuous identity underlying all the different individuals, by which the *Naiyāyika* has laid so much store, will appear on strict examination to be a pleasant illusion of the realists. There is not only not a shred of evidence in favour of the existence of such objective categories, but there is on the other hand incontestable proof against this supposition. The contention of the *Naiyāyika* that ideas of universals arise immediately on the operation of the sense-object contact is not true, because such ideas are conceptual in character and conceptual thoughts can emerge only after the name-relations are remembered. First of all, there is the sensuous presentation, immediate and direct and divested of all foreign reference. Secondly, a mental energising towards the recalling of the verbal association. Thirdly, the remembrance of the name. So the mind has travelled far away from the immediate datum of presentation and the idea of the class-character arises only after a series of psychical operations, which have little bearing on the immediate objective datum. To say therefore that class-ideas are sensuous presentations is to betray psychological ineptitude and uncritical reading of experience. The class-idea is formed only when there is a reference through memory to past objects and

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also, 'anupapannam iti naḥ kva sampratyayo yan na pramāṇenā 'vagatam, viruddham api tad budhyāmahe yad ekatra niviśamānaṁ na paśyāmaḥ', *ibid.*, p. 547.

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so this idea is but the result of a confusion between a past object, represented by memory and the presentation of a sense-datum.

It may be urged that if the class-character is not an objective entity envisaged in perception, then, how could such ideas arise at all? The particulars are absolutely distinct from one another and have nothing in common in the Buddhist's theory; and so the idea of community cannot be generated by them. The particulars may have efficiency in regard to their own ideas and as this efficiency varies in each individual, the idea of the universal cannot be accounted for by reference to these particular efficiencies either.[1] But this objection has no substance. Though the particulars may be absolutely distinct and discrete, still they can generate, owing to a determinate constitutive energy inhering in each of them, a common idea, an identical concept. This fact of one uniform efficiency is found in distinct individuals. Thus, the myrobalan, the embilic fruit (*dhātrī*) and other substances are seen to cure diseases of the same sort. Now, these substances are admittedly different from one another and yet they are found in experience to possess a common efficiency. It cannot be supposed that these different medicinal herbs and fruits possess a common nature, that is to say, they are informed and enlivened by a permanent universal, which exercises this common efficiency; because in that case, the efficiency would be absolutely invariable and identical in respect of time and magnitude. But this is not the case; one is seen to afford speedy relief, another to be sluggish in operation and the magnitude of efficacy also is seen to be variable in different substances. Had there been one unalterable, rigid principle underlying them all, these differences in operation and efficacy could not be expected. Nor can these variations be set down to the action of other factors, e.g. difference of time and place of production of the medicinal herbs and fruits. Because, these differences cannot have any effect, either in the way of detraction or of supplementation, on an unalterable, eternal variety, which, on pain of self-destruction, must be impervious to all such external influences. Exactly on the analogy of the above cases, different individuals possessing a uniform psychological efficiency can be accepted as a reasonable hypothesis. And as regards the linguistic usage too, there is no difficulty whatsoever. When causal efficiency in its widest and most comprehensive sense is intended to be understood, such expressions, as 'entity' (*sat*), thing (*vastu*) and the like are applied to all existents. Particular expressions, horse, cow and the like, are employed to designate peculiar sets of causal efficiency, such as ploughing, carrying, milk-

[1] *Vide* S.V., śls. 15–17, chapter on Ākṛtivāda.

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yielding and the like. And as has been set forth above by the analogy of the common medical action of different herbs and plants, particulars, though discrete and distinct, may produce a common psychological action. The concept of the universal is nothing but an intellectual fiction, an adumbration of the mind, which however is hypostatized as an objective reality existing in its own right, independently of the thinking mind.[1] These conceptual fictions have a pragmatic value no doubt; but this pragmatic utility is due to the particular objective reality, of which the universal is a remote derivative.[2]

The contention of the realist that our perceptual cognitions contain a distinct reference to the universal apart from the form and configuration of the individual is a hollow assertion unsupported by experience. The underlying universal is described by you to be an entity devoid of form, colour, and verbal association; but our cognitions have invariably these attributes as their contents. A universal, amorphous and colourless, is never envisaged in perceptual cognitions. Śaṅkarasvāmin[3] however opines that the universals are not amorphous entities, but they have the same perceptible qualities, form and colour, etc. as the individuals. The universal of 'blue' has the features of the individual 'blue' and so the different individuals are referable to one category. But this view is equally untenable and makes no improvement. If the universal is believed to have the same characteristics with the individual, there is left no means of distinguishing it from the individual in question. And if the two are supposed to be presented as an undistinguishable whole, with its contents lumped together, then, how could there arise the distinct verbal and psychical references, on which the *Naiyāyika* laid so much stress? The entire argument of the realists is pivoted on the supposition that class-concepts and identity of nomenclature will be unaccountable if the objective existence of universals is not admitted and this supposition is a necessary corollary of the more fundamental assumption that all our knowledge is derived from sense-data presented in perception.[4] Our consciousness is but a receptive medium without any

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[1] antarmātrāsamārūḍhaṁ sāṁvṛtam avalambya te
bahirūpādhyavasitam pravarttante 'ṅkuśādikam, *ibid.*, śl. 735.
antarmātrābuddhiḥ. T.S.P. *ad-ibid.*

[2] T.S., śls. 723–729.

[3] Śaṅkarasvāmi tvaha-sāmānyam api nīlatvādi nīlādyākaram eva, anyathā hi nīla ity evam nauvṛttipratyayo na syāt. T.S.P., pp. 243-44. *Vide* also śls. 740–42, T.S.

[4] Essays in Radical Empiricism, p. 42. The same tendency is seen to be at work in the Empiricism of James, though the conclusions which he deduces from this

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constructive faculty or power to conjure up an idea, which is not ultimately derived from objective experience. In fact, this is a fundamental attitude of mind and has divided philosophers into rival schools. So there is no reason to be optimistic that one day all philosophers will sink their differences and profess one philosophy. Philosophy is not so much a question of conviction or carrying conviction as it is a question of mental attitude and outlook of thought and habit of thinking. It will be therefore better and more consonant with truth to say that the task of philosophers is rather conversion than logical conviction. The phenomenon of rival schools of thought holding contradictory views and constantly fighting with one another, however unphilosophical it may appear, will not be a thing of past history, because the fundamental attitudes of mind, the bias of our thought-movement cannot be changed or destroyed. But ratiocination is the accredited instrument of all philosophy and there is a common medicum of rationality in all human beings and so the proselytizing activity in philosophical circles will never come to an end, the failures of the past notwithstanding. So we must try to clinch the issue on logical grounds.

Even granting that class-concepts are grounded in objective reality, still it cannot be proved that there is an eternal, undying universal running through the discrete individuals, because in that case its cognition would not be contingent on the cognition of particulars, which are admittedly impermanent. But this objective foundation is purely a figment of the imagination. What objective foundation can be trotted out for such concepts as 'thing' or 'entity'? You cannot postulate the existence of a higher universal, to wit, thingness, because that only shifts the difficulty to 'thingness' itself. The concept of thingness would require another universal and that again another and so on to infinity. To avoid this vicious infinite the *Naiyāyika* has to assume that universals are a class of *sui generis* categories and that they do not participate in other universals. The sameness of verbal and psychological reference, i.e. the identity of expression and idea in the case of universals is not sought to be explained by reference to another universal, but is believed to be self-contained. Even the *Naiyāyika* has to concede that there is no ontological foundation for these concepts. Such concepts as 'cook' (*pācaka*), 'non-being', etc. are without any factual basis. There is no such universal as 'cook-hood' or 'non-beingness', yet there is no difficulty in the matter of referring the different individuals by a common name and a common

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fundamental postulate are widely at variance from those reached by the Naiyāyika realist.

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concept. In the case of 'non-being', there are four cases of such, viz. previous non-being (*Prāgabhāva*), posterior non-being (*Pradhvaṁsābhāva*), reciprocal non-being (*anyonyābhāva*) and lastly, absolute non-being (*atyantābhāva*)[1]; and all these cases are referred to by the generic name of 'non-being'. But there is no universal of non-being, as universals are believed to be entitative in character. And such fictitious appearances as cloud-mansions in the horizon and illusory silver perceived on the mother-o'-pearl are even referred to by the common name and concept of house or silver. But this nomenclature and conceptual thought cannot be made the ground of supposing the existence of an objective universal in these fictions. Cooks and tailors may form a professional class by themselves and thus may be referred to by a common name and concept. But nobody, possessing even a modicum of sense and sanity, would think of according an objective universal to these professional interests. Action cannot be supposed to be the ground of this conceptual thought, the uniting bond of the stray, discrete particulars, inasmuch as action varies with each individual. The action of one is not the self-identical action of another and as continuity and identity are the characteristic features of the supposed universals, action cannot be a universal. And if action, though variable and inconstant, be believed to be the cause and ground of the conceptual thought, there is no reason why the individuals would be denied this efficiency. Moreover, action, say, 'cooking' being an accidental fact and so being discontinuous, a person would not be called a cook, when he does not actually perform the cooking operations. Neither can the past nor the future action be responsible for this conceptual thought, as they are simply non-existent. So no objective basis can be discovered for this conceptual thought and permanent nomenclature. But the *Naiyāyikas* as a class are noted for their tenacity and Śaṅkarasvāmin has found an objective, living universal in cooks and

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[1] The non-existence of the cloth before its production is a case of previous non-being. This type of non-existence is without beginning and continues until the cloth is actually produced. The destruction of the cloth constitutes a case of posterior non-being, which takes place as an event at a definite point of time. It has a definite beginning unlike the former and thus has a previous limit, but it continues as such through all the time and thus has no end or lower limit. The difference of one thing from another is a case of reciprocal non-being. A table is not a chair, and vice versa. The last type of non-being, viz. absolute non-being, is one that is timeless. It has neither previous nor subsequent history, but continues uniform and unaffected. The non-existence of such fictions as a barren woman's son or a horned horse is absolute without any reference to time limitation. This non-existence is not relative to a particular division of time or of space, and is not contingent on any extraneous condition. Hence it is called absolute and unconditional non-being (atyantābhāva).

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tailors and thus holds out a hope for the perennial preservation of amenities of civilized life—no doubt a consolation for legislators and social workers! He avers that the individual actions may be variable, but the universal of action (*kriyātvajāti*) is imperishable and this becomes the ground of the class-concept. This argument reminds us of the drowning man catching at the straw. How could the universal remain when its medium of expression, viz. the individual action, has ceased to exist? And even if it did exist, how could it be perceived, as universals on your own hypothesis reveal their existence in and through the individuals alone? Nor can its apprehension in the past in any locus be the reason for the continuation of the notion in futurity. The idea of staff-bearer does not continue when the man in question does not carry the staff. Your argument, however, assures the continuity of the idea, but this is falsified by experience. And if you posit a distinct universal, to say, cookhood and the like, a cook should have been recognized as a cook even when he was born, as the universal is there for all times. But if for some inscrutable drawback the universal and the child fail to be united, the union will never take place, as neither of them, permanent entities as they are, will depart from their original state. So the concept of cookhood should never arise at all. And if the individual may possibly transcend this drawback, being subject to change, no such contingency however can be supposed to happen to the universal, which is immutable by its very nature. Uddyotakara however realized the absurdity of the above position and so came forward with a more plausible explanation. He asserts that universals are no doubt the cause and ground of class-conceptions, but the converse of the proposition is not true. There may be class-conceptions even without an objective universal, as, for instance, in the case of cooks as a class, as there is no such universal as cookhood. The connotation of cook is chief agency of the act of cooking and as this agency is found to continue in other individual cooks, the class-notion is not ungrounded. But this only smacks of prevarication. What this chief agency exactly connotes is not explained. If it means efficiency (*śakti*), it does not avail in the least, as efficiency is peculiar to each individual and does not continue. If it means the individuality (*svabhāva*) of the substance, or of the attribute or of action, it leaves the matter where it was, as individuality is peculiarly individualistic and never functions as a unitive principle.

Thus all attempts at finding an objective basis for the class-ideas having failed in the aforesaid instances, it must be supposed that the ideas of these universals are conceptual constructions from their exclusiveness of the opposite entities. Thus the idea of the cook-universal arises from the fact that cooks, individual by

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individual, are sharply distinguished from all that are not cooks. Thus the cook-universal as a concept is ultimately resolvable into exclusion of non-cooks and so can be logically equated with the idea of 'not not-cook'. The use of nomenclature too is purely a matter of convention, ultimately referable to this negative idea. So for the explanation of conceptual thought and linguistic usage it is not at all necessary to postulate the existence of objective universals. These universals are thus subjective fictions, fondly hypostatized by the habitual tendency of the mind to localize ideas in external reality—the realistic bias of thought, which is the bane and obsession of the *Naiyāyika*. It is proved therefore that class-concepts and class-names are not necessarily grounded in an objective universal. They are purely subjective constructions and have no reference to an objective, continuous principle, in other words, to an universal. Such at any rate is the case with ideas of negation (*abhāvavijñāna*). A negation cannot have an universal attached to it, as an universal can exist only in positive entities. Śaṅkarasvāmin, however, seeks to explain the concept of negation by reference to the universal of the object of negation. A negation is always understood as negation of this or that, of the jar or cloth or table and the like. So though negation may not have a universal, the universal of the object negated will be the cause of the conceptual thought. But this only seeks to confound the real issue. We can understand the position of the realist when he seeks to explain the concept of jar by reference to the universal of jar. But how can the universal of one have a bearing on the concept of another passes our understanding. The concept of negation is entirely a distinct concept having no relation, direct or indirect, to the jar-universal, which exists only in the individual jars. If the mere existence of a particular universal can give rise to various concepts, as it is imagined in the case of jar, which not only originates the concept of the jar but also of the negation of the jar, then, there will be no necessity to postulate different universals, as one universal will have the power to give rise to all possible concepts. Bhāvivikta however thinks that there is no difficulty in the fact that the universal of one gives rise to the concept of a different sort. There is no such restriction that our ideas should always conform to the nature of the object, that idea and object should be commensurate in all respects. Thus, the idea of an army, which is the idea of an unit or the idea of a forest is not generated by any unitary principle, but by another thing, the plurality of the individual soldiers or trees. The idea of one beverage is not due to any unitary principle either, it is generated by the admixture of various ingredients. If our ideas had to conform, as a matter of necessity, to the nature of the

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objective reality, these ideas would be ideas of distinct units conjoined together and not unitary in reference. We, Buddhists, fully endorse the above position that ideas and objects are not always commensurate and precisely for this reason we think that there is no logical or metaphysical necessity to suppose that our ideas of universals should be affiliated to corresponding objective principles. These ideas can be supposed to have been generated by the particulars, distinct and discrete though they are. By the way, the universals were postulated on the hypothesis that our ideas should have corresponding objective realities as their cause. But when idea and reality are admitted to be at variance in some cases at any rate, it is better and more reasonable to accept our theory. We Buddhists do not admit any objective universal over and above the particulars. And if we analyse the psychological process of conceptual thought, we shall find nothing beyond the particulars. Thus, a particular is first experienced and then it is at once assimilated to other particulars under the impetus of the law of association and thus a generic idea is formed to which a symbolic expression, a name is attached by a pure caprice of will; and this name becomes a conventional symbol of the generic concept and a convenient medium of communication of ideas, which, though purely subjective constructions, have a pragmatic value, as these ideas are remotely related to objective facts, being ultimately derived from them.[1]

It has been urged that though some conceptual thoughts are seen to arise without an objective universal, that is no reason that all conceptual thoughts should be unfounded illusions. The concept of negation is a case in point. It is said to be a subjective construction, because negation cannot have a universal attached to it. But there is no such logical bar in the case of other concepts and so to lump them together with these admittedly subjective creations is not logically tenable. You could with equal logic deny validity to all our experience, because some particular experiences were found to be wrong. We admit the plausibility of the argument of the realist. But our contention is that we do not repudiate conceptual thoughts on the analogy of concepts which are admittedly false. We only emphazised that the realist's position that all our knowledge must be derived from objective experience was not invulnerable. This is a positive gain on our behalf. Now we deny the existence of universals because there is no proof in their favour. Universals are posited to account for conceptual thoughts. But no causal relation

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[1] bhedajñāne satī 'cchā hi saṅketakaraṇe tataḥ. tatkṛtis tacchrutiś' cā 'syā ābhogas tanmatis tataḥ. anvayavyatirekābhyām idam eva viniścitam. samarthaṁ kāraṇaṁ tasyām anyeṣām anavasthitiḥ. T.S., 773-774.

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can be discovered between concepts and universals. Causal relation is understood by means of the Joint Mehtod of Agreement and Difference. But universals being eternal verities and conceptual thoughts being occasional events, there can be no causal relation between them. The non-emergence of a particular concept cannot be due to the absence of the universal concerned, as universals without exception are present always. Nor can the occasional emergence of a conceptual thought be causally affiliated to an universal, because the universal is ever present and if it had any such efficiency, it would generate the idea always. So nothing is gained by postulating universals. If however the cognition of universals is supposed to be contingent on the cognition of the particulars in question, we do not see what these effete universals will avail. Our conceptual thoughts are seen to arise even without them. The concepts of negation have been proved to be unfounded in objective universals. Kumārila however contends that even in negation there is an objective universal, as negation is nothing but a positive entity, bereft of a particular determination. Thus, the prior negation of curd is nothing but the milk existing in its pure state.[1] This contention may hold good in case of negation of objective realities, but it has no force in negation of fictions of imagination. The position of the realist that negation presupposes prior existence of the thing negated is only a hollow assertion. When we say that there was no such person as Kapiñjala [2] or Hamlet in reality, we do not see how can the concept of negation be affiliated to an objective universal even of the object of negation. The plea of Kumārila that negation always refers to a positive entity divested of a particular determination falls to the ground in these negations of fictitious persons and things. Hamlet or Kapiñjala is not a real entity under any circumstances. And what about the negation of doctrines or of categories maintained by the rival school of philosophers? Kumārila would say that there is no such thing as *Pratisaṅkhyānirodha*. But does this negation imply a positive fact in any wise? If not, how could the concept of negation arise at all in these cases, as in these cases there is no positive entity, far less an universal attaching to it. If you answer that negation in these cases relates to a subjective concept, which has no objective reality, then, for the sake of consistency at least you should admit

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[1] nanu ca prāgabhāvādau sāmānyaṁ vastu ne 'ṣyate ?
sattai 'va hy atra sāmānyam anutpattyādirūṣitā. S.V., Apoha, śl. 11.

[2] A minor hero in the Kādambarī, a romantic novel by Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa—a protégé of Emperor Harṣavardhana of Northern India, who was the patron of the celebrated Chinese Pilgrim—Hiun Tsang.

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that our concepts and expressions without exception are alike devoid of objective reference, in other words, they are subjective fictions, pure and simple, their pragmatic value notwithstanding.[1]

Furthermore, even granted that these universals are objective categories existing in their own right, it cannot be conceived how they are related to particulars. The universal and the particular cannot be distinguished by perception, as they are not distinctly perceived. But distinct things are perceived as distinct from one another. The universal is supposed to exist in a number of particulars in the same fashion and in the same form. But they are not felt as such. You cannot say that the universal is not perceived independently of the particulars, as it exists in them; but its mode of existence cannot be logically conceived. Existence is ordinarily understood to be non-forfeiture of one's nature. A thing is said to exist when it does not lapse from its own nature, in other words, when it maintains itself intact. But for this self-maintenance or self-assertion a thing must rely on its own independent resources and must not be dependent on extraneous help or favour. And if the universal is an independent entity, it must exist by its own nature and for this a medium is useless. If, on the other hand, it does not possess such powers of maintaining or asserting its existence, a medium cannot be of any help to it. A medium is seen to be necessary to prevent a thing from falling down, as for instance a basket is needed for the holding together of fruits and vegetables. But the universal is not a gravitating body; it is on your own assumption a passive entity devoid of locomotion and gravitating tendency. If however the universal is supposed to exist in the particular mediums by the relation of co-inherence (*samavāya*), it does not make any improvement on the situation; on the contrary, it further complicates the issue. The universal is a bold assumption in itself and to justify this you are making another assumption which is equally absurd. One absurdity necessitates another absurdity, just as one lie requires an infinite number of lies for its justification, but all this to no purpose. Co-inherence is a relation, but unlike other relations it does not bring together two terms existing independently of one another. It obtains between two things, which are never found to be dissociated in nature. But this is a case of plain self-contradiction. A relation between terms which are conjoined by their very nature is absolutely unavailing. If there is a relation the terms must be supposed to have existed separately and if they were never separate, no relation can be necessary or possible. So the relation of co-inherence cannot be

[1] T.S.P., p. 255 under śl. 788.

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accepted as a satisfactory explanation of the relation of the universal and the particular. The position taken up by the realist—that there is no contradiction in experience, unless it is shown to be contradicted by another experience—is not a logically sound position. When there is a divergence in the interpretation of experience itself, the issue can be decided by an appeal to logic only. The present dispute affords a case in point. Our perceptual experience is believed by the *Naiyāyikas* and the *Mīmāṁsakas* to be cognisant of the particular and the universal both at one sweep. But the Buddhist does not think that the idea of one continuous principle is directly derived from perceptual data.[1] So the strength and validity of experience cannot be determined otherwise than by a logical examination. The falsity or invalidity of an experience is determined by a contradictory experience no doubt ; but that is not the only means. Those who are possessed of a philosophic insight do not rest satisfied with the *prima facie* verdict of experience, but seek to test it by logical canons. Experience no doubt is the final arbiter, but it must be attested and approved by logic. The disregard of this procedure will only land us in rank empiricism.[2] Co-inherence as formulated by the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* school thus fails to render an explanation of the relation of the universal and the particular. Kumārila maintains that the relation of the universal and the particular is one of identity in difference. A reality is a concrete whole of which the universal and the particular are two aspects. So a cow is both identical and different from another cow. It is identical in respect of the universal, but different in respect of the particular variations. But this is an absurd position and does not even deserve a refutation. How can one thing be one and many, eternal and non-eternal ? It is a contradiction in terms. Kumārila, however, would turn round and say that there is no contradiction in it, as it is found to be so in uncontradicted experience. But this appeal to experience is an argument of despair and we have just proved the hollowness of this position.

It may be supposed that the relation is one of revealer and revealed. The universal is revealed in the particular and it is for this reason that they are found together. But this too does not take us nearer the solution. If the universal is possessed of the efficiency to generate a cognition of itself, the revealing medium

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[1] dṛṣṭatvān na virodhaś' cen na tathā tadavedanāt.
uktaṁ hi nā 'nuvṛttārthagrāhinī netradhīr iti. N.M., p. 301.

[2] dṛḍhādṛḍhatvam akṣuṇṇam aparīkṣyaiva saṁvidām | na ne'ti pratyayād eva mithyātvaṁ kevalaṁ dhiyām. kiṁ tu yuktiparīkṣāpi kartavyā sūkṣmadarśibhiḥ. Op. cit., p. 301.

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will have no function in this respect. And if the universal does not possess this efficiency, then, too the medium will be useless, as an eternal verity cannot be supposed to change its nature. If the universal is supposed to develop this efficiency in association with the particular media, then, the universal must be supposed to be fluxional, as the existence of contradictory attributes in one substratum is impossible unless the supposed integer is split up into diverse entities. But this amounts to the negation of the universal.

Again, let the relation of the universal and particulars be one of co-inherence. But does the universal exist in its entirety in each of the particulars or in its partial extension in them? If the universal exists in a particular in its entire extension, it will be exhausted in one such particular and so cannot exist in other particulars. But universals are *ex hypothesi* supposed to exist in all their particulars in the same fashion and in the same degree. And if an universal is supposed to exist in each of the particulars in its partial extension, the universal will exist in none of them in its totality and so the idea of the universal cannot be supposed to relate to any one of these particulars. Moreover, the universal is supposed to be an impartite whole and so we cannot conceive that the universal exists part by part in the particulars as in a garland the connecting thread exists part by part in the individual flowers.[1] Again, the question arises whether universals are ubiquitous like space or soul of the *Naiyāyika* or they exist only in the particular individuals belonging to them. If they are supposed to be ubiquitous, all universals will exist together and the horse-universal will be cognized in the cow and the cow-universal in the horse and so with regard to all other universals. Thus, there will be a confusion and no determinate concept can arise. Nor can it be legitimately supposed that the individual members of a class will exercise a regulative influence and so the cow-universal alone will be revealed in the individual cows and not the horse-universal or other universals, because such supposition could be possible if universals were not thought to be impartite entities. So a universal once revealed will be revealed in its entirety and thus should be cognized to be ubiquitous. The individual is supposed to reveal the existence of the universal like light; but as light does not reveal its own-self alone or its qualities alone, the individual should reveal the universal not only as it exists in it but as it is by its nature, that is to say, the

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[1] Piṇḍe sāmānyam anyatra yadi kārtsnyena vartate. tatrai 'vā 'sya samāptatvān na syāt piṇḍāntare grahaḥ.
ekadeśena vṛttau tu gotvajātir na kutracit
samagrā 'stī 'ti gobuddhiḥ pratipiṇḍaṁ kathaṁ bhavet. N.M., p. 298.

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universal should be revealed as ubiquitous and all-pervading. But this is not our experience and we do not see how can such universals be of any help, the question of logical propriety apart.

Of course none of these difficulties arises if we suppose like Praśastapāda that an universal exists in its own particular members only and not also in the intervening spaces. But Praśastapāda's theory is open to equally damaging objections. If the universal exists only in its proper individuals, we cannot conceive how the universal can attach itself to a thing which is not born as yet. The cow-universal existing in the living cows cannot be supposed to unite itself to the cow that is just born, because it is inactive and stationary. If it is supposed to move from one subject to another, it will cease to be a universal, because only a substance (*dravya*) can have activity. And even supposing that universals are active principles, we cannot conceive how it can move forward without deserting its former locus and if it is supposed to leave its previous loci the latter will be lifeless entities bereft of the universal. Furthermore, the relation of the universal and the particular is peculiarly embarrasing. The universal pervades the particular from top to bottom, inside and outside, in a complete and thorough-going fashion, but it does not touch the ground whereupon the individual rests. This is certainly a very strange position. The universal does not move forward to join the individual which is just born ; it was not there before, because the individual was not in-existence ; but it is found to exist in the individual after the latter has come into existence.[1] The Realist makes these absurd assumptions one after another with a sangfroid which befits a bravado and calls upon us to accept his position without scruple or question. And if we refuse to take him at his word, he accuses us of infidelity to experience and ultra-rationalism. But there are limits to human credulity and each man has his own experience and his own interpretation to rely upon. When there is a divergence about the interpretation of experience itself, the dispute can be terminated by an appeal to logic only. But logic is not a thing which finds favour with the realist.

To sum up : we have seen that the universals are but subjective constructions, pure and simple. The fault of the realist lies in his believing these subjective fictions to be ontological realities existing in perfect independence of the thinking minds. The absurdity of

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[1] anyatra vartamānasya tato 'nyasthānajanmani. tasmād acalataḥ sthānād vṛttir ity atiyuktatā. yatrā 'sau vartate bhāvas tena sambadhyate na tu. taddeśinaṁ ca vyāpnoti kim apy etan mahādbhutam. na yāti na ca tatrā 'sīd asti paścān na cā 'ṁśavat. jahāti pūrvaṁ nā 'dhāram aho vyasanasantatiḥ. S.D.S., p. 27.

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the Realist's position has been thoroughly exposed and further argument is useless and unnecessary, as argumentation is nothing but a waste of energy when a person is determined not to understand.

References :—

(1) Tattvasaṅgraha—śls. 708–812.
(2) Sāmānyadūṣaṇa in the Six Buddhist Nyāya Tracts.
(3) Ślokavārtika, pp. 545–565.
(4) Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha—Bauddhadarśana.
(5) Nyāyavārtika, pp. 314–334.
(6) Nyāyavārtika Tātparyāṭīkā, pp. 477–495.
(7) Nyāyamañjarī, pp. 297–317.

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THE THREE FACTORS OF VEDIC CULTURE

By JEAN PRZYLUSKI

When the first Aryan colonists penetrated into India, the population of that country was far from being homogeneous. With respect to race, it is not easy to classify the diverse ethnological elements, but we may distinguish clearly two linguistic strata of non-Aryan languages, the Dravidian and the Munda.

This division is of great consequence for the history of Indian culture, but we must not overestimate its importance. Ethnologists are well aware that linguistic and cultural areas do not necessarily coincide. What really concerns us when we wish to discern the origins of Vedic culture, is the classification of civilizations rather than that of languages. In the first place we may distinguish an Aryan civilization and one or many non-Aryan civilizations. Our difficulties begin the moment we attempt to define exactly the forms of the latter. An essential fact, perceived in the Vedic hymns and fully elucidated by the excavations of the Valley of the Indus, is the existence of flourishing cities in non-Aryan countries. On the other hand, all our knowledge of the peoples of ancient India leads us to suppose that a number of non-Aryan tribes were far below the level of culture which made possible the creation of such cities as the ancient towns of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. We may then distinguish two levels : a superior civilization which I shall call urban and an inferior for which a name has yet to be found.

The study of linguistic facts shows us that at an early period the Munda and Dravidian tribes reacted upon each other ; their vocabularies have intermingled and often when confronted by a word common to both languages, we are unable to say to which linguistic stratum the words originally belonged. On the other hand, certain facts tend to prove that the Munda and the Dravidians far from being separated in distinct territories, lived in a close association.[1] This association, which is attested by the indivisibility of their vocabularies, authorizes us presumably to speak of a Dravido-Munda civilization, that is, one composed of elements common to the populations speaking the Munda and Dravidian languages.

To be brief, at the dawn of the Vedic era, India appears to have been divided among three civilizations which we may call (*a*) Aryan, (*b*) Urban, (*c*) Dravido-Munda. This terminology implies that *a* is opposed to *b* and to *c* both of which are non-Aryan, that *b* is

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[1] Cf. *IHA*, vi, p. 146 seq.

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opposed to *a* and to *c* both of which are non-urban. But until the Indus script has been deciphered, we cannot say whether from a linguistic point of view *b* is opposed to *c*.

The value of such a theory as that which I have just briefly stated depends on the number and importance of the facts which it explains. Let us consider summarily in what measure this theory seems to be susceptible of throwing light upon the origins of Vedic culture. If the results of our first investigations are encouraging, our research may be extended over a wider field. But before beginning, it is well to define precisely the characters of the three civilizations which we have just distinguished.

Our knowledge of the Dravido-Munda vocabulary and institutions indicates that this civilization is related at least partially to those of Indonesia and of Indo-China. The aptitude for maritime navigation is a characteristic common to the ancient populations of the South Seas and was of material assistance in bringing them together. The cosmology of these peoples is based upon dualistic conceptions which are manifested in language as well as in mythology and social organization. The world is divided into two zones between which are distributed the beings of the Universe: to the sea and to the maritime regions which form the nether world are opposed the hinterland and atmosphere which form the upper world. On the one hand the fishes and the marine animals; on the other hand the birds and the animals of the jungle. On the one hand the men of the coast called 'Men of the Sea'; on the other, men of the interior called 'Men of the Mountain'. In the mythology, this dualism is manifested by the opposition of genii of the water and genii of the air or to use the Sanskrit terms, the *nāga* and the *garuḍa*. It is, let us believe, upon these ancient foundations that the edifice of Indian culture is supported. Just as the higher castes are supported by the lower, live on the products of their labour and, consciously or not, endure the contagion of their beliefs, so the superior forms of Indian culture: Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism rest upon this early civilization; Austro-asiatic dualism is at their base.

The civilization of the Indus, such as has been brought to our knowledge by the excavations, has reached a higher stage of development. For an explanation, we must no longer turn to the East but to the West. Urban in character like the great empires of the Near East, this civilization is linked to Babylon by Baluchistan and by Elam. There is evidence of an interchange among these countries.[1]

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[1] Cf. Gadd, *Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur*, in *Proceedings of the B.A.*, xviii (1933).

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Whereas maritime relations unite Dravido-Munda India and the Far East and in these countries cowries are used for money and for ornaments, continental relations are probably developed between the Valley of the Indus and the Near East and there wealth consists of products of the earth (hard stones and metals). To commercial relations were added religious connections of no lesser importance as is proved by the statues of the Great Goddess discovered between Mesopotamia and the Indus. Astrology and the science of numbers were transmitted, we may presume, by means of sacerdotal colleges. Finally a distinctive characteristic civilization of the Indus appears to have been the care for ritual purification as the baths of Mohenjo-daro would seem to testify.

At a later date the Aryans entered upon the scene. They did not know how to carve enduring inscriptions nor how to build cities and in this respect their civilization is inferior to that of the countries into which they penetrated. Of ruder temper, they surpassed the other peoples in warlike qualities. Indra, their god, is a warrior god. Among them, there were no sacerdotal colleges, nor astrology, nor science of numbers. Commerce is held in low esteem ; maritime navigation is unknown ; industry and the arts are in their infancy. The nucleus of the social body is the family well organized where the father is at the same time the master of the house and the sacrificing priest. In a like manner, Agni is at once the god of the domestic hearth and the god of the sacrifice. Their habits are virile ; the law is patriarchal and thus the social organization of the Aryans is opposed to that of the non-Aryan peoples among whom woman enjoys a position of privilege.

Just now, we have defined, contrasting them with one another, the three civilizations Dravido-Munda, urban and Aryan. At this point, we may affirm that Vedic culture is not the heir of any one of them alone. All the great civilizations were rooted in many soils : Athens and Rome owe respectively to the Aegeans and to the Etruscans at least as much as to the Hellenes and to the Latins.

The most proficient scholars of the Vedic hymns have not failed to perceive that the religion which finds in them expression is composed of incongruous elements. Oldenberg has wished to explain the cult of the Āditya by a Babylonian influence. Bergaigne sees in the *Ṛg-Veda* the coming together and the intermingling of ' two conceptions, monistic and dualistic, of obviously different origins '. (*La religion vèdique d'après les hymnes du Rig-Veda*, p. xix.) For Bergaigne, the monistic conception of the order of the world is in relation with that of the sovereign gods, who are especially the Āditya, and the dualistic conception is connected with that of the warrior god Indra. Oldenberg and Bergaigne are then in agreement

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upon this essential point: the cult of the Āditya and that of the warrior god Indra presuppose conceptions of different origins.

Let us observe, before proceeding further, that recent discoveries confirm indirectly the unerring intuition of Oldenberg. Aditi, the mother of the Āditya is inseparable from them. Together they make up a family, where the sons bear the maternal name. Aditi is no other than the goddess Anaïtis, that is, the Great Mother, venerated throughout the entire Near East. [1] Since the Great Goddess Aditi was worshipped under diverse names from Babylon to the Indus, a link is now visible between the Vedic cult of the seven Āditya and the Babylonian group of the seven divine planets. The very name of the Āditya which to-day we may connect with Anaïtus and with Nanaï through Aditi as intermediary, bids us seek in the Near East the origin of the cult of these gods.

Is it enough, as Bergaigne has suggested, to distinguish in the Vedic hymns two conceptions, a monistic and a dualistic? It seems indeed that the Vedic culture is still more complex. Since he had recognized a certain parallelism, an evident correspondence between the mythical phenomena of the sky, of the atmosphere and of the earth, Bergaigne was justified in speaking of a monistic conception. But we must not forget that this unity comprises a cosmos in three parts: sky, atmosphere, and earth. To this threefold cosmology is opposed to another of a dualistic nature, where the cosmos is divided into two parts: sky and earth. The couple *dyāvā-pṛthivī* is one of the most common expressions of the *Ṛg-Veda*. This dualism itself is plainly different from the Dravido-Munda dualism of which we have previously spoken, where the maritime zone is opposed to the upper regions, that is, to put it simply, the sea to the earth.

On the whole, we may distinguish in ancient India three different conceptions of the world: a dualism which belongs to the Dravido-Munda civilization and which I call maritime because in it the sea forms the half of the cosmos; a continental dualism where the sky takes the place of the sea and which is strictly Aryan; finally a triadism where the cosmos is constructed in three storeys and which I have elsewhere [2] proposed to connect with the Babylonian Triad. The classification given at the beginning of this article allows us then to classify the Indian cosmologies. We shall see that certain aspects of the Vedic religion are also made clear.

We have just admitted, in agreement with Oldenberg and with Bergaigne, that the cult of the Āditya and that of the warrior god

[1] Cf. *The Great Goddess in India and Iran*: this article is now in the press and will appear in *The Indian Historical Quarterly*.

[2] La theorie des *Guṇa*, *BSOS.*, vi, part i, p. 25 seq.

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Indra are of different origins. We may now be more definite. Aditi and the Āditya constitute a family of gods which belong to an urban civilization, characterized by astrological beliefs and by matriarchal institutions. Indra and Agni are on the contrary Aryan creations. But we may furthermore distinguish in the Vedic mythology gods of a different origin. Rudra-Śiva, Viṣṇu, Varuṇa, under their most ancient forms, belong to old Dravido-Munda strata. Varuṇa is originally a god of the sea, for we may discern in his name a very ancient root *bharu, maru, varu* which signifies 'sea'. The notion of his power seems to go back to the maritime dualism of the Dravido-Munda civilization. Viṣṇu and Śiva, under their animal or phallic forms, belong likewise to the most ancient stratum of Indian beliefs.[1]

It is true that, in the Vedic hymns, these gods have an aspect unlike that under which they appeared for such a length of time among the aboriginal populations. But we must not forget that the date of a written text does not always allow us to determine the age of a rite or of a belief. Certain tolemistic rites observed during the last century are more ancient than the Vedic sacrifice. In the same way the animal gods of the Dravido-Munda religion are probably the most ancient form of the Vedic Rudra and Viṣṇu.

The development of these ideas are beyond the scope of a short article. Let us merely select a few facts. In the *Ṛg-Veda*, the sun is represented sometimes as a horse, sometimes as a bird, again as a bright chariot or as a wheel (Bergaigne, *ibid.*, I, p. 6–8). These images are probably of different origins. In the Austro-asiatic mythologies, the sun is the divine bird or the Eye of the Sky.[2] In Mesopotamia, the planets and especially the sun are represented by a wheel. Among the Aryans, where the horse is the noblest of animals, the rapid course of the sun has suggested the image of this animal. In all of which we find four symbols borrowed from three civilizations. That which is Vedic, is the notion of a sun-god distinct from the wheel, from the eye, from the bird and from the horse. The juxtaposition of these discordant images had in some way compelled the Ṛṣi to superpose a god of whom they are but the attributes.

Bharu is an old non-Aryan word which means 'sea'. In the Pali *Jātaka*, it is the name of a king of the sea.[3] Sāgara, another

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[1] For a list of works relating to these questions, see the bibliography of C. Regamey which is now in the press and will appear in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient.*

[2] Among the Bahnars of Indo-China, the solar bird is the raven. The Malay expression *mata-hari* 'eye of the sky' has its equivalents in a great number of languages of Indo-China and of Indonesia.

[3] Cf. *Varuṇa, God of the Sea and the Sky, J.R.A.S.*, July, 1931, p. 613 seq.

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name of the sea, designates a *nāgarāja*. Dragon, *nāga* or *makara*; the King of the Waters, could have all these forms in the Indian folklore and the Vedic *Ahirbudhnya* is an ancient image of him. If this god, the lord of the Ocean, is introduced into another religion than that in which he was engendered, his physiognomy will undergo a change. In the urban civilization impregnated with Babylonian ideology, he becomes Asura (that is Assur) and the first of the Āditya. In the Aryan civilization where the sea is but a distant reality of which little is known, what becomes of the god of the Ocean ? He must have an unlimited kingdom ; he can be nothing else but the king of the Sky. The sky takes the place of the ocean in the Aryan dualism : Varuṇa, god of the Sky, supersedes then Varuṇa, king of the Waters. Just as in three mirrors the same body when reflected takes three different aspects, so the same god appears under three forms in the Indian civilizations. In one he is the god of the Sea ; in another, he is Asura, the first of the Āditya ; in the third, he is the god of the Sky. The Vedic hymns show him under all these forms because the Vedic culture is the heir of three civilizations.

What I have previously indicated should not take the place of a demonstration which little by little shall be made. My object has been to call the attention of scholars to ideas which seem to me essential. The Veda is not a starting point but rather a culmination. The syncretism which is expressed in the hymns is not merely a melange of heterogeneous rites and beliefs. It is a learned, artificial synthesis, the elements of which have been interpreted, elaborated or even radically transformed so as to reconcile dissimilar and at times contradictory conceptions. As in all syncretisms, the process to which the Ṛṣis have had most frequent recourse is that of identification ; for example, Agni terrestrial fire=Sun celestial fire= Lightning atmospheric fire.

Nothing gives us ground for the supposition that the Vedic synthesis was entirely evolved on Indian soil. The Dravido-Munda civilization and the urban civilization which was added to it in the Valley of the Indus spread far beyond the frontiers of India. The Aryans could then come into contact with them before they had crossed the passes of the Hindu-Kush, that is as early as the Indo-Iranian period. In fact, a famous text of Mitanni shows us the god Indra already associated with the first two Āditya. The first developments of Vedic culture are then probably very ancient, but we may be assured that it is only within the bounds of India that it became fixed in the form under which it appears in the Saṃhitā.

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SOME ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES

By B. C. Law

1. The Kirātas

The Kirātas were a non-Aryan tribe, possessing a rude culture, but they were not unknown at the time of the Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata mentions them along with the Yaunas or Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, and Barbaras who all dwelt in the northern region or Uttarāpatha.[1] The Rāmāyaṇa mentions them along with the Mlecchas who evidently were another non-Aryan tribe (Rām. Ādi K., LV). The Kirātas seem to have their local habitation in some region in Uttarāpatha. That they were outside the Aryan fold is evident from a passage in the 'Śrīmadbhāgavatam' (II, 4, 18) which states that the Kirātas along with the Huṇas, Andhras, Pulindas, Pukkasas, Ābhīras, Suhmas, Yavanas, and Khasas and other impure tribes purified themselves by offering their allegiance to Śrīkṛṣṇa. They are also mentioned in the Viṣṇupurāṇa in the long list of Indian people and countries (Wilson's Edn., II, pp. 156–190) where they seem to have been located in the northern region.

That the Kirātas were located in Uttarāpatha seems also to have been attested to by Ptolemy who includes the Kirrhadai (or Kirrhodoeis) among the tribes of the Sogdianoi or Sogdiana which was divided from Bactriana by the river Oseus. Kirrhadia, the country inhabited by the Kirrhadai, is also mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea as lying west from the mouth of the Ganges. Plinius and Megasthenes also mention the tribe under the name Skyrites. The reference in the Periplus seems to suggest that the Kirātas had some settlements in the Eastern region as well. Ptolemy's Airrhadoi or Kirrhadoi not only spread widely over the Gangetic India but also over countries farther east. With regard to the position assigned to the Airrhadoi Lassen says (Ind. Alt., Vol. III, pp. 235–237) : 'By the name Kirradia Ptolemy designates the land on the coast of further India from the city of Pentapolis, perhaps the present Mirkanserai in the north, as far as the mouth of the Tokosanna or Arakan river. The name of this land indicates

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[1] Uttarāpathajanmānaḥ kīrtayiṣyāmi tān api ।
Yauna Kāmboja Gāndhārāḥ Kirātā Barbaraiḥ saha ॥
(Mbh., XII, 207. 43.)

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that it was inhabited by the Kirāta, a people which we find in the great epic settled in the neighbourhood of the Lauhitya, or Brahmaputra, consequently somewhat farther to the north than where Ptolemy locates them. Hence arises the question whether the Kirātas who, as we know, belong to the Bhoṭa (Tibet) and are still found in Nepal had spread themselves to such a distance in earlier times, or whether their name has been erroneously applied to a different people. The last assumption is favoured by the account in the Periplus, according to which ships sailing northward from Dôsarênê, or the country on both sides of the Vaitariṇī, arrived at the land of the wild flat-nosed Kirradai, who like the other savage tribes were men-eaters. Since the author of that work did not proceed beyond Cape Comorin, and applied the name of Kirāta to a people which lived on the coast to the south-west of the Ganges, it is certain that he had erroneously used this name to denote the wild and fabulous races. Ptolemy must have followed him or other writers of the kind, and to the name Kirāta has given a signification which did not originate with himself. Although the Kirāta, long before the time in which he lived, had wandered from the northern fatherland to the Himalaya and thence spread themselves to the regions on the Brahmaputra, still it is not to be believed that they should have possessed themselves of the territory so far south as Chaturgrāma (Chittagonj) and a part of Arakan.'

According to Megasthenes the Kirātas (Scyritae) were a nomadic people 'who instead of nostrils have merely orifices'. They were probably a flat-nosed people of primitive origin dwelling in woods and mountains and living on hunting. According to the Indian tradition, they were hunters dwelling in forests and living on animal food.

Long assures us (J.A.S.B., XIX, Chronicles of Tripurā, p. 536) that there is still a surviving tradition in Tripurā, precisely where Ptolemy places his Kirrhadia, that the first name of the country was Kirāt. The Kirātas had an influential settlement in Nepal, and a Kirāta dynasty of kings held the valley in sway in succession to the Ābhīras. Sylvain Levi has pointed out that the Nepalese usage still gives the name Kirāta to the country between the Dudh-kosi, and the Arun and that there is evidence that the Kirātas once occupied a much more extensive area in Nepal (Lé Nepal, II, pp. 72–78). The Mahābhārata points to a settlement of the Kirātas in Kāmarūpa. Bhagadatta, the powerful ruler of Prāgjyotisha, led a mighty *mleccha* army of Kirātas and Cīnas in the field of Kurukṣetra. These two people were probably of non-Aryan origin, but had come in contact with Aryan culture at the time of the battle of Kurukṣetra.

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2. The Pulindas

The Pulindas were a people belonging to the aboriginal stock, and have often been classed with such non-Aryan tribes as the Śabaras, Ābhīras, Pukkusas, etc. The Mahābhārata [1] places them in the Dakṣināpatha along with the Andhras, Guhas, Śabaras, Cucukas, and Madrakas. The Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas [2] also describe them as Dakṣinā-patha-vāsinaḥ along with the Vaidarbhas and the Daṇḍakas.

The association of the Pulindas with the Andhras and Śavaras, as also with the Puṇḍras and Mutibas, is as old as the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18) where it is stated that the elder sons of Viśwāmitra were cursed to become progenitors of such races as the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śavaras, Pulindas and Mutibas (Roth, Zur Litteratur und Geschichte des weda, p. 133).

The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa also like the Vāyu and the Matsya places the Pulindas in the Deccan and classes them with the Puṇḍrakas, Keralas, Kaliṅgas, Ābhīras, Andhras, Vidarbhas and Kuntalas (57. 45–48). In the Bengali recension of the Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, XLI, 17; XLIV, 12) the Pulindas appear both in the north and the south. The northern recension knows only of the northern Pulindas (Kiṣkindhyā Kāṇḍa, XLIII). The Pulindas are alluded to in the Raghuvaṁsa as well (XVI, 32) but there is hardly any clue to their geographical location. The Śrīmad-Bhāgavatam associates them with the Kirātas, Hunas, Andhras, Pukkasas, Ābhīras, Suhmas, Yavanas and Khaśas who sought the protection of Śrī Kriṣṇa (2. 4, 18). The Viṣṇu Purāṇa associates the Pulindakas, (probably identical with the Pulindas) with the Sindhus; there they together form a compound—the Sindhu-Pulindakas—and are enumerated with the Kāruṣas, Bhojas, Daśārṇas, Mekalas, Utkalas and other tribes.

The capital of the Pulindas was Pulindanagara which lay to the south-east of Daśārṇa, i.e. Vidiśa or Bhilsa region, and may have been identical with Rupnāth, the find spot of one recension of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka (P.H.A.I., 3rd Edn., pp. 65, 213).

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[1] Dakṣinā-patha-janmānaḥ sarve naravar-Āndhrakāḥ ।
Guhāḥ Pulindāḥ Śavarāś Cucukā Madrakaiḥ Saha ॥
(Mbh., XII, 207. 42.)

[2] Teṣām pare janapadā Dakṣinā-patha-vāsinaḥ ।
Kārūṣaśca saha-iṣīkā Āṭavyāḥ Śavarās tathā ।
Pulindā Vindhya Puṣikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ Saha ॥
(Matsya, 114. 46–48.)

Ābhīrāḥ saha ca-iṣīkāḥ Āṭavyāḥ Śavarāśca ye ।
Pulindā Vindhya Mulikā Vaidarbhā Daṇḍakaiḥ saha ॥
(Vāyu, 45. 126.)

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At the time of Aśoka, the Pulindas seem to have occupied some territory in the south of India. Along with the Andhras, Bhojas and Raṭṭhikas the Pulindas formed a group of vassal tribes within his dominions (Rock Edict V and XIII) which extended as far south as the Pennar river in the Nellore district, just stopping short of the Tamil kingdoms which are referred to as Pracaṁta or frontier states.

A very interesting information which only corroborates the indigenous tradition about the Pulindas is supplied by Ptolemy. He describes the 'Poulindai'—Agriophagoi as occupying a region northward of Nasik, Ozene or Ujjain, Minnagara, Lārika or Lāṭadeśa (=Gujrat), Barygaza or Bharukaccha (=Broach), etc. Agriophagoi is a Greek epithet and indicates that the Pulindas were a tribe that subsisted on raw flesh and roots or wild fruits. Yule in his map locates them to the north-east of the Gulf of Cutch. According to Ptolemy the Pulindas seem to have been located along the banks of the Narmada, to the frontiers of Lārike or Lāṭa=Gujrat.

3. The Bhojas

The Bhojas were a very ancient tribe which attained to considerable eminence as early as the period represented by the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. According to this text they were a southern people and were a ruling tribe whose princes held the Satvats in subjection (VIII, 14).[1] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5. 4, 21) seems to imply that the Satvats were located near the Ganges and the Yamunā which was the realm of the Bharatas (XIII, 5. 4, 11). It is possible therefore to conjecture that either the Bhojas in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa had become so powerful that they had extended their sway as far north as near the Ganges and the Jumna, or that the Satvats had moved southwards.

According to the Purāṇas the Bhojas and the Satvats were allied tribes both belonging to the Yaduvaṁśa which dwelt at Mathurā on the banks of the Yamunā (Matsya P., 43, 48 ; 44. 46–48 ; Vāyu, 94. 52 ; 95. 18 ; 96. 1-2 ; Viṣṇu P., IV, 13. 1–6). Mathurā was the capital of the Sūrasena country which, according to the Greek writers, had another city named Cleisobora (=Kṛṣṇapur=Bṛndāban). The relation of the Satvats with the Bhojas is attested to by another reference in the Purāṇas. The Viṣṇu Purāṇa alludes to a branch of the Satvats as Bhojas (Viṣṇu, IV, 13. 1–61).[2]

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[1] 'Dakṣiṇasyām diśi ye ke ca Satvatāṁ rājāno
Bhaujyāyaiva te' bhiṣicyante Bhoj-etye-nān-abhiṣiktān-ācakṣata.'

[2] 'Bhajina-Bhajamāna-divy-Āndhaka-Devāvṛdha-Mahābhoja-Vṛṣṇi-samjñāḥ Sātvatasya putrā babhūvuḥ ..... Mahābhojastvati dharmātmā tasyānvaye Bhojamārtikā vatā babhūvuḥ.'

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According to the Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas princes of Yadu lineage founded Vidarbha among other kingdoms in the south (Matsya, 43. 10–29 ; 44. 36 ; Vāyu, 94. 26 ; 95. 35). This establishes therefore a closer relation of the Bhojas with another southern tribe, the Vidarbhas. This is corroborated by a piece of evidence derived from the Mahābhārata which includes a place named Bhojakaṭa within Vidarbha. Kālidāsa also calls the king of Vidarbha a Bhoja (Raghuvaṁśa, V, 39. 40). The Bhojas therefore not only ruled at one time over the Sātvats but also over the Vidarbhas. They held sway probably also over Daṇḍaka, the region round Nasik. This is implied by a passage in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya (1919 Edn., p. 11) according to which a Bhoja named Dāṇḍakya, or king of Daṇḍaka attempted ill on a Brāhmaṇa girl, as a result of which he perished with his relations and his kingdom.

The Bhojas, according to the Purāṇas, were also related with the Haihayas who were a branch of the Yādavas (e.g., Vāyu, 94. 3–54 ; Matsya, 43. 7–49, etc.). The Haihayas are said to have comprised five families, the Vitihotras, the Śāryātas, Bhojas, Avantis and Tuṇḍikeras.

Bhojakaṭa has been interpreted by V. A. Smith as 'Castle of the Bhojas'. The name 'implies that the province was named after a castle formerly held by the Bhojas . . . . . ' (Ind. Ant., 1923, 262-63). It is alluded to in the Chammak grant of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II which 'makes it clear that the Bhojakaṭa territory included the Ilichpur district in Berar or Vidarbha' (Rai Chaudhuri, P.H.A.I., 3rd Edn., p. 63). According to the Mahābhārata, Bhojakaṭa was founded by Rukmin in Kṛṣṇa's time (Mbh., V, 157, 5361-64). Bhojakaṭa has, however, been identified with Bhat-kuli in the Amraoti district. It may not be improbable that the Bhojas had some relation with Bhojanagara, the capital of king Uśīnara of the Uśīnara country (Mbh., V, 118. 2) near the Kaṅkhal region where the Ganges issues from the hills.

According to a passage in the Mahābhārata (I, 85, 3533) as well as in the Matsya Purāṇa (34. 30) the Bhojas who are described as the offspring of the Druhyus are relegated to the Mleccha caste.[1] But Pargiter thinks that this is 'unintelligible compared with all other tradition, and is probably late, and certainly very doubtful' (A.I.H.T., p. 260, f.n. 1).

The Bhojas, along with the Andhras, Pulindas and Rāṣṭrikas were among the vassal tribes of Aśoka (Rock Edicts V and XIII). Some think that the Bhojas and the Rāṣṭrikas were evidently

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[1] Yados tu Yādavā jātās Turvasor Yavanāḥ Smṛtāḥ ।
Druhyoḥ sutās tu vai Bhojā Anos tu mleccha jātayaḥ ॥

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ancestors of the Mahābhojas and the Mahārathis of the Sātavāhana period (cf. Rai Chaudhuri, P.H.A.I., 3rd Edn., p. 213).

The next important mention of the Bhojas in the historical period is made in the Hāthigumphā inscription of the Cheta king Khāravela (1st century B.C.) which points out that Khāravela, the Mahārājā of Kaliṅga, defeated the Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas in the fourth year of his reign and compelled them to do homage to him. The Rāṭhikas and Bhojakas are evidently no other than the Rāṣṭrikas and Bhojas of Aśoka's Rock Edict.

4. The Mūtibas

The Mūtibas were a non-Aryan dasyu tribe mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VII, 18) along with the Andhras, Pulindas and Śavaras. They are also probably referred to in the Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV, 26. 6) under the name Mūcīpas or Mūvīpas.[1]

The location of the Mūtibas is not definitely known, but as they are mentioned along with the Śavaras and Pulindas who were, according to the Purāṇas (Vāyu, 45. 126 ; Matsya, 114. 46–48) and the Mahābhārata (XII, 207. 42), *Dakṣiṇāpathavāsinaḥ* or located in the South, it may be surmised that the Mūtibas were also a southern tribe. This is also proved by the fact that the Andhras with whom they are associated were also a southern people.

The Mūtibas were probably the same as the Modubae of Pliny who are said to have dwelt beyond Modo-galingae, a tribe occupying a large island in the Ganges. It is probable that the Mūtibas were the same people as the Modubae, though it is difficult to account how the Mūtibas, evidently a southern tribe, came to occupy a region not very far from the Ganges.

The Mūtibas do not seem to be an important tribe ; they are hardly mentioned in the historical period.

5. The Muruṇḍas

The Muruṇḍas were probably a foreign tribe who played a considerable part in the history of ancient India. They are mentioned for the first time by Ptolemy, who flourished in the 2nd

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[1] 'It is not altogether improbable that the Mūcīpas are the people who appear in the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (57. 46) under the designation of Mūshika. A comparison of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa with the Sāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra betrays a good deal of confusion with regard to the second and third consonants of the name. It was, therefore, perfectly natural for later generations to introduce further variations. The Mūshikas were probably settled on the banks of the river Musi on which Hyderabad now stands' (P.H.A.I., 3rd Edn., p. 66).

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century A.D., under the name Maroundai. Ptolemy's description would place them just to the west of the Gangaridai on which the country of the Maroundai bordered. They seem to have occupied an extensive territory, probably the whole of north Bihar on the east of the Ganges, as far as the head of the delta. They had six important cities, all to the east of the Ganges; they were Boraita, Korygaza, Kondota, Kelydna, Aganagora and Talarga. These places are difficult to be identified; but to Saint-Martin Kelydna appeared to have some relation with the Kālinadī or Kālindī river, and Aganagora with Aghadīp on the eastern bank of the Ganges a little below Kātwa (Ptolemy's Ancient India by McCrindle, Mazumdar's Edn., pp. 215-16). According to Cunningham the name of the Marundai is still preserved in the country of the Muṇḍās, a hill-tribe scattered over Chota-Nagpur and Central India. 'The name of Muṇḍa is found in the Viṣṇu Purāṇa as the appellation of a dynasty of eleven princes who succeeded the Tushāras or Tokhari. In the Vāyu Purāṇa, however, the name is omitted, and we have only Maruṇḍa' (=Murunda) which is only the Sanskrit name for Ptolemy's Marundai (Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India, Mazumdar's Edn., pp. 581-82). Cunningham also suggests that the Maroundai of Ptolemy is the same as the Moredes of Pliny who are mentioned in conjunction with the Surari or Śavaras. It may, however, be mentioned that the Maruṇḍas are enumerated in the Vāyu Purāṇa as one of the Mleccha tribes.

Ptolemy also speaks of a city called Morounda as an inland town of the Aioi. The country of the Aioi refers probably to some region south of the Kerala country, but the city Morounda has not been identified. But it is probable that Moroundai was a city of the Morounda people who were the same as the Maroundai= Murundas. If this supposition be true, the Maroundai then had another settlement in the farthest south.

It has long been established that Ptolemy's Maroundai were the same people as the Murundas of Indian history and tradition. The Abhidhāna Cintāmani of Hemacandra (IV, 26) identifies the Murundas (not Marundas) with the Lampākas (Lampākāstu Muruṇḍāḥ Syuḥ, i.e. the Lampākas are the Murundas), the Lambataị of Ptolemy. The Lampākas or the Lambatai were located near the source of the modern Kabul river in the region round present Lamghān. It therefore follows that the Muruṇḍas had a settlement in this region as well.

It is well known that among the foreign potentates who came of their own accord to offer allegiance to Samudragupta, the great Gupta Emperor, 'by acts of homage such as self-sacrifice, the bringing of gifts of maidens, the soliciting of charters in the enjoyment

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of their territories' were the Saka-Muruṇḍas along with the Daivaputra-Sahi-Sāhānusāhi and the people of the Siṁhala island. According to Dr. Sten Konow, Muruṇḍa is the later form of a Saka word meaning 'lord or master'. The term '*Saka-Muruṇḍas*' therefore stands possibly for those Saka lords or chieftains who at the time of Samudragupta had been ruling in the regions of Surāṣṭra and Ujjain.

A Muruṇḍa-Svāminī is also mentioned in a Central India inscription of the 6th century A.D.

6. The Daradas

The Daradas were a well-known tribe. They were known both to indigenous and foreign traditions. They are referred to in the Mahābhārata as having joined the Kaurava forces, but they had the honour of being defeated by Vāsudeva along with Khaśas, Sakas, Yavanas, Trigarttas, Mālavas and others (Droṇa P., 10, 18). The Viṣṇu Purāṇa associates them with the Ābhīras and Kāśmīras (Wilson's Viṣṇu Purāṇa, II, p. 184). In the Matsya Purāṇa the country of the Daradas is associated with the Urja, Gāndhāra, Aurasa, Śivapura and other countries forming the basin of the Sindhu stream (CXXI, 45–51). The epic and paurānic traditions seem therefore to locate the Daradas in the north-west along the north-west frontier of Kāśmīr, and contiguously with the realm of the Khaśas in the upper Punjab. They were probably a mountainous tribe, for the word *darad* from which the tribe seems to have derived its name has 'mountain' for one of its meanings.

The Greek writers knew these people in various names. Strabo knew them as Derdai, Pliny as Dardae, while in Dionys, Perieg (V, 1138) their name is given as Dardanoi. Ptolemy mentions the same people as Daradrai, the additional *r* being of course introduced through mistake. The Greek geographer locates them east of the Lambatai (=Lampāka or Laghman) and of Sonestane (=basin of the Swat river) and to the north of the uppermost course of the Indus. In the country of the Daradas, the mountains, he says, are of surpassing height.

The Daradas were a very important factor in the history of Kāśmīr, and have often been mentioned in the Rājataraṅginī.

The country once inhabited by the Daradas still retains its old name, being called Dardistan whose people are known as Dards.

7. The Barbaras

In Indian tradition the Barbaras are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Sabhā, 31. 199, etc.; Droṇa, 119. 14), where they are asso-

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ciated with the Ambaṣṭhas, Paiśācas, Kulindas, etc. Elsewhere in the Mahābhārata,[1] the Barbaras are associated with the Yaunas, Kāmbojas, Gandhāras and Kirātas who are all located in the Uttarāpatha. The Matsya Purāṇa associates them with the Tuṣāras, Pahlavas, Pāradas, Sakas and other tribes whose countries are said to have been watered by the Cakṣu stream of the Ganges before entering the Sea (CXXI, 45–51). The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (LVII, 39) places them in the Sindhu country while the Bṛhat Saṁhitā refers to them as a northern or north-western tribe. The commentary on Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra has some very interesting remarks on the Barbara country. It refers to the Barbara country and its river Srotasī which was a source of pearls. Alakanda, a city famous for its pearls, stood on this river. There was also a lake named Śrīghanta in a corner of the sea of Barbara. (Arthaśāstra, Eng. Trans., p. 86 f.n. 7, 8 ; p. 90, etc.) The late Mr. Mazumdar points out (C.A.G.I., pp. 694-95) that Barbarika, evidently a city of the Barbaras, finds mention in an Āyurvedic work Dhanvantariya Nighaṇṭu, and Barbara in another Āyurvedic work called Rājanighaṇṭu. Mazumdar sees in Alakanda, the city famous for pearls and situated on the Srotasī river, a remnant of Alexander's name and he identifies the city with Alexander's Haven (*ibid.*, pp. 692–94). Smith points out that the large lake at the mouth of the river where stood Alexander's Haven still exists. This lake may be identified with the lake named Śrīghanta mentioned in the Arthaśāstra commentary.

Barbarika, mentioned in Dhanvantariya Nighaṇṭu, referred to above, is evidently the Barbarium emporium mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythrean sea. It was at that time a market town on the sea-shore included in the Scythia country whose metropolis was Minnagara. It was at Barbaricum that ships lay at anchor.

The Barbara country is doubtless the Barbarei of Ptolemy which along with Patala formed the two towns of the islands formed by the river Sindhu.

8. The Kulindas

The Kulindas were a small tribe, sometimes confounded with the Pulindas mentioned in the Mahābhārata (Droṇa P., 119. 14) along with the Paiśacas, Ambaṣṭhas and Barbaras who are all described as mountainous people. Elsewhere in the Mahābhārāta they are mentioned in a long list given of tribes ' dwelling between Meru and Mandāra and upon the Śailodā river under the shadow

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[1] Uttarāpatha-janmānaḥ Kīrtayiṣyāmi tān api ।
Yauna Kāmboja Gāndhārāḥ Kirātā Barbaraih Saha ॥
(Mbh., XII, 207. 43.)

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of Bambu forests, whose king presented lumps of ant-gold at the solemnity of the inauguration of Yudhiṣṭhira as universal emperor' (McCrindle's Ptolemy Mazumdar's Edn., p. 110).

The country of the Kulindas has been referred to by Ptolemy as Kulindrine. He locates it near the mountainous region where the Vipāśā, Satadru, Yamunā and Gaṅgā have their sources. Cunningham identifies Kulindrine with the kingdom of Jālandhara, which was visited by Yuan Chwang (C.A.G.I., p. 157). 'A territory of the name of Kuluta which was formed by the upper part of the basin of the Vipāśā, and which may be included in the Kulindrine of Ptolemy, is mentioned in a list of the Varāha Saṁhitā. Kuluta was visited by the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, who transcribes the name K'in-lu-to, a name which still exists under the slightly modified form of Koluta' (McCrindle, *ibid.*, p. 110).

The Kulindas were probably the same as the Kunindas, a tribe known from coins (Cambridge History of Anc. Ind., I, pp. 528, 529) and located in the western Punjab along with the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, Ārjunāyanas, Udumbaras, Kulūtas and Uttamabhadras.

9. The Rāṣṭrikas

The Rāṣṭrikas are mentioned for the first time in the Rock Edicts of Aśoka (V and XIII) along with the Andhras, Pulindas and Bhojas who were included as vassal tribes within Aśoka's dominions. The Andhras, Pulindas and Bhojas were known as early as the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, but the Rāṣṭrikas find no mention there. The tribe had not evidently come into importance at that time.

Even after Aśoka's time the Rāṣṭrikas continued to be associated with the Bhojas. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of king Khāravela, the king is credited with having defeated in the fourth year of his reign the Bhojakas and the Rāṭhikas who were none but the Bhojas and Rāṣṭrikas of Aśokan inscriptions, and compelled them to do him homage.

The Sātavāhana records refer to two tribes, Mahābhojas and Mahāraṭhis (Smith, Aśoka, 3rd Edn., pp. 169-70), who evidently were identical with the earlier Bhojas and Rāṣṭrikas. The Rāṣṭrikas or the Mahāraṭhis of later times were evidently the ancestors of the present Mārāṭhis or Mahārāṣṭra people (cf. R. G. Bhandarkar, Anc. Hist. of the Deccan, latest Edn.).

The Bhojas were located in the Vidharva or modern Berar region which is included within modern Mārāṭhi-speaking districts. The Rāṣṭrikas who were almost associated with the Bhojas must have occupied the adjoining tracts, and it may be assumed that they were

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located in the very region where the present Mārāṭhis have their habitat.

10. The Bhargas

The earliest mention of the Bhargas is made in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 28) where a reference is made to a Bhargāyana prince named Kairiśi Sutvan. They are also referred to by Pāṇini in his Aṣṭādhyāyī (IV, I, 178) where they are associated with the Yaudheyas (*na prācya Bhargādi Yaudheyādibhyaḥ*).

The Bhargas were known to both the Mahābhārata [1] and the Harivaṁśa [2] where they are associated with the Vatsas. The Harivaṁśa tradition thus describes the Bharga and the Vatsa as the two sons of Pratardana.

The Bhargas were a republican tribe that existed in northern India at the time of the Buddha in the sixth century B.C. Among the republican tribes mention may be made of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu, the Moriyas of Pipphalivana, the Kālāmas of Kesaputta, the Koliyas of Rāmagāma, the Bulis of Alakappa, and the Bhaggas (=Bhargas) of Suṁsumāragiri.[3] The epic tradition of the close association of the Bhargas with the Vatsas is corroborated by the Buddhist tradition as recorded in the Jātakas. The Dhonasākha Jātaka (No. 353) states that prince Bodhi, son of Udayana, king of the Vatsas, had his dwelling place on the Suṁsumāra hill where he built a palace called Kokanada. It seems that in Udayana's time (i.e. in the 6th century B.C.) the Bhagga State was under the suzerainty of the Vatsa king.

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[1] Vatsabhūmiñca Kaunteyo vijigye balavān balāt।
Bhargānāmadhipañcaiva Niṣadādhipatiṁ tathā॥
(Mbh., II, 30. 10, 11.)

[2] 29. 73.

[3] *Vide* my 'Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India', Chap. VI, pp. 200 foll.

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THE ASPECT AND ORIENTATION IN HINDU ARCHITECTURE

By P. K. Acharya

There is a saying ascribed to Chānakya, the celebrated author of *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*, to the effect that no settlement should be selected for human habitation in villages or towns where there are no rich people, no learned priests, no king (or his representatives), no rivers (or other water-ways), and no physicians. It is easily understood that in the absence of rich inhabitants in a town or village the necessary amenities in matters of roads, gardens, abundant supply of pure air, water, and food-stuff, etc. are neglected. Learned priests versed in the Vedic lore were in those days the friend, philosopher and guide of the people and assisted them in the practise of religion, which in those days, was the sole object of existence. The presence of the king as the head of the government or of his representatives always ensures the necessary provision for the protection of the inhabitants from any external attack and internal breach of peace. The river representing all kinds of water ways indicates the abundant supply of drinking water, the fertility of the land on which an agriculturist or commercial people always depend, and also the cheap and easy navigation for the purpose of transport and fishing, etc. In fact the locality with river-communication is always preferred and is known by the significant title ' a country with the river as mother ' thus implying all the benefits which can be derived from a mother. And lastly the presence of qualified physicians implies the proper arrangement for sanitation in normal times and medical aid in times of illness.

The Roman architect Vitruvius (Book I, Chap. V) recommends in first century before Christ almost the same conditions when he lays down that ' when we are satisfied with the spot fixed on for the site of the city, as well as in respect of the goodness of the air, as of the abundant supply of provisions for the support of the population, the communications by good roads, and river or sea navigation for the transport of merchandise, we should take into consideration the method of constructing the walls and the towns of the city '.

The learned Chānakya or Kuṭilīya is known to have been the most diplomatic minister who alone made it possible for Chandragupta Maurya not only to occupy the throne of the Nanda dynasty, but also to establish the first historical empire in India after his successful opposition to and the departure from India of the famous

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Grecian conqueror Alexander the Great in the fourth century before Christ. But from this it is not to be concluded that Chānakya was the first in laying down the scientific foundations of towns and villages in India. In fact in early Vedic times we meet with 'the frequent mention of villages, towns and forts, and cities with hundred enclosures or fortifications', which were actually existing in the country. From references like these scholars are of opinion that the authors of the Vedic literature were 'not ignorant of stone forts, walled cities, stone houses, carved stones, and brick edifices'.[1] These surmises have been fully justified by the recent discoveries made at Harappa and Mahenjodaro, where a few thousand years before the Vedic times towns and villages with storeyed-buildings made of stones and burnt bricks have been found to be scientifically laid out. Thus it would be superfluous to quote references to the prosperous condition of villages, towns, and houses from the Epics, the Purāṇas, the Āgamas and the later historical and other literature.

For the special purposes those five tests of Chānakya had of course to be supplemented. Thus in the Buddhist canonical book, the *Chullavagga* (p. 48) we meet with the direction that the rest houses should be built 'not too far from the town and not too near, convenient for going and coming, easily accessible for all . . . . ., by day not too crowded, by night not exposed to too much noise and alarm'.

In fact by the fifth century before Christ the architectural classification of dwelling houses became a matter of such a popular importance that the Blessed One (Buddha) found it necessary to refer to the subject in the course of a religious discourse, 'I allow you O Bhikkhus abodes of five kinds—*Vihāra* (monastery), *Ardha-yoga* or *Suvaraṇa-Baṅgagṛiha* (golden coloured bungalows), *Prāsāda* (long edifice), *Harmya* (storeyed mansion), and *Guhā* (cave houses like those of Ajanta, Ellora, etc.) made of brick, stone, wood or sand' (Vinaya texts, Mahāvagga, I, 30. 4; Chullavagga, VI, 1, 2). None of these five kinds of abode represents either the purely religious temples or military fortress or fortified palace. These are mere dwelling-houses for people of different means. The rooms therein will further indicate their essential nature.

In the Mahāvagga (III, 5, 9) we find a graphic account of dwelling houses which were built comprising 'dwelling-rooms and retiring rooms, and store-rooms, and service halls and halls with

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[1] For references from the Rigveda, Muir Sanskrit Texts, etc. see the writer's 'Indian Architecture', p. 8, and for the details of ancient villages and towns consult the writer's Mānasāra (Text, and English Translation), Chapters IX, X.

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fire-places in them, and store-houses, and closets, and cloisters, and halls for exercise, and wells, and sheds for the well, and bath-rooms, and halls attached to the bath-rooms, and ponds, and open-roofed sheds '. This is meant for an ordinary householder ; so it is added that ' an upāsaka (devotee) has built for his own use a residence, a sleeping room, a stable, a tower, a one-peaked building, a shop, a boutique, a storeyed house, an attic, a cave, a cell, a store-room, a refectory, a fire-room, a kitchen, a privy, a place to walk in, a house to walk in, a well, a well-house, a bathing place for hot sitting baths, a *yantra-gṛiha* (room with instruments probably for urgent repairs), a lotus pond and a pavilion '. The exact situation of all those rooms in dwelling houses which is missing in the Buddhist scriptural works has been made sufficiently clear by the *Purāṇas* and the *Āgamas* in addition to the numerous texts on architecture whose avowed object is to supply the practical details of the science and art of building.

The *Vāstutattva* (published from Lahore, p. 1), a smaller text on architecture which has apparently borrowed from a larger text without an acknowledgment, supplies the plan and arrangement of a dwelling house with the courtyard in the middle, which is typical and admirably suited to a middle class family. According to this plan there should be in the north-east (1) the family chapel ; in the east (2) the room for keeping all things, (3) the bath-room, and (4) the room for churning milk in ; in the south-east corner (5) the kitchen ; in the south (6) the *Bṛitasagṛiha*, and (7) the lavatory or latrine ; in the south-west corner (8) the library room ; in the west (9) the room for private study, (10) the dining hall, and (11) the weeping room ; in the north-west corner (12) the granary ; in the north (13) the bed-room (lit. the room for enjoying oneself in), (14) the store-room, and (15) the room for the invalids (lit. medicine).

The same plan and arrangement are recommended in a similar text named the *Gṛihavastu-Pradīpa* (published from Lucknow). It should be noted that in this plan the house faces the north, where the best residential rooms are located. The rooms in the south and in the east are those which are not frequently required for residence. Here the north is the best direction and the west is the next best, the east being the third in order and the south the worst. This plan is suitable for places in western and northern India, as indicated by Lahore and Lucknow wherefrom these texts were published, and where the northern and western wind from the Himalayas is the most salubrious. Another point to note is that for the naturally religious-minded Indians a family chapel or room for worship, generally situated in the north-east, between the direction of the

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sun-rise and of the pole-star, is an essential feature of a dwelling house.

Another similar small text, the *Vāstu-Pravandha* (II, 25, 26) stated to be a compilation supplies the plan and arrangement of a smaller house with eight rooms meant for a poorer family. According to this plan there should be in the east (1) the bath-room; in the south-east (2) the kitchen; in the south (3) the bed-room; in the south-west (4) the library; in the west (5) the dining hall; in the north-west (6) the room for the domestic animals; in the north (7) the store-room; and in the north-east (8) the family chapel.

In this plan the lavatory is missing, unless it was intended that all the family members should use some kind of public latrine closed or open. The family chapel, the kitchen, and the dining hall are situated in the north-east, south-east, and west respectively as in the other plan. But here the bed-room is located in the south, indicating the southern aspect of the house which is suitable for southern and eastern provinces where the healthy south-wind blows from the southern seas and the Malay hills.

Another compilation, actually so named, the *Śilpaśāstra-sāra-saṁgraha* (IX, 24–28) has borrowed from some unnamed authority the plan of a twelve-roomed house. According to this plan there should be in the north-east corner (1) the family chapel; in the east (2) the bath-room; in the south-east (3) the kitchen; to the north of that (4) the store-room; between the south-east and the east (5) the room for churning milk and making curd in; between the south-east and south (6) the room for making the clarified butter in; between the south-west and the south (7) the lavatory or latrine; between the south-west and west (8) the room for private study; between the north-west and the west (9) the weeping room; between the north-west and the north (10) the bed-room; between the north-east and the north (11) the room for the invalids or medicine; and, for the kings in particular in the south-west corner (12) the room for confinement or child-birth.

In the absence of the original work or works the authenticity of this compilation can hardly be judged. There is apparently some confusion or error, for, otherwise, it would be rather peculiar to utilize only the four corners and leave vacant the main directions (the east, south, west, and north). The bed-room being in the north-west, this house faces the north or north-west, and is apparently meant for some north-western province.

It is curious, however, that a famous Purāṇa (the Matsya-Purāṇa, Chap. 256, verses 33–36) of the historical age (between A.D. 400 and 500) corroborates the plan of dwelling houses with

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rooms built in the four corners only leaving out the four main directions vacant. According to this plan there should be built in the north-east corner (1) the family chapel, and (2) the bed-room (lit. the room for the rest and peace); in the south-east corner (3) the kitchen, and towards the north of that (4) the room for storing water; in the south-west corner (5) the room for collecting the rubbish in, beyond that and outside the house (6) the slaughter house (or confinement room), and (7) the bath-room; in the north-west corner (8) the granary and store-room combined, and beyond that and outside the house (9) the workshop or the office room.

This plan is specially stated to bring peace, prosperity and health for the householder. This house, also apparently faces the north or north-east where the bed-room is located. It will be shown later on that the Purāṇas also must have borrowed such matters from a standard treatise on architecture.

The *Agni-Purāṇa* (Chap. 106, verses 1–12, 18–20) however, makes provision for residential houses in towns in particular and recommends the four typical plans, namely, rooms being built covering the four sides with the courtyard in the middle, rooms being built on three sides and the other side in continuation of the courtyard being left free for the passage of light and air, rooms being built on two sides only leaving the other two sides vacant apparently together with a courtyard, and the rooms being built on one side only, apparently without any courtyard the purpose of which is supplied by verandahs and balconies both in the front side and back side. The arrangement of rooms and the orientation of the house are illustrated by the plan of a eight-roomed house. According to this plan there should be in the east (1) the library or strong room (lit. room for *Śree*, wealth or learning); in the south-east (2) the kitchen; in the south (3) the bed-room; in the south-west (4) the room for weapons; in the west (5) the dining hall; in the north-west (6) the granary; in the north (7) the room for storing all things; and in the north-east (8) the family chapel. This is also a house facing the south and the family chapel, kitchen, and dining hall are in the north-east, south-east, and west respectively as is the usual practice.

According to the *Kāmikāgama* (XXXV, 177–191), however, there should be in the east (1) the dining hall; in the south-east (2) the kitchen; in the south (3) the bed-room; in the south-west (4) the room for keeping weapons, and close to that (5) the room for making friendship, possibly the drawing room; in the west (6) the room for storing water; in the north-west (7) the cow-shed; in the north (8) the store or strong room (lit. to keep wealth in); in the north-east (9) the family chapel for daily and special sacrifice,

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probably close to that in the east-north (10) the room for making salt and beverage (Kanji); in the quarters of Antariksha and Savitri[1] there should be respectively (11) the (another) kitchen, and (12) the room for mortar pestle. The dining hall instead of being in the east may also be in the quarter of Arya, Indra, Agni or Savitri. There should be in the quarter of Vivasvat (13) the audience hall; in the Maitra quarter (14) the quarrel room; (15) the shaving room; in the quarter of Vitatha, Upanaha, Pitṛi, Dauvārika, Sugriva or Pushpadanta (17) the treasury room; in the quarter of Āpa (18) the room for the sacrificial pit; in the quarter of Mahendra (19) the courtyard; in the quarter of Mahīdhara (20) the room for the *Peshaṇi* (rice or flour mill); in those quarters may also be (21) the *arishṭa* room and (22) the refuse-room; to the right of the main gate should be (23) the stable; in the quarter of Varuṇa (24) the bath-room; in the quarter of Asura (25) the granary; in the quarter of Indrarāja (26) the dispensary or room for medicine. The rooms for friendship and mortar-pestle may, otherwise, be located in the quarters of Mitra and Roga respectively. Similarly the treasury room may otherwise be in the quarter of Bhūdhara, and the churning room and the dispensary in the quarter of Nāga. In the quarter of Jayanta, Āpavatsa, Parjanya or Śiva may respectively be (27) the room of antidote for poisoning, (28) the room for the well, and (29) the room for the family deity, and (30) the audience hall or sitting room may be in the quarter of Ṛiksha, Bhallāṭa or Soma.

The *Āgamas* of Southern India are the prototypes of the Purāṇas of Northern India, both being huge compilations, dealing with heterogenous subjects covering practically all matters known to the compilers. Out of the 75 chapters comprising the *Kāmikagama* sixty chapters are devoted to architecture and sculpture. It has been discussed in detail and shewn elsewhere that the *Purāṇas*, the *Āgamas* and some two to three hundred small architectural texts are both directly and indirectly indebted for the architectural and sculptural matters to the standard work, the Mānasāra.[2]

The slight differences noticeable among these works, some of which have been pointed out above, are quite natural and have

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[1] In addition to the four main directions and the four corners of the compass, the area of the site plan may be partitioned into as many as 1024 quarters which are named after the quarter-lords, such as Anriksha, Savitri, Ārya, Indra, Agni, etc. The site-plans are divided into 32 square schemes, but they admit of circular, triangular and other shapes also. These quarters indicate the exact plot where a house or a room may be located. For fuller details see the Mānasāra Vāstu-Śāstra, Chapter VII, Text and Translation, and plates, Vol. V.

[2] See the writer's 'Indian Architecture' according to Mānasāra-Śilpaśāstra, pp. 49–109, 110–133, 161–174.

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been due to local causes which vary according to the need of the various places for which the one or the other work has prescribed. India is a continent by itself and there are various wind directions, climates and other local conditions for which essentially different prescriptions are required. In fact in the standard work *Mānasāra*, it is noticeable in regard to every individual matter that various alternatives have been prescribed in order to suit the local need of various climates and places, even the brief elucidation of which is neither possible nor necessary in a short article like this.[1] The quarters other than the eight well known directions which have been incidentally mentioned in the suggested plan of the *Kāmikāgama* are described in the great detail in a large chapter of the Mānasāra.[2] The fact that the *Kāmikāgama* has suggested more than one quarter for the same room while the other works quoted above have not done so implies that the latter works prescribed only for certain places and the *Kāmikāgama* in imitation of the *Mānasāra* and as the result of careless copying included the alternatives although apparently prescribed only for the southern India. Both the *Āgamas* and the *Purāṇas* had the ambition of dealing with almost universal things but when they drew upon standard works on various subjects they have made confusion concerning many things. Thus the alternative prescriptions of the *Mānasāra* are found badly copied in some of the other works. As a matter of fact the general description and the illustrative details of the palaces given in the *Mānasāra* are altogether missing in the *Purāṇas*, the *Āgamas* and the smaller texts on architecture.

The palaces of kings, like their crowns, thrones, etc. are classified according to the nine royal orders. The following general account of the royal palaces is to be modified in accordance with the taste, condition and requirement of the different kings of the nine orders.[3]

There are one to seven enclosures in the palaces of the nine classes of kings, namely, the Sārvabhauma or Chakravartin, Mahārāja, Narendra, Pārshṇika, Paṭṭadhara, Mandaleśa, Paṭṭabhāj, Prāhāraka, and Astragrāha. These enclosures are surrounded by walls and are known as the Antar-maṇḍala (innermost-circus), *Antanihara* (second circle), *Madhyamahārā* (middle court), Prākāra (fourth enclosure), and Mahāmaryādā (boundary circus), the last two being for defence forces. The *Gopuram* or main gate houses of these courts are known respectively as the *Dvāraśobhā* (beauty of the gate), Dvāraśālā (gatemansion), Dvāra Prāsād (gate-palace), Dvāra-

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[1] For details see the writer's 'Indian Architecture,' pp. 37–88, 110–133, 160–198.

[2] See footnote 3.

[3] The Mānasāra, LX, 155.

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harmya (gate edifice), and *Mahāgopura* (great gate-house) and they are furnished with one to seventeen storeys.[1] In each of these enclosures mansions of one to twelve storeys are artistically arranged in rows varying from one to ten.[2]

In this general plan the centre known as the quarter of Brahmā is reserved for the royal chapel. The main palace is built in the quarter of Indra, Varuṇa, Yama or Pushpadanta. Around this main palace are built edifices for the queen, and princesses, and other royal ladies. All these palaces include suitable private and public rooms, drawing rooms, audience halls, kitchens, servant quarters, pleasure gardens, tanks, etc. In the enclosure beyond the private and personal residence of the king are built suitable houses for the crown-prince and other princes, royal priests, ministers and such other people. In the third enclosure are built the council halls, office rooms and quarters for the resident members of the council, high officials of the Secretariat, resident clerks and others. In the fourth court are built foreign offices, offices for negotiating war, peace and such other matters. In the fifth court are erected quarters and offices of smaller importance. The sixth and seventh enclosures, which are not included in smaller palaces, are reserved for the defence forces, guards, royal stables, houses for domestic animals, zoological gardens, etc. which are sometimes accommodated in the fifth court also. Prisons, etc. are quartered outside the palace compounds. The pleasure gardens, fruit-orchards, bowers, tanks, etc. are suitably built within all the enclosures. It is hardly possible here to give an adequate idea of the luxuries, pomp and show of Indian palaces. The following brief reference may serve nothing more than as an illustration.[3]

Thus the public audience hall is stated to be built in the quarter of Jama, Soma, Vāyu or Nairṛita in accordance with the situation of the palace in a particular province and city. Similarly the tank may be situated in the quarter of the Vāyu and the royal rest house to the left of the quarter of Nāga. In continuation of that should be the flower-gardens in the quarter of the Mukhya and Bhallāṭa. Close to those quarters should be the music halls, dancing saloon and the quarters of the musicians, dancing girls and such other people. The secret residence of the king is stated to be built within the third court along some street or lane. The theatres

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[1] For details of these see the writer's 'Indian Architecture,' pp. 51, 52-53; *Mānasāra*, Text and English Translation, Chaps. XXXI, XXXIII, and corresponding plates in Vol. V.

[2] For details see the *Mānasāra*, Chap. XXXV, and corresponding plates.

[3] For details see Chap. LX of the Mānasāra, particularly lines 117–221 and the corresponding plates in Vol. V.

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should be located in the quarter of Īśa or Vitatha. To the right side of the main gate of the last enclosure of the compound should be built the menagerie for animals like the tiger and lion, etc. and in the quarter of Daubārika the houses to keep the peacock and such other birds. Close to that should be the houses for the sheep, and in the quarter of Satyaka the monkey house. The stable for horses should be along the quarters of Soma and Īśāna, for elephants along the quarters of Yama and Agni. In continuation of that should be the houses for fowls and along the north-west corner up to the quarter of Mukhya should be housed the deer and such other animals. Elevated platforms like those of the present day race courses are built on the side of the main gate to see the mock fight from, for which enclosures are suitably built. Close to the gate in some prominent place is erected the machinery, pike, etc. for the capital punishment. Far away from the compound are made the royal cemeteries or cremation grounds, and temples of certain deities who are only occasionally visited by the people for offering special worship.

There is no room here for a proper elucidation of all these matters nor for an explanation of the scientific principles involved therein. There are, however, certain general sanitary principles which may be noted. They are common to all houses and should be unavoidably observed in order to provide necessary good air, light and such other things for all kinds of dwelling houses whether meant for the poor, the middle class people, or the rich and the kings. Considering the present condition of dwelling houses in modern towns, cities, ports, harbours, business centres, mill areas, and factory quarters, even in the modern villages nobody can possibly imagine that there were times in India when it was almost obligatory on the part of those who control public health and revenues not to be callous and selfish to the extent of even denying the divine air and water to the less fortunate people of the same place. In fact in those times the benefits of scientific lay-out of villages, towns, and houses and consequent health, happiness and comfort and convenience were equally shared by the rich and the poor, by the educated and the uneducated, and by the ruler and the ruled alike.

It is, however, not very difficult to follow the present state of things in the orientation and arrangement of our dwelling houses in towns and villages alike. Following the break up and disappearance of the purely Vedic or Hindu culture not by bodily removal or modification for the better but by actual superimposition first by the heterodox schools of thought like the Buddhists and Jains and others, and later by the Persian, Grecian, Scythian, Kushan, and Hun invaders, and still later by the Pathans, Mughals, and lastly

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by the modern European invaders from the southern, western, central and northern Europe, the Hindu Śāstras were all but lost, the Hindu traditions were forgotten, and the essentially Hindu habits and customs were materially changed. Thus a purely Hindu town, village, or dwelling house was built upon by a Buddhist one, upon which was imposed by turn a Persian, Grecian, Central Asian, Lower Asian, and Modern European ones. The result has been that in the orientation and arrangement of our houses we do not find the scientific principles of any one country or climate. A casual inspection or recollection of the condition of houses in the cities of Bombay, Lucknow, Benares, Calcutta, Puri, and Madras will convince a person who has visited those places that there are almost inexplicable things there. Some of the residential houses on the sea-side in Bombay have been built exactly like the sea-side houses of European cities, although there is a world-wide difference regarding the climate and wind direction of Bombay and European sea-side towns. Not only certain quarters of Lahore, Delhi, Meerut, Lucknow, Benares, Patna, and Calcutta are named after the Pathans and Mughals, but there are actually houses with all the characteristic features of the Arabian deserts and colder regions from where the Mughals emerged. There is no room for further elucidation of the details. We would conclude with a brief reference to a single point only. The one point to which we are immediately concerned is the orientation or façade of dwelling houses and its effect on the health and happiness of the residents.

As western authority carries more weight for us we may first quote from the Roman architect Vitruvius who in B.C. 25 prescribed for the Italian cities under heading ' of the choice of healthy situation ' it is stated (Book I, Chap. III, IV) that ' a city on the sea-side exposed to the south or west will be insalubrious ; for in summer mornings, a city thus placed will be hot, at noon it would be scorched. A city also with a western aspect would even at sunrise be warm, at noon hot, and in the evening of a burning temperature. Hence the constitution of the inhabitants of such places, from such continual and excessive changes of the air, would be much vitiated.' After citing opinions of physicians and others and supporting by illustrations it is further stated ' when, therefore, a city is built in a marshy situation near the sea coast with a northern, north-eastern or eastern aspect . . . . . the site is not altogether improper ; for, by means of sewers the waters may be discharged into the sea '.[1] In other words the errors other than those

[1] For further details and distribution of houses and temples in different quarters as in Indian treatises quoted above, see the quotations from Vitruvius in the writer's ' Indian Architecture ', pp. 142, 146-147, 36–40.

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of the aspect can be corrected, while that of the aspect is incorrigible. A house at Puri facing the direction other than the sea-side wherefrom the pleasant breeze blows may serve as an illustration. The dwelling houses in Calcutta facing the north is extremely hot in summer months and bitterly cold in winter, while the houses at Allahabad, Benares and similar towns in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh facing the west and the south are unpleasantly hot in summer and bitingly cold in winter.

Although it may be possible to convince reasonable people of the benefits of following the scientific directions of our ancient authorities it is, however, impossible to effect any practical change in the lay-out of our existing villages and towns and the arrangement of houses therein owing to the financial difficulties involved in an attempt at overhauling and also because of the selfishness, ignorance, and callousness of the authorities concerned. It is indeed very curious to see the caves and hollows of cities like Allahabad being filled with night soil whereupon dwelling houses are built for permanent residence, because the modern scientific methods and chemicals are stated to convert the night soil into harmless earth. That such processes can never remove altogether the vitiating effect of the air of such places can be imagined by the laymen when they inhale, while moving by boats, from within the fathomless waters the unbearable smell of the night soil thrown into the waters of the Jumna and the Ganges at Allahabad. This is certainly the most deplorable state of the ancient city of Prayag at the confluence of the killed Saraswati and the dying Jumna and the Ganges, known as the king of all holy or healthy places. It is curious to think that the Hindu Prayag superimposed into Fakirabad or Allahabad by the Mughals is being looked after in this way by the city fathers of the Municipal Board established by the British law and by the Trustees of the so-called Improvement Trust who are legally and morally entrusted with the improvement of health and happiness of the inhabitants. It is not that none of such trustees understands what is real improvement. But on the excuse of financial stringency all real improvements are ignored.

Such state of things has been much aggravated by the inhuman selfishness which has made it possible to reserve the healthier quarters for the residence of those who are rich and educated and those who are in power. In civil lines and military cantonment areas shops with unhealthy things are not allowed to be opened, unhealthy food-stuffs are not allowed to be imported, nor even the lepers and such other people are allowed to visit those quarters. By keeping the trust in such a selfish manner by the rulers and the rich the poorer quarters of all cities in India where the less fortunate

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people have to reside have been made very unhealthy and uncomfortable. The rate of the terrible infant mortality from 500 to 600 per 1,000 of births in big cities like Calcutta must have been supplied not by the civil lines or reserved quarters but by the unscientifically built quarters of those cities.

Although there is no room for a detailed discussion it may perhaps be clear to the reader that in the lay-out of our towns, villages, and houses the ordinary rules of hygiene have not been followed and that as a result of that the health of the poverty stricken people has suffered even with regard to good air and water which are the free divine gifts. For the poor people the problem has been not to look for sanitary houses within a salubrious surrounding but to find enough room to lay one's head down like the wild beasts in order to protect oneself from the unbearable inclemency of weather. Thus we have been unaware how unconsciously we have been proceeding towards annihilation. The first aid to such a people suffering from an unknown malady would be to remove the appalling ignorance about the need for an improvement in the condition of our dwelling houses.

Many of our educated people are also not conscious of the need for a correct orientation of our houses and the proper aspect of the locality in which we reside, although they would constantly feel the inconvenience due to the want of abundance of air, light, and the sun. It would be clear, however, even to the casual reader of the *Mānasāra Śilpaśāstra*, the standard work on Hindu architecture, that the ancient authorities were very particular about these matters, not only for a particular quarter but for all residential quarters of a village, town or city. These matters were also kept in view in arranging the rooms in a dwelling house. Our ancient authorities even prescribed the direction towards which one should keep the head while lying in bed so that plenty of pure air can be inhaled in sleep also. For that purpose sufficient number of doors, windows, verandahs, and balconies were provided for all the rooms. Outlets for the smoke from the kitchen and insalubrious odour from the latrine and rooms for rubbish and domestic animals were ingeniously provided for, so that the residential rooms were not affected thereby.[1] From the illustrative lists of rooms and their disposition in small, middle class and large houses quoted above from all classes of ancient literature, it would be clear that the best quarters were reserved for the residential rooms. It is also worth notice that not

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[1] For details see Mānasāra, Chaps. XXXIII, XXXVIII, XXXIX, Text, pp. 219-220, 265-273; Translation pp. 336-337, 410-422, and the Plates (Vol. V) referring to doors and windows.

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only a family chapel was an essential feature for all houses, big or small, but the room for the purpose of worship was located in the north-west corner, between the rising sun and the pole star which is always fixed to the north. This would imply that the religion in those days was not a matter of mere discussion but it was to be practised daily by everyone.

It would give a feeling of horror to test the conditions of our present houses by these formulæ. It has already been referred to that on account of political reasons our cities, towns, villages and houses have been re-oriented mostly due to the natural desire of the conquerors to firmly establish their rule and culture by removing the custom, habit and tradition of the conquered as far as possible, and partly due to the ignorance of scientific methods of Indian architecture or a dislike to apply them in preference to their own. Then, in the times of certain invaders, looters and rulers the protection of women and wealth from the greedy look of their officers became extremely difficult and thus not only in towns but also in villages houses had to be built like dungeons removing all openings, windows, verandahs, and retaining a single entrance and in some cases a small dormer window high up in the wall not with a view to provide for the passage of required air and light, but rather to enable the inhabitants to listen to the noise of a passer-by who may often turn to be an officer out in search of young women and gold ornaments. In fact in Western and Northern India which felt the presence of such officers for a long time villages still exist which look like prisons and in the cities like Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Allahabad, Lucknow, Patna, etc. even the parapets on the roof of houses are like the high prison walls and represent the tower of silence of the Parsees.

For want of proper nourishment and other causes our low power of resistance against the unavoidable impurities of the air, etc. has already reduced our vitality to such an extent that Bombay recorded the highest mortality in the world when Influenza together with the principle of self-determination was introduced as a result of the last great war. Owing to economic difficulties and social habits the necessary food, water, clothes, and outdoor exercise are not available for a large majority of our people. In addition to this the pure air, the free gift of God, is also denied to us as a result of the unscientific lay-out of our dwelling houses and insanitary aspect of most of our villages, towns, and cities. Due to our ignorance, indifference, and reluctance we are unaware of the extent to which we have been sacrificing our national health. May the attention of the rulers and leaders of public opinion be respectfully invited to this matter of the highest national importance.

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FOOD

[MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

By GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

> 'Now will I glorify food that upholds great strength, by whose invigorating power Tṛta rent Vṛta limb from limb. Whatever morsel we consume from waters or from plants of earth, O Soma, wax thou fat thereby.'
>
> —*Ṛgveda*, i, 187.

General.

The Upaniṣadic word denoting food is *anna*, which is derived from the root √*ad* (to eat) and means 'that which is eaten'. Thus all eatables may come under the term *anna*. In modern parlance, however, it primarily denotes 'boiled rice', or a preparation of a substitute of rice, wheat or barley. When we are told someone of us is taking his meal, we at once understand that he is eating rice (*bhattaṃ bhuñjati*). Food is, no doubt, a wider term, and we also come across a term, such as, *āhāra* to denote food in its wider sense. The edibles or eatable things composing a meal are not surely restricted to either rice or its substitute; and yet when an Indian habitually denotes the whole of his food by *anna*, he means no more than this that rice, or its substitute, is the staple food, the primary and principal item, the irreducible minimum.

In early Buddhist literature the denotation of the term *āhāra* has so far been extended as to signify *four* kinds of food, or nutrition, namely, (1) the food that is masticated (*kabaliṅkārāhāra*), i.e. food for the stomach; (2) the food consisting in sensibles (*phassāhāra*), i.e. food for the senses; (3) the mental reactions (*manōsañcetanā*), i.e. food for the mind; and (4) the cognitions and notions (*viññāṇahāra*), i.e. food for the intellect or spirit.[1] The food with which we are concerned is the one which is masticated, i.e. *kabaliṅkārāhāra*.

According to early Buddhism, *sabbe sattāhāraṭṭhitikā*, 'food is the sustenance of all forms of life'.

In terms of the Taittirīya Upaniṣad, here we are concerned with *annamayakōṣa*, the first or primary aspect of our organic existence which depends on *anna* or food for its subsistence.[2] The term for

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[1] Aṅguttara-Nikāya, Vol. III, p. 192; Vibhaṅga 402-403: Cf. Bhāgavadgitā, 15, 14: *annam caturvidham*.

[2] Cf. also Suśruta (I. xlvi) where it is said: Life is impossible without food. Food is the source of the growth, strength, and healthful glow of organic beings.

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denoting food or meal is *anna* or *bhatta*, both of which are derived from plants or plant-products.

Meals of Vedic Indians.

The Vedic Indians, it appears, used to take three meals a day: once in the morning, once at midday, and again in the evening. The practice together with the ingredients of their food will be clear from these verses :—

'Accept Indra, at our morning sacrifice, this libation, combined with fresh barley, with parched grains and curds, and with cakes, and sanctified by holy prayer' 3.

'Partake Indra, of the barley and the delicious cakes and butter at the midday sacrifice . . . . . .' 5.

'. . . . . accept readily barley and cakes, and butter offered at the third (or evening) sacrifice, laden with sacrificial viands, etc.' . . . . . 6.[1]

Their principal food consisted of—

Apūpa—a kind of cake which might be made of *vrihi* (rice), or of *yava* (barley), and mixed with ghee.[2]

Odana—a mess usually of grain cooked with milk : its varieties are : *kṣiraudana*,[3] *mudgaudana* (cooked with beans),[4] and *tilaudana*.[5]

Karambha—gruel, a kind of porridge made of *yava* (grain) which was unhusked, parched slightly and kneaded and mixed with curd and ghee.[6] It also used to be made of barley and of sesame.[7]

Pakti—cake.[8]

Pakva—cooked food.[9]

Pacata—cooked food.[10]

Parivāpa—fried grains of rice, parched grains.[11]

It is the food that imparts strength to the organs of sense, and makes them operative in their respective fields of action. It is irregularity of diet which brings about ill-health.

[1] R.V., III, 52. (Wilson, iii, p. 82.)
[2] R.V., i. 26 ; iii. 52. 7 ; x. 45. 9.
[3] R.V., viii. 69. 14 ; 77. 10 ; Śat. Brāh., ii. 5. 3, 4 ; xi. 57. 5, etc.
[4] Sāṅkh. Āraṇ., xii. 8.
[5] Vedic Index, i, p. 124.
[6] R.V., i. 187. 16 ; iii. 52. 7 ; vi. 56. 1 ; 57. 2 ; viii. 91. 2 ; A.V., iv. 7. 2, 3 ; vi. 16. 1.
[7] Vedic Index, i, p. 138.
[8] R.V., iv. 24. 5, 7 ; 25. 6, 7 ; vi. 29. 4.
[9] R.V., vi. 63. 9 ; A.V., vi. 119. 2 ; xii. 3, 55.
[10] R.V., i. 61. 7 ; x. 116. 8.
[11] R.V., iii. 14. 8 ; Taitt. Saṃ., iii. 1, 10. 1 ; vi. 5. 11. 4 ; etc.

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Piṣṭa—flour.[1]
Pitu—food.[2]
Yavāgu—barley gruel.[3]
Viṣṭārin—porridge.[4]
Fruits—The forest contained many edible fruits.[5] And the method of plucking fruits is thus given :—

'. . . . . as man with a hook shakes down ripe fruits from a tree.' [6]

'Grace before meat' is not exclusively a Christian practice. The Hindu Nature-worshippers also used to say their 'grace' before their 'meat'.[7] Hospitality goes hand in hand with bounty. Because the Hindus had plenty of food to spare they could afford to be hospitable. Hospitality was regarded as a cardinal virtue inculcated on all householders even by scriptures composed subsequent to the Vedas. In the Ṛgveda[8] itself we find evidences of Hindu hospitality :—

Hospitality.

'He who possessed of food, hardens his heart against the feeble man craving nourishment, against the sufferer coming to him (for help), and pursues (his own enjoyment even) before him, that man finds no console.' 2.

'The inhospitable man acquires food in vain. I speak the truth, it verily is his death. He cherishes not Aryaman, nor a friend, he who eats alone is nothing but a sinner.' 6.

Here is a positive injunction about cultivation of the virtue of hospitality. To be hospitable, particularly to the needy, is a virtue, and the opposite of it is distinctly a vice. The Ṛgvedic authority was supported by ethical literature,[9] and hospitality was elevated to the rank of a *Yajña*, or a cardinal religious sacrifice, being one of the five essential duties (*pañca-yajñas*) which every householder must perform daily.[10] The same five duties were

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[1] Śat. Brāh., i. 1, 4. 3 ; 2. 1, 2 ; vi. 5. 1, 6, etc.
[2] R.V., i. 61. 7 ; 132. 6 ; vi. 20. 4, etc. ; A.V., iv. 6, 9.
[3] Taitt. Saṃ., vi. 2, 5. 2.
[4] A.V., iv. 34. 1, et seq. See also Vedic Index, 2 vols.
[5] R.V., x. 146. 5, 6.
[6] R.V., iii. 45. 4 ; ix. 97. 53.
[7] R.V., III, 52. (See Wilson, iii. p. 82.)
[8] *Ibid.*, X, 117 (Bounty).
[9] A.V., IX, 6, celebrates in detail the merits of hospitality ; Taitt. Up., i. 11, 2 ; Ait. Āraṇ., i. 1. 1 ; Śat. Brāh., vii. 3. 2, 1, where guest-offering forms a regular part of the ritual, one of the daily *pañca-yajñas*.
[10] Five great daily *yajñas* (sacrifices) are : (1) *Pitṛ*, (2) *Brahma*, (3) *Deva*, (4) *Bhūta*, and (5) *Mānava* : Āśvalāyana Gṛhysūtra, III, 1, 3, 1-2 : *Athātaḥ pañca-yajñah : deva-yajño bhūtayajñāh pitṛyajño brahmayajño manusyayajña iti* ; Manu.

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enjoined by Buddha on an Aryan householder under the name of five *Balis*.[1]

In Buddhist literature, too, we find the same virtues of charity inculcated. Thus it is said: 'Alms-giving cleanses the mind from the dirt of the sins of selfishness and cupidity.'[2] Again in the Vessantara-Jātaka (547) we have the following injunction:—

'Food to the hungry give, strong drink to those who drink require,
Give clothes to those who wish for clothes, each after his desire.'

The Edicts of Aśoka in general, and the Pillar Edict VII and the Edict of Second Queen's Donations in particular, bear eloquent testimony to this practice. In the so-called Queen's Edict, for instance, we read:—'Whatever donation has been made by the Second Queen, be it a mango grove, charity halls, or aught else, is to be accounted as the act of that Queen'.[3] In the Pacittiya Dhamma it is enjoined that public rest-houses should be erected all throughout the country in some of which a constant supply of rice is to be provided for travellers.[4]

Food according to Buddhist Monks.

Buddhist Monks divided food into two groups, namely, (1) *Pañcabhojaniyas*, i.e. wet and soft food that can be swallowed, such as rice, boiled mixture of barley and peas, baked cornflour, meat and cakes; and (2) *Pañcakhādaniyas*, i.e. hard and solid food, chewed or crunched, such as roots, stalks, leaves, flowers, and fruits.[5] And the manner of serving food is graphically described by I-Tsing in the following lines: First one or two pieces of ginger, about the size of the thumb are served (to every guest) as well as a spoonful or half of salt on a leaf. Then cakes and fruits are served, next some gruel made of dried rice, and bean soup is served with hot butter sauce as flavouring. Cakes and fruits are again served and ghee and also some sugar. After the meal is finished tooth-woods (tooth-pick) and pure water are supplied to the guests for cleansing the mouth. Sometimes perfumed paste is given to rub hands with before washing in order to make them fragrant and clean. Finally

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III, 68–72; Matsya P., ch. 52, 14; The Daily Practices of the Hindus, S.B.H. Cf. Aṅguttara-Nikāya, part III, p. 45, where Buddha inculcates five *balis*.

[1] Aṅguttara-Nikāya, III; see Barua's Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, p. 267.

[2] S.B.B., I, iii. The story of the small portion of the gruel—charity, p. 24.

[3] Edicts of Aśoka, V. A. Smith. See for comment on the point Barua's Gaya and Buddha-Gaya, Bk. I, p. 249.

[4] S.B.E., XIII, p. 38; see Jātaka, 31, Mahā-parinibbāna Sutta, 1, 10; 11. 5.

[5] S.B.E., XIII, Pāc., 37, p. 40; cf. also I-Tsing, ch. ix, p. 39.

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some betel-nuts, nutmegs mixed with cloves, etc. are distributed. This helps in getting their mouth fragrant, in helping the food digested and the phlegm removed.[1]

Food according to Vātsyāyana, Kauṭilya and Śukrācāryya.

Vātsyāyana notes two meals for men, viz. one in the forenoon, and one in the afternoon (*pūrvāhṇā-parāhṇayōr-bhojanaṃ*). As for the articles of food he mentions rice, wheat, barley, pulses, a large number of vegetables, such as, *mūlakālukapālaṅkidamanakāmrātakairvārukatrapusavārtākakuṣmāṇḍālābusūraṇaśukanāsāsvayaṃguptātilaparṇikāgnimanthalaśunapalāṇḍuprabhṛtīnāṃ* (p. 242), and sweets, such as *guḍa*, *śarkarā* (*ikṣurasaḥ*) and sweetmeats (*khaṇḍakhādyani*).[2]

Kauṭilya deals with the topic somewhat exhaustively. Two chapters, namely, Chaps. XV and XXIV, have a material bearing on the subject. The Chapter on the Superintendent of Agriculture (*Sītādhyakṣa*) refers to various ingredients of food, such as different kinds of cereals and pulses, flowers, fruits, vegetables, bulbous roots, roots, etc. (Chap. XXIV, p. 142). The Chapter (XV, pp. 112–118) on the Superintendent of Store-house (*Koṣṭhāgārādhipati*) classifies the various kinds of food, prescribes rules for their preparation and specifies what is to be given to different classes of persons, such as adults, children, women, slaves, labourers, cooks and others. The Superintendent of Store-house is further required to see that the best kind of foodstuffs is stored. Of the store thus collected, half was to be kept in reserve to ward off the calamities of the people, and only the other half to be used. Old store was to be replaced by a new supply (XV, 95).[3]

The Śukraníti is also very comprehensive in his instruction to the Officer in Charge of the granaries (*Dhānyādhipa*). The latter is to know of the species, measurements, values, essential characteristics of the grains, as well as the methods of consuming, collecting and cleansing them (II, 313-314). Rules are also laid down for the selection, collection and storing of grains and provisions (IV, ii. 50–59).[4]

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[1] In this connection I-Tsing notes that: In the north (of India) wheat flour is abundant, in the western districts baked flour (rice or barley) is used above all, in Magadha (Central India) wheat flour is scarce, but rice is plentiful, as well as in the southern frontier and eastern borderland; cakes and fruits are important items of food everywhere. Mustard oil is used for flavouring purposes, onions are forbidden (Cull., V, 34. 1) and also raw vegetables, therefore, they (Indians) do not suffer from indigestion, p. 45.

[2] Kāmasūtra, Bengali Ed., pp. 121-122; see also Chakladar, p. 159 (G.I. Soc. Pub., No. 3).

[3] Arthaśāstra, Shyama Sastri's edition, 1919 and 1923.

[4] Śukraníti, S.B.H., XVI, p. 180.

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The following is a list of foodstuffs cultivated at the time of the authors of the Arthaśāstra (A.S.), Śukraníti (S.N.), and Kāmasūtra (K.S.) :—

Cereals—*Śāli*,[1] *vríhi*,[2] *kodrava*,[3] *yava*,[4] *godhūma*,[5] and *priyaṅgu*.[6]

Pulses—*Mudga*,[7] *māṣa*,[8] *masūra*,[9] *kulattha*,[10] *kalāya*,[11] *varaka*,[12] *canaka*,[13] *harimantha*,[14] *mākustha*,[15] and *nispāpa*.[16]

Vegetables—*Mūlaka, āluka, pālaṅkí, damanaka, erbāruka, trapusa, vārtāka, kuṣmāṇḍa, alābu, sūraṇa, śukanāsā, laśuna, palāṇḍu*,[17] and *vallíphala*.[18]

Spices—Long pepper, black pepper, ginger, cumin seeds, *kirātatikta* (chirayta), white mustard, coriander, *damanaka, maruvaka, śigru* and the like.[19]

Oil seeds[20]—White mustard,[21] *atasī*,[22] *nimba*,[23] *kapittha*,[24] *tila*,[25] *kusumbha*,[26] *iṅgudí*,[27] and mustard.[28]

Sugarcane—as the source of granulated sugar and sugar-candy.[29]

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[1] A.S., XV, 95 ; XXIV, 116.

[2] A.S., XV, 95 ; XXIV, 116 ; S.N., IV, ii. 126–128 ; 253-254 ; IV, v. 470-471 ; 483 ; 487–490.

[3] A.S., XV, 95 ; XXIV, 116.

[4] A.S., XV, 95 ; XXIV, 116 ; S.N., IV, iv. 107-108 ; 110–112 ; IV, vii. 285.

[5] A.S., XXIV, 116 ; S.N., IV, vii. 432-433.

[6] A.S., XV, 95.

[7, 8 and 9] A.S., XV, 95 ; XXIV, 116 ; S.N., IV, iv. 272-273.

[10] A.S., XXIV, 116 ; S.N., IV, iv. 107.

[11] A.S., XV, 95 ; XXIV, 116.

[12] A.S., XV, 95.

[13] S.N., IV, vii. 285-286.

[14 and 15] S.N., IV, vii. 272-273.

[16] S.N., IV, iv. 224.

[17] K.S., I, 28, *Bhāryādhikārikādhikaraṇam*.

[18] A.S., XXIV, 117.

[19] A.S., XV, 95.

[20] According to Śukraníti 'extraction of oil from seeds is one of the 64 *kalās*' (IV, iii. 187).

[21] A.S., XV, 95 ; XXIV, 116 ; S.N., IV, vii. 159–161.

[22] A.S., XV, 95 ; XXIV, 116.

[23 and 24] A.S., XXIV, 116.

[25] A.S., XXIV, 116 ; S.N., IV, iv. 107-108 ; 110–112.

[26 and 27] A.S. XXIV, 116.

[28] A.S., XXIV, 116 ; S.N., III, 619-620.

[29] A.S., XV, 94 ; S.N., IV, iii. 146. In this connection the reader is referred to the chapter on 'Classification of plants on dietic value' in Vanaspati, where an exhaustive classification of food, based on Charaka, Suśruta, and Bhāvaprakāśa, is given.

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Fruits (acid)—Pomegranate, tamarind, *mātulaṅga, karamarda, vidalāmalaka, kola, vadara, sauvira, parusaka*, grapes, and the like.[1]

Suśruta on food of man and woman in health.

The Suśruta-saṃhitā sets forth the following dietary for man and woman in health : The principal meal should consist of five courses in the following order, namely, sweet dishes, then acid, then saline and pungent and other ones at the close of the meal. At the forepart of a meal, such fruits, as the pomegranates, etc. should be eaten, after that *peyas* and boiled rice and prepared dishes as well as confectionery. Sweet food eaten with a relish pleasurably affects the mind, brings joy, energy, strength and happiness in its train. Food are of 4 kinds—*aśithaṃ* (solid), *pītaṃ* (drink), *leedham* (that taken by licking), and the *khāditaṃ* (that is chewn). Prepared dishes are classified into *maṇḍa, peya, vilepi, bhakta, piṣṭaka, pāyasa*, etc.

Besides boiled soup of dried pulses, such as *mudga* and *māṣa*, whether prepared as simple soup or with *mūlaka, patōla, nimba*, etc., potherbs well-boiled and well-squeezed and subsequently cooked with oil and spices, and various preparations of meat are recommended. The preparations of meat included (1) meat cooked and prepared with ghee, curd, sour gruel (*kāñjika*), acid fruits (as the pomegranate), pungent and aromatic condiments (as black pepper) ; (2) *pariśuṣkamāṃsaṃ* (dried meat-roast) ; (3) *ullaptamāṃsaṃ* (minced meat) ; (4) *bharjita* (fried) ; (5) *piṣṭa* (made into balls and cakes) ; (6) *pratapta* (roasted with ghee over a charcoal fire) ; (7) *veṣavāra* (boneless boiled meat subsequently pasted and cooked with treacle, ghee, black pepper, pippali, and *suṇṭhi*, etc.) Other preparations of meat improving appetite and taste have also been described and recommended.

The following confectionaries have been recommended and their preparations described : *kṣīra-bhakṣyas* (a milk preparation) ; *ghṛtapuras* (a variety treated with ghee), *gauḍikas* (prepared with treacle and cornflour), *madhumastakas, sanyavas* and *pupas, modakas, sattakas, viṣyandana, sāmita, phenaka* (*khājā* of present day), cake with *mudga, veṣavāras* (containing minced and pasted meat), *pālalas* (containing treacle, sesame and cornflour), *saṣkulis* (*luchis* and *kachuris* of present day), *piṣṭakas* (cakes of powdered rice), confectionery made of *vaidalas* (pulses) fruit, meat, etc.[2]

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[1] A.S., XV, 94.

[2] For details see Annapāna-vidhimadhyāyaṃ, kṛtānna-varga ; Sūtrasthāna, Ch. XLVI ; English translation, I, pp. 469–571—K. L. Viṣagratna.

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A classified list of articles of food commonly used and cultivated by Indians even of to-day is as follows :—

Articles of food.

A. Grains.—

1. *Superior Grains :—dhānya—vríhi* (paddy), *yava* (barley) and *godhūma* (wheat). '*Dhānya*' is 'the supporter or nourisher of mankind'. *Dhānya* as the general name for the grains is mentioned in the Ṛgveda and other Vedic texts.[1] *Vríhi, yava* and *godhūma* are the three staple food grains (cereals) of India. *Vríhi* is mentioned for the first time in the Atharvaveda.[2] It is also mentioned in other Vedic literature.[3] *Yava* is mentioned in the Ṛgveda,[4] in the Atharvaveda[5] and others[6]; *godhūma* in the Maitreya Saṃhitā,[7] the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā[8] and in the Śat. Brāhmaṇa.[9] It is distinguished from *vríhi* and *yava* in the Taitt. Brāhmaṇa.[10] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (xii. 9. 1, 5) mentions groats made of this grain.[11] Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad (vi. 3, 22) mentions the following ten cultivated (*grāmyāni*) kinds of grain : *vríhiyavāḥ tilamāṣa, anna-priyaṁgavāḥ, godhūmah, masūrāh, khalvāh,* and *khalakulah.*

2. *Inferior or Minor Grains :—kudhānya, kṣudra-dhānya : Yāvanala, kaṅgu, chína, śyāmaka, kodrava, nívāra, gavedhuka, rāgi, devadhānya, veṇuja,* and *cāruka. Śyāmaka* is

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[1] R.V., vi. 13. 4 ; A.V., iii. 24. 2, 4 ; V, 29. 7 ; vi. 50. 1 ; Kauṣ. Brāh., XI, 8, etc.

[2] A.V., vi. 140. 2 ; vii. 7, 20 ; ix. 6, 14.

[3] Taitt. Saṃ., vii. 2, 10. 3—where it is said to ripen in autumn, Kaṭh. Saṃ., x. 6 ; xi. 5, Vāj. Saṃ., xviii. 12 ; Śat. Brāh., v. 5, 5, 9 ; Bṛhad. Up., vi. 3, 22 ; Chānd. Up., iii. 14. 3 and so on.

[4] R.V., i. 23. 15 ; 66. 3 ; 117. 21 ; 135. 8 ; 176. 2 ; ii. 5, 6 ; 14. 11 ; v. 85. 3 ; vii. 3, 4 ; viii. 2, 3 ; 63. 9 ; and so on.

[5] A.V., ii. 8. 3 ; vi. 30. 1 ; 50. 1, 2 ; 91. 1 ; 141. 2 ; 142. 1, 2 ; viii. 7, 10 ; ix. 1, 22 ; 6, 14 ; xii. 1, 42.

[6] Taitt. Saṃ., vi. 2, 10. 3 ; 4, 10. 5 ; vii. 2, 10. 2 ; Kaṭh. Saṃ., xxv. 10 ; xxvi. 5 ; Vāj. Saṃ., v. 26 ; xviii. 12 ; xxiii. 30 ; Śat. Brāh., i. 1, 4, 20 ; ii. 5. 2. 1 ; iii. 6. 1, 9, 10 ; iv. 2. 1, 11 ; XII, 7. 2, 9, etc.

[7] *Loc. cit.*, i. 2, 8.

[8] *Loc. cit.*, xviii. 12 ; xix. 22, 89 ; xxi. 29, etc.

[9] *Loc. cit.*, xii. 7. 1, 2 ; 2, 9, etc.

[10] *Loc. cit.*, i. 3, 7. 2.

[11] Vedic Index—2 vols. It is well worth mentioning here that specimens of wheat and barley have been found in Mohenjo-Daro (circa, 3500 B.C.)—Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India, 1926-27, Sec. II, p. 54. See also Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization by Sir John Marshall, Vol. I, Ch. IV, Agriculture.

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mentioned in the Atharvaveda,[1] Chānd. Up.,[2] Taitt. Saṃ.,[3] Vāja. Saṃ.,[4] Kaṭh. Saṃ.,[5] Śat. Brāh.,[6] *Nívāra* in the Kāṭh. Saṃ.,[7] Maitt. Saṃ.,[8] Vāj. Saṃ.,[9] Śat. Brāh.,[10] and *gavedhuka* in the Taitt. Saṃ.,[11] and the Śat. Brāh.[12]; it was boiled with rice,[13] or barley[14] in preparing gruel.[15]

It may be noted here that 'in times of scarcity bamboo grains (*veṇuja*) have saved the lives of thousands of human beings. This was the case in the Orissa famine of 1812. In 1866 bamboo grains sold at Malda at 13 seers to the rupee.'[16]

B. *Pulses.*—

Arahaḍa, cholā, khesāri, kurtikalāya, śim, barbati, masūri, mug, matar and its 2 varieties; *māṣkalāya*, the soyabean. Of these, as we have already seen, *kulmāṣa* (beans), *khalakula* (*māṣkalāya*), *khalva* (mug), *masūr* (lentil), *garmut* (wild bean), are mentioned in Vedic literature.

C. *Vegetables and Pot-Herbs.*[17]—

The Law-codes lay down rules prohibiting consumption of certain vegetables on certain days of the lunar month. It cannot be exactly said whether this is due to the inductive generalization or merely due to a desire to provide a variety to the palate. Some specimens of prohibition are given. The text runs: *kuṣmāṇḍa* if consumed on the first day of the moon leads to loss of wealth; *vṛhatí* if taken on the second day of the moon, the consumer forgets the name of the Lord on the eve of death (a serious calamity indeed

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1 *Loc. cit.*, xix. 50, 4; xx. 135. 12.
2 *Loc. cit.*, iii. 14. 3.
3 *Loc. cit.*, i. 8. 1, 2; ii. 3. 2, 6; iv. 7. 4. 2.
4 *Loc. cit.*, xviii. 12.
5 *Loc. cit.*, x. 2.
6 *Loc. cit.*, x. 6. 3. 2; xii. 7. 1, 9, etc.
7 *Loc. cit.*, xiii. 4.
8 *Loc. cit.*, iii. 4, 10.
9 *Loc. cit.*, xviii. 72.
10 *Loc. cit.*, v. 1. 4. 14; 3. 3. 5, etc.
11 *Loc. cit.*, i. 6. 5, 6.
12 *Loc. cit.*, v. 2. 4. 13; 3. 1. 10; xiv. 1. 2. 9.
13 Taitt. Saṃ., v. 4. 3, 2.
14 Śat. Brāh., ix. 1, 1, 8.
15 Vedic Index, 2 Vols.
16 Commercial Products, Vol. 5, p. 389.
17 For a complete list see author's Vanaspati, pp. 105–127.

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for a Hindu), if *patōl* be taken on the third day of the moon the enemies of the eater multiply ; if *mūlaka* be taken on the fourth day it leads to loss of wealth on the part of the consumer ; if one takes *vilva* on the fifth day he is sure to court infamy, and if *nimba* is taken on the sixth day the consumer is fated to be born as a low animal in the next birth ; if *tāla* be taken on the seventh it leads to loss of strength, and if *nārikela* be taken on the eighth the consumer becomes a dunce ; *tumbí* if taken on the ninth day of the moon is equivalent to consumption of beef ; and the consumption of *kalambí* on the tenth is equal to cow slaughter—the deadliest sin for a Hindu ; *śim* consumed on the eleventh is productive of sins and *putika* taken on the twelfth is equivalent to Brahmanicide ; consumption of *vārtāku* on the thirteenth leads to loss of one's son ; and that of *māṣa* on the fourteenth day of the moon means chronic disease. Last of all the consumption of meat on the last day of the moon is verily a deadly sin.' [1]

D. *Oils.*—

These are not food proper, but they are used for the purpose of preparing food. Oils used for such purpose are principally of three kinds—sesamum, mustard, and cocoanut. They are extracted, with the exception of cocoanut, from the seeds by the *ghāni*, a wooden plant, drawn by bullocks. A class of people, called in Bengal, *Kalu*, mostly Mohammadans, has sprung up out of this profession.

The word *taila* (oil) is derived from *tila* (sesamum). *Tila* is mentioned in Vedic literature [2] ; *tila taila* is mentioned in the Atharvaveda (i. 7. 2) ; and used to be stored in jars (xx. 136. 16) ; it used to be cultivated along with beans in winter and cold seasons.[3] Pliny mentions it as coming from India (Bk. XV, C7, 7) ; Periplus also mentions it as of Indian origin.

Other oils are :—*tubri*, *atasī*, *kusumbha*, *khas* (poppy), *vālā* (turpentine), *kājipat* or *sitāṅgśu*, *karañja*, *takṣadru* (extracted from a class of pine), *cāulmugra* (*Pāṭali*), *vātāda* (almond oil), *eḍaṇḍa* (castor oil), etc. etc.[4] They are used for purposes other than that of preparation of food.

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[1] Tithitattva, p. 116—Raghunandan Bhattacharya, Calcutta, B.S. 1332.

[2] A.V., ii. 8. 3 ; vi. 140. 2 ; xviii. 3, 69 ; 4, 32 ; Taitt. Saṃ., vii. 2, 10. 2 ; Maitt. Saṃ., iv. 3, 2 ; Vāj. Saṃ., xviii. 12 ; Śat. Brāh. ix. 1, 1, 3, et. seq.

[3] Taitt. Saṃ., vii. 2, 10. 2.

[4] Taila varga—Bhāvaprakāśa.

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E. Spices and Condiments.—

'They are mixed with food for the purpose of exciting appetite. In their production India has always been pre-eminent, her ports having been resorted to by the nations of the West from the prehistoric times in search of these commodities.'[1] Some of them are: onion, garlic, cardamom, *randhaní*, *sarṣapa*, red pepper, pepper, clove, cinnamon, coriander, *jíraka*, *āmādā*, *haridrā*, the fennel, black cumin, anisi, *ārdrak*, and others.

F. Sour and Acids.—

The sources are generally fruits and leaves. Fruits: *mātulaṅga*, *kola*, *vadara*, *sauvíra*, *paruṣaka*, *lemon*, *tamarind*, *karañja*, *mango*, *hogplum*, *chalta*, *kāmrāṅga*, and such leaves as that of oxalis, rumex, etc. constitute ingredients of sours and acids. Citron is mentioned in Vedic literature.[2]

G. Sweets.[3]—

Sarkarā, palm sugar, sugarcandy and *madhu*. Granulated sugar from sugarcane juice, and sugarcandy, are both mentioned in the Atharvaveda (XV, 94). It also mentions grape juice along with honey of the bee as *madhu*. In the Vinaya texts (M., vi. 16. 1) we find mention of sugar factory, where it is also said that flour and cane dust were put into molasses to make it firm. In another place (Ch. X, 1, 6) destruction of sugarcanes in cultivation by 'blight' is mentioned.

The Institutes of Manu and Greek writers make undoubted references to cane sugar, as well as palm sugar, honey and other saccharine substances.

Twelve varieties of sugar are mentioned by Sanskrit writers.[4] They are:—

(1) *ikṣurasa* (sugarcane juice);
(2) *phānita* (sugarcane juice boiled down to one-fourth; it can be drawn out in threads);
(3) *guḍa* (treacle);
(4) *matsaṇḍikā* (sugarcane juice boiled down to a solid consistence, but which excludes a little fluid on drawing);

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[1] Commercial Products, Vol. VI, iii, p. 322.
[2] Maitt. Saṃ., iii. 15. 3; Kāṭh. Saṃ., v. 13. 1; Vāj. Saṃ., xxv. 3.
[3] Watt, Vol. VI, ii, pp. 8–10; for history see pp. 28–40.
[4] Materia Medica of the Hindus—U. C. Datta, p. 266; see also *Ikṣuvarga*—Bhāvaprakāśa.

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(5) *khaṇḍa* (candied in white sand-like grain) ;
(6) *śarkarā* (white sugar) ;
(7) *sítopala* (sugarcandy) ;
(8) *gauḍi* (fermented liquor obtained from treacle) ;
(9) *sidhu* (fermented liquor obtained from sugarcane juice) ; and
(10–12) not mentioned here, they being varieties of above.

H. Sweetmeats.—

They form the last course of an Indian dish (*madhureṇa samāpayet*). We have already noticed that sweetmeats (*khaṇḍa-khādyāni*) are mentioned by Suśruta and Vātsyāyana as an article of food. *Piṣṭakas* (cakes) and *pāyasa* (milk porridge of rice) form the last course of Hindu meal. Modern *sandeś* and *rasagollās* are preparations of *chānā* (caesin) and sugar. Sandeś has many varieties, some of which are shaped and named after the shape of particular fruits, such as *tālsāṅs* (kernel of the toddy palm seed), *kāmrāṅgā* (fruits of this plant) *ām* (mango fruit), *ātāphal* (custard apple), *kamlānebu sandeś* is coloured and smelled like oranges, and so on.

I. Fruits.[1]—

They are amongst the most important items of food. As a matter of fact, some people subsist entirely on it during a particular part of the year. It is pre-eminently the food of the Yogis and Sannyasis,—of those retired to wood. No dish is complete without ripe fruits. Many of them are sculptured on the Bharhut railing and painted on the walls of the Ajānta caves. Some of the Indian fruits are: mango, jackfruit, pineapple, banana, oranges, guava, papaya, lichoo, almond, grapes, dates, *tāl*, *nārikela*, plum, water-melon and other varieties, *śasā*, black-berry, and the like. In the hills are cultivated apple, peach, walnut, cherry, pomegranates, strawberry, etc. Yuan Chwang notices the following fruits cultivated and used by the Indians: the *amala*, *āmla*, *madhuka*, *bhadra*, *kapittha*, *amalā*, *tinduka*, *udumbara*, *mocha*, *nārikela*, *panasa*. He names only those most esteemed. He further says that the peas, wild plum, peach, apricot, grapes (Kashmir variety most delicious), pomegranates and sweet oranges are grown everywhere.[2]

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[1] For a complete list—see Phalavarga of Bhāvaprakāśa.

[2] Buddhist Records of the Western World, ii. 17, Vol. I, pp. 88-89. See also Fausböll, No. 547—Vessantara Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 275, for a complete list.

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After food the usual practice is to take *tāmbūla* (betel). Its ingredients are betel-leaf, areca-nut, *khadira* (catechu) and *chunam*, occasionally with cardamom, camphor and ajowān. Suśruta (*Annapānavidhi*) says that to control phlegm which increases after eating, the intelligent eater should partake fruits of an astringent, pungent or bitter taste or by chewing a betel-leaf prepared with broken areca-nut, camphor, nutmeg, clove, etc.; or by smoking. Varāhamihira gives the following properties of *tāmbūla*: Consumption of betel-leaf excites lust, increases the beauty of the body, and hastens good fortune, gives fragrance to the mouth, adds to strength, and destroys a variety of diseases due to phlegm. Adequate lime applied to betel-leaf produces intensity of the colour (of the red juice), excess of betel-nut applied thereto destroy the same, excess of lime brings bad smell in the mouth and excess of betel-leaf itself means attractive scent. Excess of betel-leaf at night is beneficial, excess of betel-nut by day is equally good, and the reverse of the practice in connection with betel is vain. And if betel-leaf is consumed in association with betel-nut, *kakkola*, cloves and nutmeg it intensifies the pleasure due to the satisfaction of lust.[1]

Tambul.

कामं प्रदीपयति रूपमभिव्यनक्ति, सौभाग्यमावहति वक्त्रसुगन्धितां च ।
ऊर्जं करोति कफजांश्च निहन्ति रोगां-स्ताम्बूलमेवमपरांश्च गुणान् करोति ॥ ३५
युक्तेन चूर्णेन करोति रागं रागक्षयं पूगफलातिरिक्तम् ।
चूर्णाधिकं वक्त्रविगन्धकारी पत्राधिकं साधु करोति गन्धम् ॥ ३६
पत्राधिकं निशि हितं सफलं दिवा च प्रोक्तान्यथाकरणमस्य विडम्बनैव ।
कक्कोलपूगलवलीफलपारिजातै-रामोदितं मदमुदामुदितं करोति ॥ ३७

Alberuni notes that 'The power of digestion is so weak that (the Hindu) must strengthen it by eating the leaves of betel after dinner and by chewing the betel-nut. The hot betel-leaf dries everything wet and the betel-nut acts as an astringent on the teeth, the gums, and the stomach.'[2] Evidently he misinterprets the true significance of taking *pan* after meals.

But Cardiner in his notes on Marco Polo says that the areca-nut corrects the bitterness of the betel-leaf, and the chunam prevents it from hurting the stomach. United together they possess an extremely wholesome, nutritious and enlivening quality.[3] Grose

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1 Bṛhatsaṃhitā, Ch. 76 (Gandhayukti), pp. 941–960.
2 India, Ch. 68, p. 152.
3 Marco Polo. Note 1343, p. 667.

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also notes in his 'Travels in the Far Eastern Countries' that *pan* 'sweetens the breath, fortifies the stomach, preserves the teeth, etc.'[1]

Edward Terry notes that 'it (betel) hath many rare qualities, for it preserves the teeth, comforts the braine, strengthens the stomacke and cures or prevents a tainted breath'.[2]

For old women and widows *haritakī* is prescribed after meals for 'it is supposed to diminish the desires of flesh'.

UTENSILS

Utensils.

The consideration of the part played by plants and plant-products in the food of man will remain incomplete if we do not take here into account the part played by the same in the utensils associated with the handling of eatables. We have first to note that utensils ordinarily used are made of metal, wood, and stone, but poor people generally and other people on festive occasions, use plantain leaf, leaves of *sāl* sewn together and leaves of lotus. The Kālika Purāṇa suggests that plates made of wood are wholesome but phlegm-generating. Those of leaves are wholesome, invigorating and poison-destroying.[3]

Marco Polo giving a description of the people of Conjeverum, notes: 'They (a class of natives) made no use of spoons, nor of platters, but spread their victuals upon the dried leaves of the Adam's apple, called likewise apples of paradise, i.e. plantain-leaf, remarkable for its size, a part of which is commonly used by the natives as a dish for holding their boiled rice'.[4]

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[1] Vol. i, pp. 237-238.

[2] Purchas His Pilgrimes, Vol. IX, p. 21, Glasgow (1905).

[3] दारुद्भवं विशेषेण-रुचिदं श्लेष्माकारि च ।
पात्रं पत्रमयं रुच्यदीपनं विषपापनुत् ॥
The Indo-Aryan, Vol. I, p. 275.

[4] Travels, Chap. XXII, p. 663. Conjeverum (Eng. Trans.).

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KAUŚIKĀ AND KUSIĀRĀ

By K. L. BARUA

In reviewing my book 'Early History of Kāmarupa', in the first number of the *Indian Culture*, Dr. Bhandarkar referred to certain points which are open to differences of opinion. One of these points is the location of the lands donated by the Nidhanpur Charter of Bhāskaravarman, king of Kāmarupa. Dr. Bhandarkar supports the views of Mr. J. C. Ghosh (I.H.Q., Vol. VI, p. 642), who considers that the river 'Kauśikā' mentioned in the Charter is to be identified with the Kusiārā of Sylhet which flows by the area which is known as Panchakhanda and within which area the original copperplates have been discovered.

There are, however, several facts which will go to show that this identification is not correct. If anybody looks at the map of Sylhet he will find that the river Barak, debouching from the Lushai Hills, runs from east to west. After leaving Badarpur it bifurcates into two streams, both flowing practically east to west. The northern stream is called Surma while the southern stream is called Kusiārā. In Rennell's Bengal Atlas of 1783 the last named stream is called 'Cusiarah'. At Markali the two streams again unite. The Kosi (Kausiki) in North Bihar, on the other hand, proceeds from the Himalayas on the north and runs southwards to meet the Ganges. This river now runs almost due south from Varāha Chhatra, but in the old days it followed a course towards the south-east and fell into the Ganges much lower down. Rennell in his map, prepared in 1783 A.D., shows an old course of the Kosi joining the Ganges near Rajmahal or about 50 miles below its present confluence. In the beginning of the last century Dr. Buchanan wrote his account of Purnea (Purāniya as spelt by him) where he inserted also a map. In this map also several abandoned beds of the Kosi are shown and these are known as Burrhi Kosi, Mara Kosi, Kali Kosi and so forth. I quote the following from Dr. Buchanan's report :—

> 'In giving an account of the Ganges, I have already mentioned a tradition which states that the Kosi on reaching the plains, instead of running almost directly south to join the Ganges, as it does at present, formerly proceeded from Chhatra to the eastward, and joined the Ganges far below; and many old channels are still shown by the populace as having been formerly occupied by its immense stream, and are still called *Burhi*, the old, or *Marā* the dead Kosi. The change seems to

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have been very gradual, and to be in some measure still going on; nor will it be completed until the channel north from the island of Khawaspur has become dry or dead. Even at present the river seems to have successively deserted its ancient course towards the south-east, until finally it has reached a south or straight direction.'

'This tradition of the vulgar is not only supported by the above-mentioned appearance, but by the opinion of the Pandits, or natives of learning, who inhabit its banks. These indeed go still farther, and allege that in times of remote antiquity the Kosi passed south-east by where Tajpur is now situated, and from thence towards the east until it joined the Brahmaputra, having no communication with the Ganges. I know not the authority on which this is stated, whether it be mere tradition, or legend that has little more authority; but the opinion seems highly probable. I think it not unlikely that the great lakes, north and east from Maldeh, are remains of the Kosi united to the Mahananda and that on the junction of the former river with the Ganges the united mass of water opened the passage now called Padma, and the old channel of the Bhagirathi from Songti to Nadiya was then left comparatively dry.'

Now if the boundaries of the donated lands as given in the Nidhanpur Charter are carefully examined it will be at once found that neither the 'Śuska Kauśikā' which formed the north-eastern, eastern and south-eastern boundaries of the donated land nor the 'Ganginikā' which formed the north-western, the western and south-western boundaries, could have been streams running from east to west or the south-west. The relevant portion of the inscription is quoted below :—

128. * * * * * सीमानो

यत्र पूर्वेण शुष्ककौशिका ॥ पूर्वदक्षि-

129. णेन सैव शुष्ककौशिका डुम्बरीच्छेदसंवेद्या

दक्षिणेनापि डुम्बरीच्छेद(:) ॥ दक्षिण-

130. पश्चिमेन गङ्गिनिका डुम्बरीच्छेदसंवेद्या ॥ पश्चिमेनाधुना

सोमगङ्गिनिका । पश्चिमो-

131. त्तरेण कुम्भकारगर्त्तस्सैव च गङ्गिणिका प्राग्भुज्यमाना (॥) उत्तरेण

वृहज्जाटली ॥ उत्तरपू-

132. र्वेण व्यवहारिखासोकपुष्करिणी सैव शुष्ककौशिका चेति

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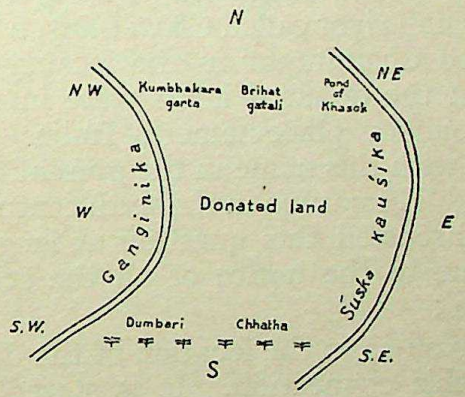
From the above it will be found that to the north and the south there were no fixed boundaries like streams or stream-beds. Hence only a big Jharul tree is indicated on the north and on the north-east were the *Śuska* Kauśika as well as the pond of the *Vyavahāri* (lawyer) named Khāsok. On the north-west were a potters' pit as well as the Ganginikā bent eastwards (*prāgbhujyamānā*). On the south there being no fixed boundary the tops of some fig trees were cut down to mark the boundary (*Dumbarichheda sangvedyā*). On the east was the *Śuska* Kauśika and on the west was the Ganginikā. It is, however, stated clearly that the western boundary was the stagnant stream at the time of renewing the grant (*Paschimenādhunā seemā ganginikā*). Probably during Mahābhutavarman's reign, when the grant was originally made, the *ganginikā* was the running river 'Kauśika'. The following diagram will roughly show the situation of the donated land as described in the inscription :—



Mr. J. C. Ghosh writes :—'By looking at the map of Sylhet we find that a river named Kusiara is flowing by the north-west of Panchakhanda. This river is perhaps the Kauśika mentioned in the plates, which probably gave up its former bed in the east and took the course of the dried up Ganginikā in the west after the grant of the plates'. I must say that this is not at all a reasonable supposition. In the first place Mr. Ghosh has not been able to indicate on the spot the two dried up river-beds, viz. the Śuska Kauśika and the Ganginikā which the present river Kusiara must have abandoned. Secondly it is not possible that a river running from east to west or the south-west could form the eastern, the north-eastern and the south-eastern boundaries of the donated land. A river running from the north first towards the south-east and then turning towards the south-west could only give the boundaries indicated in the inscription. The old beds of the Kosi, as indicated

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by Buchanan, exactly tally with this description but the Kusiara cannot and Mr. Ghosh has not even attempted to indicate its old beds answering to such a description. As correctly stated by Mr. Ghosh 'Gāng' is the name vulgarly applied to all rivers in Sylhet. The Chota-Gāng, mentioned by Dr. Bhandarkar, is a small streamlet running south to north which connects the Natia river with the Kusiara. It cannot be the Śuska Kauśika because it is still a stream and is therefore called a Gāng. The Kusiara is still a powerful running river and cannot therefore be identified with either the Śuska Kauśika or the Ganginikā. There is really nothing to indicate that the Kusiara changed its course continually as the river Kosi has done. Besides, in this area and in fact throughout the district of Sylhet there are numerous *khals* or man-made channels for convenience of boat traffic or for draining water of *bils* into rivers. During the last 1300 years many such *khals* must have been excavated. Can any of these be now identified with the Śuska Kauśika or the Ganginikā? I regret that merely from the existence of a small river called *Chota Gāng*, a bil called *Gāngni bil* and a village called Chandrapur in the locality I cannot jump to the conclusion that the donated lands were in the Sylhet district. Chandrapur is a common place-name in India. There are at least half a dozen places with this name in the present district of Kamrup. In my article headed 'Kāmarupa in the sixth century A.D.' (J.A.R.S., Vol. I, No. 3), I discussed this question at length. As the article may not have come to the notice of all the scholars I quote the following therefrom :—

> 'A discussion as to the location of the donated lands would be useful in this connection. It is stated in the inscription that "the produce of the land that is increased by the Kauśika (river) will go to the Brahmans, the donees of the grant, but the land which is enlarged by the Gāngini shall be equally divided by the Brahmans as recorded". Now the correct Sanskrit name of the present Kosi river is Kauśiki. The writer of the inscription perhaps wrongly spelt Kauśiki as Kauśika.[1] In the last issue of this journal, in our notes on

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[1] The Greek writers named this river 'Cosoagus' which seems to indicate that the common people called it Kauśika. Even Rennell in 1783 named it 'Cosah' in his map of Bengal and Bihar. Further Pandit Vidyavinod, the decipherer of the plates, may have misread 'Kauśiki' as 'Kauśika' by overlooking the upper portion of the ৗ which may have been very nearly obliterated in an inscription 1300 years old, the plates having been imbedded in earth for an unknown period. In deciphering the copperplate inscription of king Dharmapāla of Kāmarupa, recorded about the beginning of the twelfth century, Pandit Vidyavinod misread Kroḍanja as Krosanja. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, who subsequently obtained possession

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Buchanan's account of Purnea, we have alluded to the various abandoned channels of the Kosi which, till Buchanan's time, were known as Marā Kosi or the Burhi Kosi. This river continually changed its course from the east to the west. These channels are shown on Rennell's map of 1783 and also on Buchanan's "Plan of the District of Puraniyā". The "Gangi-nikā" referred to in the inscription was evidently one of these abandoned beds containing shallow water. It appears that the lands donated to more than 200 families of Brahmans constituted a considerable area enclosed between two of these abandoned channels. We find from the inscription that on the eastern, south-eastern and north-eastern boundaries of the area was the dried river Kosi and that to the west another abandoned bed of the same river known locally as the "Gangini". It is clearly stated that on the north-west was the "dried river-bed bent eastwards". This shows that the donated land was between two horse-shoe shaped river-beds each running from north first towards the east and then veering towards the west. The western bed was no doubt less curved than the earlier bed on the east. These changes in the course of the river continued until it straightened itself entirely to run direct from north to south as at present. Pandit Vidyavinod surmises that during the time of Mahābhutavarman both the beds were running streams but at the time of renewing the charter one was entirely dry while the other, which still contained water, was known as the Gāngini. We think the Pandit is not quite correct. When Mahābhutavarman made the grant only the western bed was perhaps the running channel while the eastern channel was then not entirely dry. By the drying of the eastern bed, during Bhāskaravarman's time, there were accretions to the estate of the Brahmans on the east and on the west also there were similar accretions on account of the transformation of a running stream into a stagnant Gāngini. This is clearly stated in the inscription.'

The natural identification of Kauśika is with Kauśiki (Kosi). The name of the Sylhet river is Kusiara and not Kausiyara as stated by Dr. Bhandarkar. Mr. Ghosh has correctly stated the name as

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of the original plates, detected this misreading (J.A.R.S., Vol. II, No. 1, p. 26) and it is now possible to identify Kroḍanja with modern Karanja in the Dinajpur district. The original plates of the Nidhanpur inscription have not yet been read by any other scholar. The Government of Assam have now taken steps to obtain possession of the plates and to get the same correctly deciphered by the Government epigraphist.

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Kusiara. It is pronounced as Kuiara. In Sylhet Kusiar (Kuiar) is the name of sugarcane. The water of this river is supposed to be as sweet as the juice of sugarcane and hence the name Kusiara.[1] On the other hand Kauśika or Kauśiki means the offspring of Kuśik. The derivation of the name Kauśika or Kauśiki is therefore widely different from that of Kusiara.

The reason why, in spite of all these dissimilarities and improbabilities, Kauśika is sought to be identified with Kusiara is the difficulty felt by some scholars, including Dr. Bhandarkar, in believing that the Kāmarupa kings could have ever crossed the Karatoyā and extended their dominions towards the west or absorbed any part of Pundravardhana, though we find that the Nidhanpur Charter itself was issued by a Kāmarupa king from Karnasuvarna, thus indicating clearly that both Northern and Central Bengal (the whole of Pundravardhana) had passed into the hands of Bhāskaravarman. The map facing this page will show that the north-western boundary of Kāmarupa was the Purniya district or eastern Mithila and that Pundravardhana (Vārendra) was really to the south of Kāmarupa. A Kāmarupa king could conquer a part of Eastern Mithila without going through Pundravardhana. Dr. Bhandarkar writes, ' the western boundary of the kingdom of Bhutivarman, who originally granted the lands mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription, could hardly have extended up to the Purnea district, because in the time of Bhutivarman the Imperial Guptas were masters of the northern part of Bengal which intervenes between Purnea and Kamarupa '. The Karatoyā is even now the boundary between Jalpaiguri and Purnea and every one will have to admit that even till the reign of the Koch king Narnārāyan, in the sixteenth century, the whole of Jalpaiguri was within Kāmarupa. Purnea and Kāmarupa were therefore co-terminous, on the north, till the sixteenth century and Pundravardhana or Varendra was to the south of Kāmarupa. Pundravardhana actually comprised the Bengal districts of Dinajpur, Maldah, Rajshahi and the western parts of Bogra and Rangpur, but the whole of the northern belt of modern Bengal comprising Jalpaiguri, Cooch-Behar and part of Rangpur, was always within Kāmarupa. It is wrong to suppose that the whole strength of the country now known as Northern Bengal was within Pundravardhana or Gauḍa as it was called latterly. I admit that nominally even Eastern Mithila was also within the Gupta Empire, but there is evidence to show that during the first half of the sixth century, the Gupta power was on the decline. It was during this period that

[1] In a copperplate inscription said to have been recorded by order of a Tippera king the name of this river was Sanskritized into Krosirā.

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Yasodharman of Malava invaded the whole of eastern India as far as the Brahmaputra (Lauhitya) and the feudatory kings of Central Bengal, belonging to the Deva family, practically asserted independence by minting coins and styling themselves as 'Mahārājādhirāja'. About 554 A.D. even the Moukhari king Iśānavarman over-ran Pundravardhana. I need not quote references in support of these well-known historical facts. I hold that probably prior to these two invasions Mahābhutavarman crossed the Karatoyā and conquered a part of Eastern Mithila and Morung (now under Nepal) and in order to commemorate his conquests, made the grant of lands within the conquered area to Brahmans. I am tempted to surmise that the *Varāha chhatra* or the *Kokāmukha Kshetra,* near the junction of the Kosi and the Kokākotā, which will be referred to later on and where Naraka, the founder of the Bhauma dynasty of Kāmarupa, is said to have been born, was probably within Kāmarupa in ancient times. Latterly this sacred spot and the adjoining country came under the rule of the Mouryas and then the Guptas for we find a Gupta Emperor making grants, in the first part of the sixth century, for the maintenance of the temples of *Kokāmukha Svāmi* and *Sveta Varāha Svāmi* (Damodarpur plates). The Kāmarupa kings of the dynasty of Naraka must have always longed for possession of this stretch of country which included the *tirtha.* At length Mahābhutavarman found the opportunity when the Gupta power over Pundravardhana declined and he carried his conquests right up to the Kosi river which at that time flowed towards the south-east. It seems that this area continued to be within Kāmarupa till the reign of Susthitavarman, during the ninth and the tenth decades of the sixth century, when Mahāsena Gupta, trying to re-assert Gupta supremacy, invaded Kāmarupa, defeated Susthitavarman, and re-acquired this area (*vide* the Aphshaḍ Inscription). After Mahāsena Gupta's death his feudatory Śaśāṅka Deva, perhaps the son of Samāchāra Deva, became the master of Gauḍa and Karṇasuvarṇa. When during the first quarter of the seventh century Bhāskaravarman, assisted by Śri Harsha, defeated Śaśāṅka and re-acquired this area, he immediately, from his victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa, issued the Nidhanpur Charter confirming the grant made by his ancestor Mahābhutavarman. The urgency of having the original grant confirmed, so soon after the victory, is explained by the fact that the original copperplates, inscribed under the orders of Mahābhutavarman, having been burnt, the donated lands had been assessed to revenue. Ordinarily a grant made by a king is recognized by a subsequent ruler, although the latter may belong to a different dynasty, but in this case the title deed relating to the donated lands had been destroyed by fire and the royal

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officers had probably refused to grant exemption in the absence of the original document of gift. On the other hand this document could be renewed only when the donated lands had passed back into the hands of the Kāmarupa king.

Dr. Bhandarkar ends the paragraph with the following sentence: 'All things considered the kingdom of Kāmarupa, in the time of Bhāskaravarman, does not seem to have extended so far westward as to include the Purnea district'. I do not know whether in the above sentence 'Bhāskaravarman' is a slip of pen for 'Bhutivarman'. I think there can be no doubt that at least after the expulsion of Śaśāṅka, the whole of Gauḍa and Karṇasuvarṇa passed into the hands of Bhāskaravarman, perhaps with the full approval of Śri Harsha. That he occupied also Eastern Mithila is confirmed by the fact that from there he could actively assist the Chinese envoy Wang Huen Tse who had taken refuge in Nepal, just to the north of Mithila, with 30,000 oxen and horses which could not have been led through a hostile country to reach the Chinese envoy. How long Bhāskaravarman or his successors held these territories is no doubt a question on which opinions may differ.

Donated lands need not necessarily be located in the neighbourhood of the find-place of the original copperplates. The copperplates of Vaidyadeva's inscription, donating lands in the district of Kamrup, were found in Kamauli, within the United Provinces. The discovery of the copperplates of Bhāskaravarman's inscription in Nidhanpur, within Sylhet, cannot therefore raise the presumption that the donated lands are to be located in Sylhet particularly as the removal of the original copperplates from Eastern Mithila to Sylhet can be satisfactorily explained. The Panchakhanda Brahmans claim their origin from Mithila. It is quite possible that certain descendants of the original grantees migrated from Eastern Mithila to Sylhet and carried with them the copperplates which were regarded as heirlooms. The exact time when this migration took place cannot, of course, be definitely known, but the fact that, as stated by the author of '*Śrihatter Itivritta*', the Panchakhanda Brahmans still follow the Smriti of Vāchaspati Misra of Mithila will go to show that this migration took place in comparatively recent times.

Why is it taken for granted that Sylhet was within Kāmarupa in the early days? There is really no good evidence to prove conclusively that the district of Sylhet formed a part of Kāmarupa in the sixth or the seventh century A.D. so that either Mahābhutavarman or Bhāskaravarman could donate lands there to Brahmans. In my book I have stated that this is a matter of some doubt. Sylhet is to the south of the Assam Valley separated from it by the

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Garo, the Khasi, and the Jaintia hills. There never was any easy communication between Sylhet and Kamrup in the past. The road to Sylhet from Gauhati via Shillong and Jaintiapur has been constructed by the British Government at enormous cost and the Shillong-Sylhet section was opened only last year. From reliable historical accounts we find that since the sixteenth century only two kings of Kāmarupa (Assam) could penetrate the hills and attack the Jaintiapur kingdom in the northern part of the Sylhet district. The first expedition was led by the famous Silā Rai, the brother of king Narnārāyan, and the second expedition was sent by Rudra Singha, the most powerful of the Ahom kings. Both of these expeditions were no doubt successful but at tremendous cost in men and money. I do not see how, under these circumstances, Sylhet could be ruled by the kings of Kāmarupa having their capital in Gauhati (Prāgjyotishpur) or Tezpur (Hatapeswara). It is true that Mymensing was a part of Kāmarupa till a late period but this district could be easily reached from Gauhati, Kamatāpur or Koch-Bihar. The Brahmaputra flowed through this district till the 18th century. Yuan Chwang who visited Kāmarupa in the seventh century has left on record that to the south-east of the kingdom (the Kopili Valley and North Cachar) elephants were plentiful, which indicates that this area was then a howling jungle and there could not have been any easy passage through this area to Sylhet. The army of Rudra Singha had actually to march through this difficult country to reach Jaintiapur. Pandit Vidyavinod has, in his Kāmarupa Śāśanāvalī (pp. 4–9), tried to establish that Sylhet was a separate kingdom in the beginning of the seventh century and that even Yuan Chwang made separate mention of Sylhet (Shil-hi-Cha-to-lo). He further points out that in the Yogini Tantra also Sylhet and Kāmarupa are mentioned separately. In an earlier work, the Sādhanmālā, Srihatta and Kāmarupa are separately mentioned. All things considered I think it is at best very doubtful whether Sylhet was a part of Kāmarupa at any time. There are still strong traditions of the cultural, historical, and political connection between Kamrup and the border districts of Bengal in the past. No such tradition has been handed down to us of any similar association between Sylhet and Kamrup.

I admit that the late Mr. R. C. Dutta and the late Bankim Chandra Chatterji held that the ancient kingdom of Kāmarupa included not only Sylhet but also Cachar and Manipur. It seems that they came to such a conclusion from the extent of Kāmarupa given by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang who stated that Kāmarupa was 10,000 li or nearly 1,700 miles in circuit. Yuan Chwang came to Kāmarupa when Bhāskaravarman was ruling and

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after Bhāskaravarman had conquered both Gauḍa and Karṇasuvarṇa. At that time therefore Kāmarupa extended far to the west of the Karatoyā and it included the modern Assam Valley, the whole of Northern Bengal and the eastern part of North Bihar as far as the Kosi, a part of Bhutan and Morang, a part of Bengal to the south of the Ganges (Karṇasuvarṇa), and Mymensing. This kingdom was 1,700 miles in circuit.

Babu Achyuta Charan Chaudhury, a native of Sylhet and the author of '*Śrihatter Itivritta*', has no doubt tried his utmost to prove that Sylhet formed a part of the ancient kingdom of Kāmarupa but he has not been able to adduce any new evidence. He seems to be anxious to prove that, being within Kāmarupa, Sylhet enjoyed the fruits of Aryan civilization much earlier than lower Bengal.

Having taken it for granted that Sylhet formed a part of Kāmarupa from about the fifth century A.D., Mr. Ghosh jumps to the conclusion that the lands donated by Mahābhutavarman were for the maintenance of the temple of Hātakeswara, the family deity of the Nagar Brahmans settled in Panchakhanda, and that this very temple was re-built by Vanamālavarman, another Kāmarupa king, in the ninth century as recorded in the inscription of that king. Mr. Ghosh traces the *linga* of Hātakeswara in Panchakhanda, but can he point to the existence of any ruins in Panchakhanda of the 'lofty (like a peak of the Himalaya) white temple' mentioned in the inscription? This temple was, in all probability, in or near Tezpur (Hatapeswara) where Vanamālavarman had his capital. In the Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India for the year 1924-25 the late Mr. R. D. Banerji described the ruins of two such temples. One is within Tezpur town and the other is in Parbatia, about 4 miles to the west of Tezpur. From the size of the lintel belonging to the former temple Mr. Banerji calculated that the height of the door-frame was not less than 15 feet and that the total height of the spire or *Sikhara* must have been considerably over 100 feet. One is tempted to identify this temple with the Himalaya-like lofty temple repaired by Vanamālavarman. Considerable ruins of this temple still exist in Tezpur. Of course, according to Mr. Banerji, this temple was probably dedicated to Surya, but it is well known that the Kāmarupa kings were staunch Śaivites. They were not sun-worshippers. The other temple in Parbatia was dedicated to Śiva, according to Mr. Banerji himself, who from the sculpture of the door-frame, still in existence, concluded that this temple must have been constructed in the sixth century A.D. A photograph of the stone door-frame of this temple faces page 175 of my book. This was also a huge temple of Śiva and it may have been the temple repaired by Vanamālavarman.

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There are scores of similar pre-Ahom Śiva temples in the Assam Valley and one need not go as far as Panchakhanda to find the temple reconstructed by Vanamālavarman.

In this article I am not concerned with the origin of the so-called Nagar Brahmans. Nor need I discuss here the question whether the original grantees mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription were actually Nagar Brahmans. It is however evident that these Nagar Brahmans are no longer regarded as true Brahmans and hence everybody seems to be anxious to disown origin from them. I am not sure whether the attempt to identify the Kauśika with the Kusiara and to locate the donated lands in Panchakhanda, instead of Eastern Mithila, is not prompted by a desire to place the habitation of the Nagar Brahmans in a corner of Sylhet, far away from Bengal proper. The Panchakhanda Brahmans, who are, according to Mr. Ghosh, of the same stock as the Nagar Brahmans of Guzerat, i.e. Banias, can, however, very well defend themselves. I need not take up the cudgels on their behalf.

It is however interesting to find that the same Mr. J. C. Ghosh has taken pains to prove that Viśākhadatta, author of the famous historical drama *Mudrārākshasam*, who lived in the seventh century A.D., was a Bengali, being a resident of the country between the Karatoyā and the Kauśiki or in other words Eastern Mithila, and that Viśākhadatta in the last *śloka* of his drama referred to Avanti Varma, who was his over-lord and who was probably the immediate successor of Bhāskaravarman (J.P.A.S.B., New Series, Vol. XXVI, 1930, No. 1, pp. 241–245). Mr. Ghosh wrote: 'Who this Avanti Varma might then be? Although history is silent about any descendant of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarupa, the reference to Varāha Avatāra leads us to think that this Avanti Varma might be the immediate descendant of Bhāskaravarman who claimed his descent from the Varāha Avatāra. That Bhāskaravarman had his sway over Northern Bengal is evidenced by the fact that he had issued his Nidhanpur copperplate grants from his victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa in Bengal (Ep. Ind., Vol. XII)'. It may be stated here that Mr. Ghosh's article quoted above is later than his article in Vol. VI of the I.H.Q. I have in my book accepted this theory of Mr. Ghosh as very probably correct and have pointed out that Viśākha Datta, who was evidently a Brahman[1] with the surname Datta, very likely belonged to the colony of Brahmans enumerated in the Nidhanpur inscription, for the list of Brahman donees given

[1] Viśākha Datta, the son of Bhāskara Datta and grandson of Sāmanta Vatesvara Datta, could not have been a Kāyastha for in his own drama he makes disparaging remarks about the Kāyasthas.

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in the plates includes at least six with the surname Datta. Mr. Ghosh has gone further and has quoted from the Varāha Purāṇa to show that a prince of Anandapura (supposed by him to be the same as modern Vadanagara in Guzerat) married a princess of Chandrapura and came to visit the shrine of Varāha Avatāra (Varāha Chhatra). This place of pilgrimage, as already stated before, is on the river Kosi near the junction of the Kokākotā with the Kosi, as shown in the map of Buchanan, within the borders of Nepal to the north of Purnea. Mr. Ghosh has not attempted to locate the small State of Chandrapura, mentioned in the Varāha Purāṇa, but it would seem that it was not very far from this place of pilgrimage. Its location within Eastern Mithila can therefore be supposed with some degree of confidence. Can we not take this Chandrapura to be the same as the Chandrapura vishaya mentioned in the Nidhanpur inscription ?

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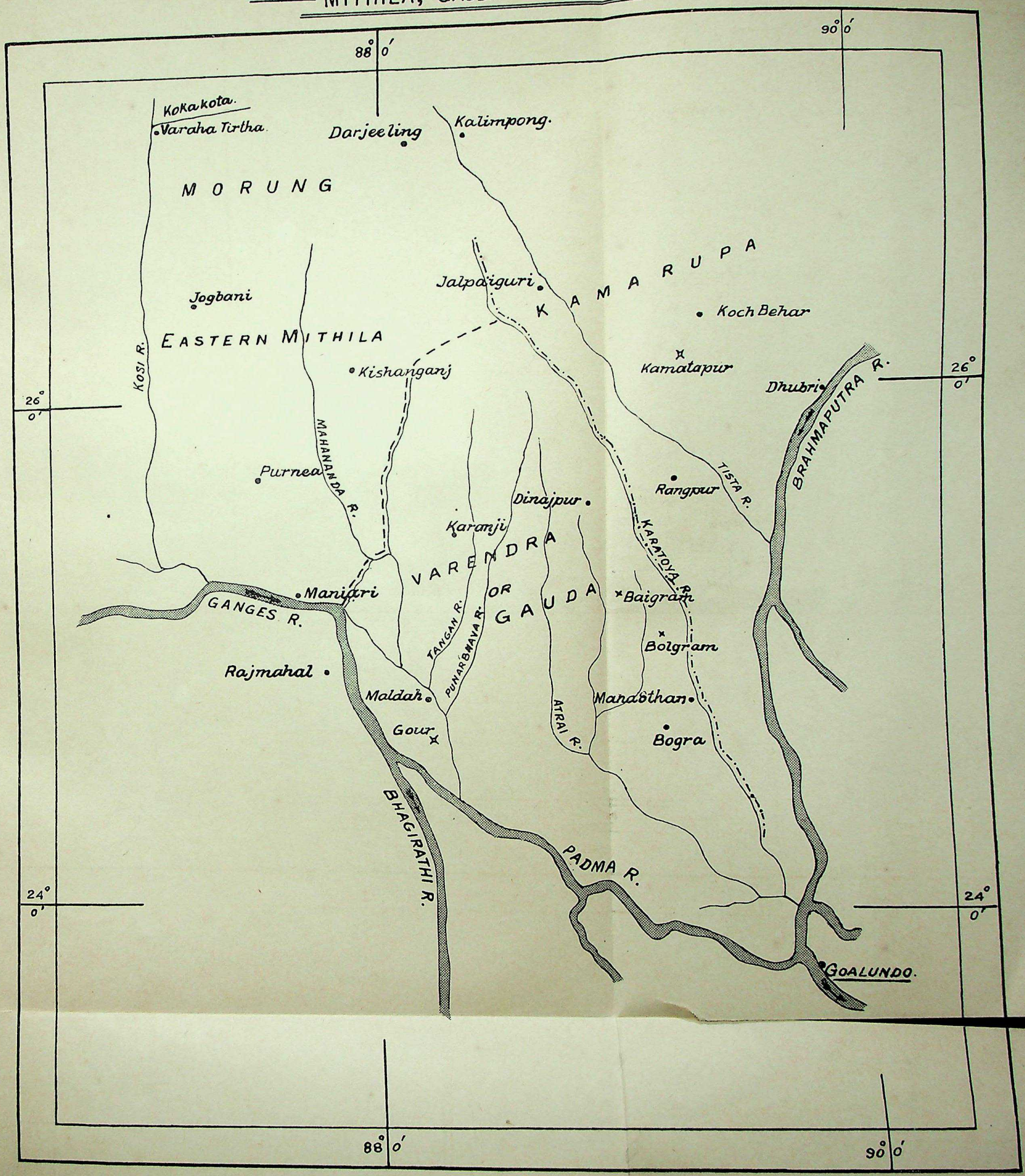
MAP OF MITHILA, GAUDA AND KAMARUPA.



Scale 1″ = 32 Miles.

10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 MILES.

Boundary of Kamarupa -.-.-.-.-.-.

Approx. Do. of Mithila - - - - - - -

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EIGHT MEDIÆVAL HINDU IMAGES IN THE COLLECTION OF PRINCE PRATAPSINH GAEKWAD[1]

By BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA

PROVENANCE

Place of discovery.

Palodar is an unimportant village now inhabited by 900 souls in the Taluka Mehsana in the territory of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda. The smallness of this village is no criterion for its glorious past, for it has a long and important history and seems to have been existing for more than one thousand years. It must have been in the remote past a big and prosperous town.

Story of a Bhaṅgī claiming the hand of a Brahmin girl.

Old men of the village still remember the traditional history of the village and the testimony of the inhabitants shows that in the Saṁvat year 1432 an Olgānā (Bhaṅgī), Hīrā by name, saw the daughter of Hīrāchānd, a Nāgir Sheth, and being fascinated by her beauty asked her in marriage from her Brahmin father. In those days the village was inhabited by 700 families of Nāgirs. Though the Nāgirs outnumbered the Olgānās the latter were much more powerful than the proverbially indolent Brahmins. Hīrā's request for marriage put the girl's father and the whole Nāgir community in an awkward position and the latter secretly sought assistance of outsiders, the Vāghela Rājputs, to save them from this difficult situation. The Vāghelas accordingly came to their rescue.

How the Bhaṅgīs were destroyed.

It was so arranged that the Olgānās should be invited to come to the Rājgaḍhi for the ceremony when the Rājputs would attack the Olgānās and annihilate them. On the 10th of the bright half Vaiśākha, in the Saṁvat year 1432, the marriage party of Hīrā Olgānā entered the Rājgaḍhi in the hope of marrying a Brahmin girl. As the party entered Rājgaḍhi the Rājputs, fully armed, fell on them and massacred the Olgānās. The Rājputs in return got a Jāhgir of 1,200 bighās of land and made the village their residence. The Vāghela Rājputs of the village still enjoy the fruits of their forefathers' bravery, and still they have these lands in their possession.

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[1] Read before the Fine Arts Section of the Seventh Indian Oriental Conference, held at Baroda, December, 1933.

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Important Monuments.

The temple of Mālai Mātā and the Malahar tank built of stones are also said to have been built in the Saṁvat year 1432. They are now in ruins, and tradition ascribes their origin to the Nāgirs. In the village also can be seen a temple dedicated to Kālikā Mātā who is reputed to be the tutelary deity of the Kansāras. To-day no family of the Kansāras can be found in the village, and there is no account left of how and when these families left the village. Jognī Mātā is the name of another place in the village, and the villagers claim that in the days of the Mahābhārata Sahadeva, the fourth of the Pāṇḍavas, had a fight with the Jognīs. The arena of the fight is represented by the village of Palodar, and the village seems to have preserved the memory of the fight by erecting the temple of Jognī Mātā. The people of the surrounding villages believe in this story and they come in large numbers to pay their homage to the deity installed in the temple.

Discovery

The story of a Bāvā's dream.

Some 60 or 70 years ago Lālgarji Oṁkārgarji, a Bāvā, saw in a dream that some images of deities were covered over by earth and stone and that the deities ordered him to unearth their images. On waking he related the story of his dream to the villagers and his brother Mudgarji Oṁkārgarji, the priest of the adjoining Śiva temple. Lālgarji and Mudgarji with the help of some villagers undertook the work of excavating the images at the spot directed in the dream. After digging some seven or eight feet near a well in the land adjoining the Jayajayeśvara, Prāṇeśvara, and Somanātha Mahādeva's temple they found that their labours did not prove futile. At the depth of some seven or eight feet they found eight beautiful images in marble, sandstone and black granite of exquisite artistic beauty. They took the sculptures out and got them cleaned with the help of a Jaipur sculptor and placed them in the Mahādeva temple nearby.

Place of deposit.

In the beginning of the year 1931 at the request of the Suba of Kadi they were brought to Mehsana and then transmitted to Baroda to be preserved in the garden of Shrimant Yuvaraja Prince Pratapsinh Rao Gaekwad who is reputed to be a patron and ardent admirer of everything beautiful in Indian art.

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The Sculptures

Description of sculptures and their artistic excellence.

The sculptures are eight in number out of which five are in marble, two in black granite, and one in grey sandstone. Four images are represented as standing, one seated in Lalitāsana on Garuḍa, one seated in Bhadrāsana on Garuḍa, and two others seated in Padmāsana on Garuḍa. Among the eight, three are goddesses and five are gods, two are two-armed, four are four-armed and one eight-armed, and one twenty-armed. The artistic peculiarities are almost the same and bear the stamp of the same age, which may be considered to be the 12th century or a little earlier and bear a close resemblance to the specimens hailing from Bengal in the Pāla and Sena periods. The execution seems to be perfect and gaudy and much detailed. The figures are beautifully and yet delicately ornamented, the expression is natural, serene, and peaceful. The Viṣṇu images among the whole lot are decidedly the best in so far as the execution is concerned. The frame of the body, the garments, the different ornaments, and the symbols held in the hands have been depicted faithfully according to the directions given in the Dhyānas. Amongst the ornaments may be noticed the torque, the ear-rings, the girdle, the Vanamālā extending right up to the legs below the knees, the sacred thread, the bracelets, armlets, and several others. The delicate ornamentation, artistic expression, boldness of outlines, definiteness of details, and the pleasing effect produced on the minds of every onlooker make the images the product of the best period of Hindu art particularly in Gujarat.

Images of other places compared.

As every one knows the very best period of mediæval art in India ranged from the 9th century onwards to the 12th century before the general conquest of the country by the Muhammadans when the Hindu artistic talent got a setback and soon degenerated into decadency. This is the period when the Pāla and Sena Schools of art flourished in Bengal and reached its zenith. This is the period in which the Magadhan art made long strides to reach perfection. This is the period in which the best sculptures of Mahotsavapura were made. The sculptures hereinafter described are so similar to numerous sculptures discovered in Magadha and Bengal and now preserved in the Museums of Calcutta, Sarnath, Patna, Rajshahi, and other places that if any one of the eight is transferred to one or the other Museum of Bengal it will be extremely difficult to distinguish between them. It is not, therefore, very improbable to place the date of the sculptures somewhere in the 12th century A.D.

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or a little earlier which may be considered to be the best period of Gujarat art and sculpture.

CULT

Cult is Hindu.

It is not very difficult to associate the different deities to the different cults into which the Hindu deities are divided. These are not definitely Buddhist because in none the miniature figures of the Dhyānī Buddha on the crown are available. Neither they are Jain because the characteristics of Jain art with a mild Persian bias or excessive vigour or the flatness of design are not noticeable in any of these sculptures.

Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva images.

All the images appear therefore to be Hindu and this can be proved by a reference to the images themselves and to the literature giving the Dhyānas or thought-conceptions current among the Hindus. The mythical bird Garuḍa in the Viṣṇu images shows at once the Vaiṣṇava character of the images as Garuḍa is well known as the Vāhana or sacred animal of Viṣṇu. Garuḍa appears in as many as four images and distinctly points to the rider as his master Viṣṇu, the second god of the Hindu Trinity. The high boots, the two lotuses in the right and left hands of the principal deity with a bearded companion at once enable us to recognize the principal figure as Sūrya who was once recognized as a form of Viṣṇu but later as a separate deity with separate set of followers constituting the Saura sect of the Tāntrics. Two female images carrying a Liṅga and the figure of Gaṇeśa in her hands can be recognized as belonging to the Śaiva cult and her vehicle of Alligator points her to be a form of Gaurī the consort of Śiva. Another image standing in the Tribhaṅga pose with a Śrīphala in the left hand can with little difficulty be recognized as that of Lakṣmī the consort of Viṣṇu and belonging to the Vaiṣṇava cult.

Identification.

The above leads to an identification of the images which would correspond with the Dhyānas from the scriptures. When the description of the images is compared with the thought-conceptions as found in the scriptures it will be seen how remarkably the sculptures correspond with the Dhyānas embodied in the Purāṇas or Tantras or the Śilpaśāstras.

I. VAIṢṆAVITE SCULPTURES

A. VIṢṆU

Superiority of Viṣṇu.

Viṣṇu is popular amongst the Hindus as one of the gods of the Hindu Trinity who is responsible for maintaining the creation as Brahmā is for creation and Śiva for destruction. Viṣṇu is by far the earliest god of

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the Hindu Pantheon and is one of the chief among the Vedic gods where he is recognized as one of the many forms of the Sun-god. The solar origin of Viṣṇu is at once apparent from the Dhyāna devoted to his worship.

Dhyeyaḥ sadā savitṛmaṇḍalamadhyavartī
Nārāyaṇaḥ sarasijāsanasanniviṣṭaḥ
Keyūravān kanakakuṇḍalavān kirīṭi
Hārī hiraṇmayavapuḥ dhṛtaśaṅkhacakraḥ.

His Dhyāna.

'Viṣṇu should always be meditated upon as residing in the orb of the Sun and as sitting on a lotus seat as decorated with Keyūra, kuṇḍala of gold, and a crown, as beautiful appearance, his person radiant with golden complexion and holding the conch and the disc.'

His antiquity and popularity.

Viṣṇu became the object of worship to the Bhāgavatas, Sāttvatas or the Pāncarātras who were as old as the tenth century B.C., as the Sāttvatas are mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as one of the oldest Vedic Brāhmaṇas now in existence. In the Mahābhārata his position as a member of the Trinity is well established, and in the time of Megasthenes the people of India were divided into two great sections, namely the Vaiṣṇavas and the Śaivas. Viṣṇu, being one of the chief deities of the Hindu Pantheon, is very frequently represented and in the literature on Purāṇas, Tantras, Śilpaśāstras, etc., descriptions of Viṣṇu images are abundantly found. He is conceived in various forms and the sculptures of all these forms are found in the different temples in the Northern as well as Southern India. Usually the symbols held in his hands are the conch and the disc, but when four-armed he carries in addition the Lotus and the Mace. The conch-shell is symbolical of eternal space, the wheel of eternal time, the mace of eternal law and the unfailing punishment consequent on its breach, and the lotus symbolizes the ever-renewing creation and its beauty and freshness.

Variety of forms.

From this original form developed many other forms of Viṣṇu according mostly to the individual taste and conception of the authors and sculptors or the donors of the different images. When the worshipper thinks that with four arms his god does not become powerful enough he is likely to increase the number of hands to six, eight, twelve, sixteen, twenty or even innumerable hands. When, again, the sculptor thinks that his god with one face is not able to display all his might or illustrate the mythology connected with the god he goes on adding faces one after another till he is satisfied. Sometimes these new forms are described in the Dhyānas or executed in actual sculptures, and then

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the authors of Śilpaśāstras give directions for executing such images in their works.

What is represented by gods.

But, really speaking, the conception of gods and goddesses does not really seem to be so crude as that. At least it can be definitely said that it was not so in the case of the Tāntric deities. When the Yogins in the course of their intense meditation in the utter Suṣupti condition meditate upon a deity for a particular purpose, a particular deity appears before their mind's eye and that vision never leaves the Yogins when once visualized. This visualization is the chief aim of all Tāntric and Yaugic practices. This visualized deity is then described by the Yogins for the benefit of the followers of their school in the form of Dhyānas. The deities are nothing but the manifestations of the Eternal Soul or the Eternal Power or what is described in the Hindu Tantras as the Parā Śakti which controls every little activity of the Universe. The practice of Yoga is nothing but the commingling of the individual self with the Parā Śakti and thus to become powerful with the powers inherent in the Parā Śakti which has been described in the following immortal verse of Nityānandanātha :—

Yasyādṛṣṭo naiva Bhūmaṇḍalāṃśo
Yasyādāso vidyate na kṣitīśaḥ ।
Yasyājñātaṃ naiva śāstraṃ kimanyaiḥ
Yasyākāraḥ sā Parā Śaktireva ॥

Parā Śakti.

'Parā Śakti is she to whom no part of the world remains unseen, there is no king on the earth who does not obey as servant, and there is no science which remains unknown.'

Deity—a symbol of power.

Such is briefly the connection of gods and goddesses in India and there is no vestige of idolatry in it. The deity is the symbol of power of the Parā Śakti which is variously designated as Brahma or Śūnya, and represents a vision which has actually been visualized by a Yogin after years of labour to attain spiritual perfection.

Special feature in Viṣṇu images.

In sculpture Viṣṇu is usually accompanied by his two wives, Sarasvatī—the goddess of learning and Lakṣmī—the goddess of beauty and wealth. The half bird Garuḍa is seen in sculptures as standing nearby or carrying the principal deity on his shoulders. Miniature representations of all or some of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, namely Fish, Tortoise, Boar, Man-Lion, Dwarf, Rāma, Paraśurāma, Balarāma, Buddha, and Kalki are sometimes seen engraved on the two sides of the main figure on the outer stone. Sometimes he is also accom-

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panied by what is technically called the Āyudhadevatās or the personifications of the symbols carried by the principal god, namely, the Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā, and Padma. Sometimes only two, the Mace and the Discus, are personified and when they are so personified they are represented as a male and a female figure carrying the symbols, the Mace receiving a female and the Discus receiving a male shape.

His image in the present collection.

The above is a general outline of the iconography of Viṣṇu images and now we shall proceed to give an account of the Viṣṇu images in the present collection and their iconographic peculiarities.

1. *Acyuta*

Arms—four.
Āsana—standing.
Vāhana—Garuḍa.

Symbols—
Right: Rosary, Lotus.
Left: Disc, Conch.

Classification.

From the above it will be clear that in the present collection there are as many as four Viṣṇu images. Two among them are four-armed, one eight-armed, and one twenty-armed.

Description of image.

The first is made of black granite, and represents Viṣṇu as seated on the mythical bird Garuḍa and carrying in the two right hands the lotus and the rosary with the Varada or the gift-bestowing Mudrā, and in the left the Discus and the Conch-shell. The principal deity is accompanied by four divinities, representing the four Āyudhadevatās or the personifications of the four symbols carried by the deity, namely, the deities of the lotus and the conch-shell in the right, and those of the Discus and the Rosary in the left, the attendant carrying the lotus being a female.

The Dhyāna of Viṣṇu carrying the four symbols, namely, the Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā, and Padma is as follows :—

Udyatkoṭidivākarabhamaniśaṁ
Śaṅkhaṃ gadāṃ paṅkajaṃ ।
Cakraṃ vibhratamindirāvasumatī—
saṁśobhi-pārśvadvayaṃ ॥

Dhyāna of four-armed Viṣṇu.

'The god Nārāyaṇa should be conceived as effulgent as a crore of rising suns, carrying the Śaṅkha, Gadā, Lotus, and the Discus and with flanks decorated with the figures of Indirā and Vasumatī.'

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His 24 special forms.

According as the different symbols are arranged in the four hands of the deity, Viṣṇu obtains 24 different varieties, each with a separate name by virtue of the difference in arrangement. Here in this image the Rosary appears instead of Gadā in the lower right hand, Lotus in the upper right, Discus in the upper left, and the Śaṅkha in the lower left clockwise. This form may be styled as the Acyuta form of Nārāyaṇa with the difference that here instead of the Gadā a Rosary is shown.

Identification of the main and minor deities.

In the present collection there is another figure very similar to the above with a few immaterial additions and can be identified on similar grounds with Acyuta, one of the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu. The sculpture is in black granite and represents Viṣṇu with all ornaments and the conspicuous Vanamālā touching the legs and carrying the Rosary with Varadā in the lower right, Kamala in the upper right, Cakra in the upper left, and the Śaṅkha in the lower left clockwise as in the previous image. The principal god is seated on Garuḍa and has four companions apparently representing the four Āyudhadevatās carrying the different symbols in their hands, such as the Kamala, Rosary, Cakra, and Śaṅkha. Besides these, above the shoulders of the principal deity are represented Śiva and Brahmā showing that when compared to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā occupy an unimportant position in the Hindu Triad. In the middle of the stone behind the principal deity are carved two figures kneeling, representing obviously worshippers or the donors of the image.

2. *Vaikuṇṭha*

Vāhana—Garuḍa.
Āsana—Lalita.
Arms—eight.

Symbols—
Right : Conch, Sword, Noose, Lotus.
Left : Disc, Bow, Goad, Mace.

Description.

The third image of Viṣṇu in this collection is one-faced and eight-armed and the material used for this is marble. Here Viṣṇu is represented as seated on the mythical bird Garuḍa in the Lalitāsana attitude. On the four right hands are seen the symbols, namely, the Śaṅkha, Sword, Noose, and the Lotus, and in the four left hands the Cakra, the Bow, the Aṅkuśa, and the Gadā. On the panel behind are seen miniatures of eight among the Ten Incarnations of Viṣṇu, four carved on each

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side. The left corner depicts Varāha and then one after another follow clockwise: the incarnations of Vāmana, Rāma, Buddha, Kalki, Balarāma, Paraśurāma, and Narasiṁha. On the top, right above the crown of the principal deity, appears the replica of Viṣṇu seated and carrying the Gadā and the Kamala.

Dhyāna obtained from Rūpamaṇḍana.

Obviously, the above is a peculiar image of Viṣṇu and the identification of the sculpture thus becomes somewhat problematical. Eight-armed images of Viṣṇu are very rare and their Dhyānas are rarer still. Nevertheless, it is possible to surmise that the images in the present collection are mostly in accord with the descriptions given in the Rūpamaṇḍana of the Architect Maṇḍana who was the ornament of Gujarat as will be shown later, and, therefore, the deity under reference may represent the only eight-armed deity described in the Rūpamaṇḍana. Vaikuṇṭha is the only eight-armed form of Viṣṇu described in the work of the Architect Maṇḍana and the Dhyāna contained therein is as follows :—

Vaikuṇṭhaṁ tu pravakṣyāmi sāṣṭabāhurmahābalaḥ ।
Tārkṣyāsanaścaturvaktraḥ kartavyaḥ śāntimicchatā ॥
Gadā Khaḍgaṃ Śaraṃ Cakraṃ dakṣine'sya catuṣṭayaṃ ।
Śaṁkhaṃ Kheṭaṃ Dhanuḥ Padmaṃ vāme dadyāccatuṣṭayaṃ ॥

Dhyāna of Vaikuṇṭha.

'Now I shall describe Vaikuṇṭha who is eight-armed and very powerful, rides on Garuḍa and is four-faced and should be made by those who desire peace. In the four right hands should be placed the Gadā, Sword, Arrow, and Cakra, and in the four left hands the Śaṅkha, Kheṭa (stick), Dhanu, and Padma.'

Iconographic peculiarities.

In the present images all these symbols appear the place of arrow being taken by the noose and that of Kheṭa or stick being taken by Aṅkuśa or the elephant goad which may be said to resemble a stick. But the noteworthy feature of the sculpture is a miniature figure of Viṣṇu on the top of the principal deity and this shows the Vaiṣṇava origin of the deity. Those who are acquainted with the principles of Buddhist Iconography will readily recognize in this a remnant of Buddhist idea of the parental Dhyānī Buddha being placed at the top of the main deity showing the origin of the deity or family to which the deity originally belonged. Thus in Buddhist images the miniature figures of Akṣobhya, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, Amoghasiddhi, and Vairocana on the crown show that the main deity is an emanation of one or the other of the Dhyānī Buddhas and belongs to his family.

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3. *Viśvarūpa*

Āsana—Bhadrāsana.
Vāhana—Garuḍa.
Arms—twenty.

Symbols—Yogamudrā.
Right: Patākā, Sword, Lotus, Noose, Thunderbolt, Arrow, Citron, Disc, Rosary.
Left: Patākā, Vitarka, Mace, Goad, Staff, Śṛṅgī, Plough-share, Conch, Gourd.

Description.

The fourth image of Viṣṇu in this collection is remarkable for its iconographic peculiarities and its rarity. It is made of marble and its execution is magnificent. It represents an image of Viṣṇu seated on Garuḍa in the Bhadrāsana attitude and is one-faced and twenty-armed. Two hands are joined together against the navel in what is technically known as the Yogamudrā or the meditative pose of hands. The remaining nine hands show the Patākā Mudrā, Sword, Kamala, Noose, Vajra, Arrow, Bījapūra, Cakra, Rosary with Varada in the right, while the nine left hands show the Patākā Mudrā, Vitarka Mudrā, Gadā, Aṅkuśa, Daṇḍa, Śṛṅgī, Hala (plough-share), Śaṅkha, and Kamaṇḍalu.

His Dhyāna.

Twenty-armed Viṣṇu images are very rare and descriptions of this variety of Viṣṇu are also very rare in the Purāṇa or Tāntric literature. The only description of a twenty-armed Viṣṇu so far obtainable comes from the Rūpamaṇḍana already referred to. The Rūpamaṇḍana describes this form of Viṣṇu as Viśvarūpa and it is very probable that his form represents the form Kṛṣṇa showed to Arjuna as a mark of favour in the Bhagavat Gītā. Viśvarūpa is described in the Rūpamaṇḍana as follows :—

Viṁśatyā hastakairyukto viśvarūpaścaturmukhaḥ ।
Patākā halaśankhau ca vajrāṅkuśaśarastathā ॥
Cakram ca Bījapūraṃ ca varo dakṣiṇabāhuṣu ।
Patākā Daṇḍapāśau ca gadākhaḍgotpalāni ca ॥
Śṛṅgī mūsalamakṣam ca kramāt syurvāmabāhuṣu ।
Hastadvaye yogamudrā vainateyoparisthitaḥ. ॥

Viśvarūpa.

Viśvarūpa is four-armed and is endowed with twenty arms. He shows the Patākā Mudrā, Hala (plough-share), Śaṅkha, Vajra, Aṅkuśa, Śara, Cakra, Bījapūra, the Varada Mudrā. In the left hands are shown the Patākā, Daṇḍa, Pāśa, Gadā, Khaḍga, Utpala, Śṛṅgī, Mūsala, and Rosary. Two other hands show the Yogamudrā and the deity sits on the son of Vinatā or Garuḍa.

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Iconographic peculiarities.

When compared with the above Dhyāna the present image shows certain iconographic peculiarities though the identification remains the same and cannot be disputed. In the present image for instance, it can be seen that the Varada Mudrā and the Rosary have been amalgamated in one hand, Kamaṇḍalu has been added in the lowermost left hand. Again, instead of the Śṛṅgī or the Bugle we find a Mudrā which may be called the Vitarka Mudra which is used in Yoga. Barring these two iconographic peculiarities the two descriptions correspond remarkably and, as such, the identification of the present image with Viśvarūpa may be taken as certain. As has been already suggested, in both these images including the preceding, instead of four faces of the Dhyana only one is given. The reason seems to be that certain class of donors do not like such grotesque forms with a large number of heads, and by reducing the number of faces make the image as natural as possible. Moreover, much depends on the stone they use. If the stone is weak at certain spots the sculptor fashions it according to convenience and thus either reduces the number of heads or changes the order of symbols, and these naturally constitute the iconographic peculiarities.

B. Sun-God

Sun-God and his companions.

In the Hindu Pantheon the place of the Sun-God is almost the same as that of Viṣṇu. The Sun is also a Vedic deity and a god of hoary antiquity, and as such his images are found in plenty throughout India. He is represented in various ways, but a typical image of the Sun-God must have the following things: The god stands erect on a lotus pedestal holding in his two hands two full-blown lotuses which rise just above the shoulders. His body is covered with armour and he wears high boots covering his feet and legs, a very uncommon feature amongst the deities of India. In front of the god stands a miniature female figure and in front of it is represented the legless Aruṇa—the charioteer of the Sun, with a whip in one hand and the reins of seven horses in another. The horses drawing the car of the Sun-God are seven in number and they represent the seven rays of the Sun, and the car moves on a single wheel.

Companions described.

To the right of the Sun stands a lady with a fly whisk in her right hand and to her right a fat-bellied and bearded gentleman carrying a pen and inkstand or sometimes a palm-leaf. Further to the right a female figure is engaged in shooting arrows. To the left of the

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god are represented three similar figures, a male holding a staff, and two other figures. Eleven miniature figures are sometimes depicted near the edges of the slab.

Identification.

The central figure in such images is always represented by the Sun-God, the two female figures on the two sides are represented by his wife Saranyu and her earthy double. The female deity behind Aruṇa is another wife of Sūrya and is known as Uṣas or the goddess of Dawn. He is accompanied by two attendants Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, the latter representing the god Vidhātā or Brahmā who stands on one side with pen and ink to write down the good and bad deeds of man. The two archers on the sides are probably symbolical of the rays issued out of the Sun in all directions.

Artistic embellishment.

From the descriptions met with in Sanskrit works it may be surmised that Sūrya should have a fine mustache, four arms, and the dress of an inhabitant of the Northern countries. He should use Sun-beams as bridles to his horses. In addition to the attendants already mentioned, the sons of Sūrya, Revanta and Yama and the twin-gods the Aśvins, and the two Manus as well as the Planets are sometimes depicted round the principal figure.

The three wives of the Sun.

With reference to the three wives of the Sun the following story is told in the Purāṇas: It is said that Viśvakarmā had a daughter Saranyu (variously called Rajñī, Saṁjñā, Prabhā, and Prajñā) who was married to Sūrya to whom she bore Yama and Manu as well as a daughter Yamunā or Yamī. The burning heat of the Sun, however, became more and more intolerable to his wife who fled to her father's home, keeping her earthy double, variously called Niṣkumbhā, Chāyā, or Savarṇā, in attendance on Sūrya. Sūrya obtained two more sons, a second Manu called the Sāvarṇi Manu and Śani, through Chāyā as well as another daughter Tapatī. The step-motherly behaviour of Chāyā towards Saranyu's sons revealed her identity and Sūrya in great anger went in search of Saranyu. Her father informed him that unable to bear the intolerable heat of the Sun his daughter had retired to the Northern regions where she was roaming about in the shape of a mare. He said in the present shape he was unbearable and he could only regain his wife if he submits to a process of remodelling at his hands. Sūrya consented; Viśvakarmā thereupon placed him on the lathe and produced a beautiful figure of Sūrya. Thus improved, Sūrya went to Saranyu in the form of a horse and had three sons by her, the divine twin Aśvins and Revanta the lord of horses and horsemen. The original wife of the Sun was Uṣas or the goddess of Dawn.

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Their representation.

In the images of the Sun-God his three wives are generally represented. On the left stands the daughter of Viśvakarmā and on the right her earthy double or Chāyā; immediately on the front of the Sun-God stands Dawn. His charioteer Aruṇa sits in the coachman's place.

Identification of companions.

The other attendants are the two male figures on the two sides and the two miniature female figures at the two extremities. Of the female attendants the one to the right is mostly represented with pen and inkstand in his hands. The left one most often has a sword in his right hand, sometimes a staff and rarely a conch-shell. The figure in the left is generally identified as Daṇḍi, Daṇḍa, or Daṇḍanāyaka meaning Skanda, the leader of the heavenly army. If this image is separately represented elsewhere in the image the figure in the left has to be identified with Yama, one of the sons of the Sun-God.

Piṅgala, Vidhātā, Brahmā.

The figure to the right is usually called Piṅgala. He is represented as bearded, pot-bellied, with pen and inkstand in his hands. He is sometimes called Agni and at others as Vidhātā or Brahmā, and in this there does not seem to be any confusion as Brahmā in many instances is represented as Agni and Agni as Brahmā. This divinity is supposed to write in his papers an account of the bad or good deeds of man.

Other accompaniments.

The miniatures of the twelve Ādityas, the planets, the zodiacal signs, the Seven Ṛṣis as well as the sons of the Sun-God are sometimes found represented on the image of the Sun-God.

The Buddhist parallel.

The Buddhist goddess Mārīcī—an emanation of the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana—is a parallel of the Hindu Sun-God and she rides on a car drawn by seven sows and is accompanied by four goddesses—Varttālī, Vadālī, Varālī, and Varāhamukhī.

Image of Sun-God

Āsana—standing.
Arms—two.
Companions—Saranyu, Chāyā, Daṇḍa, Piṅgala.
Symbols—lotuses.

Image described.

In the present collection there is a beautiful marble image of the Sun-God who is represented here as standing and holding in his two hands the stems of lotuses which rise just above his right and left shoulders. He wears high

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boots and is accompanied by four companions, two to the right and two to the left. Among the companions in the right, one in the front is a male and the other, behind, a female. The male attendant is bearded and pot-bellied and carries the Tāḍapatra or the palm-leaf in both the hands. The female behind carries a lotus in the left hand while the right is empty. Amongst the attendants in the left, one in the front is a male and the other, behind, a female. The male figure carries a Daṇḍa in his right hand while the female carries the lotus in the right hand. On the outer stone in the middle are represented two archers, and in the two top corners are seen two human figures with heads of horses.

The identification of the above is also possible through the Rūpamaṇḍana already referred to. There we read—

Sarvalakṣaṇasaṁyuktaṁ sarvābharaṇabhūṣitaṃ ।
Dvibhujaṁ caikavaktraṁ ca śvetapañkajadhārakaṃ ॥
Vartulaṃ tejaso bimbaṃ madhyasthaṃ raktamāsanaṃ ।
Ādityasya tvidaṃ rūpaṃ kuryāt pāpapraṇāśanaṃ ॥

His Dhyāna.

'The form of Āditya is the dissipator of sins when he is endowed with all the characteristic marks and is decked in all ornaments, is one-faced, two-armed and carries white lotuses ; when he stands in the middle of the circular halo of light and wears red garments.'

Identification and peculiarities.

According to the Dhyānas obtained in other works the two female attendants on the two sides may be identified with the queen Saranyu and her earthy double or Chāyā. The male attendant with beard may be identified with Vidhātā, Brahmā or Agni, while the other figure with Daṇḍa is identified with Daṇḍanāyaka or Kārttikeya—the leader of the Celestial Army. The two archers are symbolical of the rays of the Sun while the two miniature figures in the top corners represent the two Aśvins—the sons of the Sun-God born of Saranyu in the form of a mare.

C. Lakṣmī

Origin and popularity of Lakṣmī.

Lakṣmī, the consort of Viṣṇu and the goddess of beauty and wealth, is also represented in the present collection. Lakṣmī is connected with the story of the churning of the Ocean by the gods and Asuras. She came out of the ocean as a result of churning and soon became the consort of Viṣṇu. Lakṣmī is conceived in various forms and is also variously represented. She is mostly four-armed and in this form

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she appears in the temple of Kolhapur. She is usually accompanied by two elephants carrying two pitchers of water and emptying them over the head of the goddess.

Image of Lakṣmī

Āsana—standing.
Arms—two.
Companions—two attendants.

Symbols—
Right: Lotus.
Left: Śrīphala.

Image described.

The present collection contains a beautiful marble image of the two-armed variety of Lakṣmī, profusely ornamented and of exquisite beauty. She is represented here as standing in the Tribhaṅga posture with two hands, carrying the lotus in the right and the Śrīphala in the left. She is accompanied by two deities, both female, holding lotuses in their hands and are represented as standing.

To identify the above image we have just to refer to the Aṁśumadbhedāgama where the following Dhyāna of the goddess Lakṣmī is given :—

Lakṣmīḥ padmāsanāsīnā dvibhujā kāñcanaprabhā।
Hemaratnojvalair-nakrakuṇḍalaiḥ karṇamaṇḍitā॥
Suyauvanā suramyāṅgī kuñcitabhrūsamanvitā।
Raktākṣī pīnagaṇḍā ca kañcukācchāditastanī॥
Śiraṣo maṇḍanaṃ śaṅkhacakrasīmāntapañkajaṃ।
Ambujaṃ dakṣiṇe haste vāme śrīphalamiṣyate॥
Sumadhyā vipulaśroṇī śobhanāmbaraveṣṭitā।
Mekhalā kaṭisūtrañca sarvābharaṇabhūṣitā.॥

Her Dhyana.

'Lakṣmī sits on a lotus, is two-armed and of golden colour, and wears ear-rings of alligator design shining like gold. She is of youthful bloom, has a beautiful appearance, and her eye-brows are slightly distorted. Her eyes are red, cheeks full, and breasts covered by a scarf. Her head is decorated with a lotus with conch and disc at the end. She carries a lotus in the right hand and a Śrīphala or Bilva fruit in her left. She has an attractive waist, large hips, and wears beautiful garments, and she is decked in all ornaments including the Mekhalā (girdle) and Kaṭisūtra (waistband).'

Identification and peculiarities.

When the description of the image is compared with the description given in the Aṁśumadbhedāgama it will be seen how remarkably the two descriptions correspond with each other, and therefore the identification of the present image with Lakṣmī becomes all the more

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certain. The two miniature figures flanking the principal deity are doubtless the two attendants who are said to accompany the deity and carry the fly-whisk.

II. ŚAIVAITE SCULPTURES

Gaurī

Āsana—standing.
Arms—four.
Vāhana—Godhā (Alligator ?).

Symbols—
Right : Liṅga, Varada.
Left : Gaṇeśa, Kamaṇḍalu.

Śaivaite form of worship represented.

The images described above undoubtedly belongs to the Vaiṣṇavite religion as will be evident from the descriptions given in the preceding pages. But in the present collection there are two images which are definitely associated with the Śaivaite form of worship, and are affiliated to the Tāntric branch. In these images the Liṅga, the images of Gaṇeśa, and nine severed heads on the aureole above the Jaṭāmukuṭa (crown of chignon) of the principal deity, show not only that the images belonged to the Śaiva cult but that these were also used in the Tāntric Sādhanas. These are the images of the well-known goddess Gaurī—the consort of Śiva. Śiva is one among the Hindu Triad and there are at least six Mahāpurāṇas extolling his predominance over the other gods of the Trinity. He is associated with Yoga and Tantra and, therefore, in the Hindu Tantras his place is supreme. Śiva received homage from the Hindus perhaps from the time of Atharvaveda, and Megasthenes in the fourth century B.C. was of opinion that the people of India were divided into two broad divisions, namely, the Śaivaites and Vaiṣṇavites.

Gaurī's five forms.

Gaurī being the consort of Śiva is also an object of worship to the Hindu, particularly those who are interested in the Tāntric worship or the worshippers of the Śakti. Gaurī used to be represented in various ways, sometimes alone, sometimes in the company of other gods and goddesses, sometimes two-armed, sometimes four or even more, and it is not the place to enumerate them all or to describe their forms in detail. Broadly speaking, in the Rūpamaṇḍana already referred to, six varieties of Gaurī are recorded, each varying from the other in a slight degree, thus :—

Umā	..	Rosary, Lotus, Mirror, Kamaṇḍalu.
Pārvatī	..	Rosary, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Kamaṇḍalu.
Do.	..	Rosary, Lotus, Abhaya, Varada.
Rambhā	..	Kamaṇḍalu, Rosary, Vajra, Aṅkuśa.

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Totalā .. Śūla, Rosary, Daṇḍa, Fly-whisk.
Tripurā .. Noose, Aṅkuśa, Abhaya, Varada.

These six forms are described in the Rūpamaṇḍana in the following verses :—

Atha Gauryāḥ pravakṣyāmi pramāṇaṃ mūrtinirṇayaṃ।
Caturbhujā trinetrā ca sarvābharaṇabhūṣitā॥
Akṣasūtrāmbuje dhatte darpaṇaṃ ca kamaṇḍaluṃ।
UMĀ nāmni bhavenmūrtiḥ vanditā tridaśairapi॥
Akṣasūtraṃ Śivaṁ devaṃ gaṇādhyakṣaṃ kamaṇḍaluṃ।
Pakṣadvaye'gnikuṇḍe ca mūrtiḥ sā PĀRVATĪ smṛtā॥
Akṣasūtraṃ tathā padmam-abhayaṁ ca varaṃ tathā।
Godhāsanāsritā mūrtirgṛhe pujyā śriye sadā
Kamaṇḍalvakṣasūtraṃ ca bibhrāṇā vajramaṅkuśaṃ॥
Gajāsanasthitā RAMBHĀ kartavyā sarvakāmadā।
Śūlākṣasūtradaṇḍāṃśca bibhrāṇā śvetacāmaraṃ॥
TOTALĀ kathitā ceyaṃ sarvapāpapraṇāśinī
Nāgapāśāṅkuśau caivābhayadaṃ varadaṃ karaṃ।
TRIPURĀ nāma sampujyā vanditā tridaśairapi॥

Now I shall state the forms of Gaurī as obtained from authority.

Her forms described.

She is four-armed, three-eyed and is decked in all ornaments. When she holds in her hands the Rosary, the Lotus, the Mirror, and the Gourd she is known as UMĀ and is revered even by the gods. When she holds the Rosary, the god Śiva, Gaṇādhyakṣa, and the Gourd and is flanked with two fire-pits the form is known as PĀRVATĪ. She is also called Pārvatī when she holds the Rosary, the Lotus, and shows the Abhaya (protection) and Varada (gift-bestowing) Mudrās, and this form which is on the back of a Godhā (Alligator) should be worshipped at home for obtaining wealth. The form which carries the Gourd, the Rosary, the Thunderbolt, and the Elephant-goad, and rides on an elephant is known as RAMBHĀ. The form carrying Śūla, the Rosary, the Staff, and the white Fly-whisk is known as TOTALĀ who is the dissipator of all sins. The form which carries the Serpent-noose, the Elephant-goad, and shows the Abhaya (protection) and the Varada (gift-bestowing) Mudrās is worshipped as TRIPURĀ and is revered by the gods.

Pārvatī Images

Identification of Pārvatī images.

On the strength of the description of Gaurī quoted above from the Rūpamaṇḍana it is not difficult to conceive that the images in the present collection represent none else than Pārvatī who rides on an Alligator and carries in her two upper hands the Liṅga representing Śiva on a lotus and Gaṇeśa on a lotus and in the two lower the Rosary and the

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Gourd. This is a peculiar feature which can only be met with in the images of Pārvatī and none else, and hence the identification appears to be beyond any reasonable doubt.

Companion of Pārvatī.

It may also be noticed that in these images the principal deity is accompanied by four attendants, all female, two on each side. They are all two-armed and are similar in appearance and carry one object each. In the right, one shows the Añjali or the Namaskāra Mudrā and the other behind shows the fly-whisk; in the left, one in front shows the Añjali or Namaskāra and the other behind the fly-whisk. These images no doubt represent the attendant deities of the Pārvatī Maṇḍala and the deities carrying the fly-whisk appear to be the two images of Sarasvatī in the two corners, while the other two offering obeisance to the principal goddess represent Siddhi in the left and Śrī in the right. The fifth attendant Sāvitrī is absent in the two sculptures now under discussion. In the Rūpamaṇḍana the attendant deities are described in the following words :—

Vāme Siddhiḥ Sriyā yamye Sāvitrī caiva paścime |
Dakṣiṇe pṛṣṭhakarṇe ca dvaye kāryā Sarasvatī ||

Companions, their name and position.

'Siddhi stands to the left, Śrī in the right, and Sāvitrī in the west; again in the right and in the corner behind Sarasvatī should be depicted.'

Two fire-pits.

True to the description in the Pārvatī images in the present collection two fire-pits are noticeable in both on the outer panel in the middle. These probably represent the sacrifice of Dakṣa.

Conclusion

Best period of Indian Art.

In conclusion, there are several important points which require an explanation. The iconographic peculiarities, the charming execution of the images, and their artistic excellence take the images to a period when the art of Gujarat reached the very zenith of perfection. Moreover, the Tāntric aspect of the images make it probable that the images were made in a period when Tāntrism had already made a headway and become quite popular. Now, those who are acquainted with the history of the development of Indian art know very well that the best period of art was between the 9th and the 12th centuries A.D. before the Muhammadan occupation of the country. Again, with regard to Tāntrism also it can be said definitely that Tantrism did not become very popular before the 7th century A.D. and that the best period of Tantras is also represented by the four centuries before the Muhammadan conquest.

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Result of Moslem conquest.

The influx of the Muhammadans and the wielding of political power by them served to check the activities of the different branches of Indian culture and every branch suffered degeneration. Thus the religion got a set back, literature got a set back, and Buddhism was destroyed from the soil of its birth though it managed to flourish in many countries round about—in India, Ceylon, Burma, Nepal, Tibet, China, Mongolia, Korea, and Japan. In a similar manner the sculptural art of India also suffered a great deal and soon passed into decadency, and this decadency is marked in the Hindu images found all over India after the Muhammadan conquest. Here and there may be found a special artistic talent to produce images of beauty and charm but, talking generally, the Hindu art had practically degenerated after that event.

Date of the present collection.

But when we examine the images now under discussion we find that they produce an effect on the minds of the visitor which is charming to the extreme and at once show them to be a product of a period when the art had made great strides towards perfection. Under the circumstances it is not difficult to surmise that the images belonged to a period ranging from the 9th century to the 12th century. The best specimens of Bengal art also range between the same period, and same is the case with the images found in Bihar, particularly in Nālandā, Bodh-Gayā, Kurkihār, Sārnāth, and other places. The images found in the Mahotsavapura (mod. Mahoba) with inscriptions show that the images were produced in the same period. But again political tranquillity and general peace of the country are also factors which are capable of producing the best works on art. Gujarat enjoyed political tranquillity in the reign of the Solanki kings, in the time of Mularaja, Bhimadeva, Siddharaja, Kumarapala, and others, though occasionally it was disturbed by the inroads of Moslem marauders. And this was the time when art, literature, etc. could flourish. In the absence of any other definite data regarding the date of the images in the present collection it will not be difficult to place their construction in the time of Mularaja which may be taken as the *terminus a quo*, and the time of Siddharaja Jayasimha as the *terminus ad quem*.

Connection of the images with Rūpamaṇḍana explained.

Another point to which attention may be specially invited is that the iconographic characteristics of the images are quite peculiar, and most of the images like those of Vaikuṇṭha, Viśvarūpa, Pārvatī are not described in other works except the tiny little work in manuscript form, namely, the Rūpamaṇḍana of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana, where the different forms of Hindu and

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Jain images have been described along with their Āyatanas or the companion deities or the attendant Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs, as the case may be. Dr. Acarya thinks that the works of Maṇḍana represent complications from various sources. He was said to be in the employment of king Kumbhakarṇa of Medapāṭa (Mewar) and was the husband of Mirābāi. According to Tod king Kumbha ruled over the country of Mewar from 1419 to 1469 A.D. It has already been seen that the images in the present collection, though mostly in accord with the description given in the Rūpamaṇḍana, differ in many cases from the same. And as the images are earlier than the time of Maṇḍana Sūtradhāra it stands to reason that the sculptors followed some different texts, and it is therefore apparent that the author of the Rūpamaṇḍana also drew materials from the same source.

Whether the images were buried under the Hindu rule.

With regard to the images in the present collection there is another important fact which requires an explanation. These images, as will be remembered, were found under the ground about 7 or 8 feet below the surface, and this circumstance has to be explained. The kings of Gujarat before the annexation of the country to the Delhi Empire were all Hindus, and it has been sufficiently indicated that these images were made either in the reign of Mularaja or at the latest in the reign of Siddharaja Jayasimha. The Solanki kings of Gujarat were succeeded by the Vaghela Dynasty and all the kings were favourably disposed to the rival religious sects then existent in Gujarat, and there is not a single report of their favouring one religious sect at the cost of another. Under the time of the Solankis or the Vaghelas there would have been no occasion to conceal the images under the earth and no possibility of the images being destroyed. Occasionally, we hear of the Śaivas being hostile to the Vaiṣṇavas or vice versa, but as in the present collection there are both Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava images, no such possibility can arise. That the Jainas may have been hostile to the Hindus and may have done some damage to the Hindu images is hardly possible, because in that case the population of Palodar would have been markedly Jain or at least in the village of Palodar there would have been a preponderance of Jaina religious monuments. As no such monuments exist, the theory that the Jaina may have been the cause of the destruction of the images has to be abandoned.

Iconoclastic zeal of the Moslems.

But soon after the Muhammadan conquest and the disappearance of the Hindu rulers of Gujarat the condition and the status of the different religious sects rapidly changed. The Muhammadan zeal for vandalism did not fail to influence both the Hindu and Jain religious monuments. Both these mighty religious sects of Gujarat suffered

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at the hands of the Muhammadans perpetrating unamiable acts of vandalism with regard to temples, images, and religious monuments. There is definite record that in A.D. 1313 the Ādinātha temple at Śatruñjaya was despoiled by the Muhammadans under orders of Ulugh Khan and that the image of the principal deity of Ādinātha was decapitated. Alauddin later on sacked the temple of Somanātha, murdered the priests, and plundered the hoarded wealth of the temple. Such examples are not at all rare under the Moslem rule, but this is not the place to multiply instances.

Probable reasons for the burial of images.

Thus it is apparent that the images in the present collection were originally consecrated deities in temples but as probably the temples were destroyed by the Muhammadans the images were without any shelter and were neglected since the 14th century when the country passed into the hands of the Muhammadans. But in this connection another fact is worthy of notice. The images are in perfect state of preservation and appear to have escaped spoilation to some extent. Wherever the Muhammadans destroyed the temples or the monasteries, they tried their best to disfigure the beautiful images by either breaking their heads, legs, or hands, or cutting their nose and ears, and in this condition are found most of the images of Bengal and Bihar where the monasteries and temples were visited by them. This kind of disfiguration was the general practice of the conquerors and was probably in conformity with their doctrine of iconoclasm. Therefore, it appears somewhat strange that we should find in the present collection images so beautifully preserved without even any disfigurement alluded to before. The only reason that can be offered to explain this phenomenon is that the Hindu priests knowing it for certain that the Muhammadans would destroy and disfigure their treasured images they themselves buried them underground for their preservation, so that they may be utilized by future generations for the purpose of worship.

Let us hope that a time will come when the images will be installed in a suitable manner and the deities embodied therein will shine again in all their might and glory!

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VIMUTTIMAGGA AND VISUDDHIMAGGA

By P. V. Bapat

I intend to give in this short paper a synopsis of the data resulting from the comparative study of Upatissa's Vimuttimagga and Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga. Prof. M. Nagai drew attention [1] of Buddhist scholars to the existence, in the Chinese Buddhist Literature, of a book called Ciê-to-tao-lung or Vimuttimagga as he rendered it in Pali. Nanjio in his Catalogue of the Chinese Translation of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka gives 'Vimokṣamārga śāstra' as the Sanskrit rendering of the Chinese title. This Chinese translation was made by one Buddhist monk called Seng-ciê-po-lo from Fu-nan (Siam or Cambodia) early in the sixth century A.D. It is well known that Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga was composed in the first quarter of the fifth century A.D. It has become a very interesting problem for Buddhist scholars to find out the interrelation of these two texts.

The detailed comparison of these two texts reveals many interesting data.

1. There are many similarities of thought and expressions in both the Texts due to some common sources as detailed below :—

(i) There are numerous texts from the Pali Canon which are found in both the texts in identical or almost identical words.

(ii) Passages quoted by Buddhaghosa from the Porāṇas are in a few cases found to be identical or almost identical with the passages in the Vimuttimagga. For example, the Gāthās quoted [2] by Buddhaghosa, at the end of the eighteenth chapter, dealing with the interdependence of nāma and rūpa and the passages in the twenty-second chapter giving the similes [3] of a boat crossing the stream, a lamp that is burning, and the Sun that is shining are found in identical or almost identical words in the Vimuttimagga. It is also interesting to note that the similes referred to just now are found also in the sixth chapter of the Peṭakopadesa, though, in words, they differ a little.

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[1] J.P.T.S., 1917–1919, pp. 69–80.
[2] P.T.S., edition of Vis., pp. 595–97.
[3] *ibid.*, 690-91.

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(iii) A passage ascribed by Buddhaghosa to Pubbācariyas in the Fifteenth Chapter [1] explaining how each of the six consciousnesses comes into existence is found in the Vimuttimagga in a slightly varied and fuller form. There are also, on the contrary, some other passages where Upatissa refers to former teachers, which are found in a slightly varying form in Visuddhimagga.

(iv) Buddhaghosa quotes from the Aṭṭhakathās a very long passage [2] in the chapter on the Asubhanimitta showing in a detailed manner how the Yogāvacara should go to a place where he can find the Asubhanimitta. This whole passage is found in the Vimuttimagga.

(v) Buddhaghosa quotes from Peṭaka a passage [3] which is found word for word in the Vimuttimagga. Upatissa refers this passage to Sān Tsāng which ordinarily means Tipiṭaka. Passages referred to the same by Upatissa in two other places are found in Peṭakopadesa,[4] although so far I have been unable to trace this first passage to Peṭakopadesa.

(vi) Upatissa also quotes a gātha ascribed [5] to Sāriputta by both the authors explaining the size of the sensitive organ of the eye.

(vii) There are several other passages found in both the texts, though their source may not be known.

2. While there are several similes and metaphors common to both the texts, there are quite a few which are peculiar to Upatissa. Among the latter, we find some which suggest the acquaintance of Upatissa with Indian medicine. Upatissa also gives some protracted similes. For instance, to illustrate the whole process of thought when an object is seen through the sense-aperture of the eye, he gives the beautiful simile of a king who is asleep, who hears the sound of a knock on the door, wakes up, instructs the servant in attendance to have the door opened, sees his gardener coming with a mango-fruit, eats the mango-fruit which the queen cuts and gives to him, gives his judgment about the fruit, and goes back to sleep again. In another protracted simile he compares the first eleven factors of the Law of Causation to the different stages of the growth of the rice-plant, i.e. to vīhi, bīja, aṅkura, patra, sākhā, rukkha, puppha, rasa, sāli or taṇḍula, and again to bīja and aṅkura.

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[1] *ibid.*, 488-89. [2] *ibid.*, 180-81. [3] *ibid.*, 141.

[4] Photographic copy in my possession of Hardy's mss. in Roman character preserved in the Berlin State Library, pp. 157-158.

[5] P.T.S., edition of Vis., p. 447.

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It would be quite interesting to know Upatissa's sources for these similes.

3. Though Upatissa does not differ from Buddhaghosa on any fundamental doctrines of Buddhism, it may be noted, however, that on minor doctrinal points there are many dis-similarities as given below :—

(i) Upatissa accepts only thirty-eight kammaṭṭhānas, although he is aware of the classification of these kammaṭṭhānas into forty, which is accepted by Buddhaghosa.

(ii) Upatissa speaks of a kasiṇa-maṇḍala as a circular, triangular, or quadrilateral, although he adds that the former teachers considered the circular one as the best. Visuddhimagga does not mention any triangular, or quadrilateral one.

(iii) Upatissa speaks of the extension of the nimitta of the Brahmavihāras to which Buddhaghosa is definitely opposed.[1]

(iv) Upatissa accepts fourteen cariyās while Buddhaghosa definitely and purposely rejects[2] them and accepts only six. It may be noted here that samabhāgacariyā mentioned among the fourteen by Upatissa is also referred to in Peṭakopadesa. (Hardy's mss., p. 157.)

(v) Upatissa gives thirty kinds of rūpas while Buddhaghosa accepts only twenty-eight, giving[3] his reasons why he rejects any addition to his number.

(vi) Upatissa gives a different classification of the aṅgas assigned to each of the trances, in addition to that given by Buddhaghosa.

(vii) Upatissa has no section on Indriyas as Buddhaghosa has.

(viii) Upatissa explains anuloma-ñāṇa as equivalent to thirty-seven factors conducive to enlightenment (bodhipakkhiya-dhammā) while Buddhaghosa puts[4] it between the eight Vipassanā-ñāṇas and the thirty-seven bodhipakkhiya-dhammās.

(ix) According to Upatissa, Nevasaññānāsaññāyatana-samādhi does not become a paccaya of the vipassanā, while according to Buddhaghosa all kammaṭṭhānas do.

4. The dis-similarity is confined not only to doctrinal points but also to the manner of treatment. Upatissa's treatment of the

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[1] *ibid.*, 112. [2] *ibid.*, 101. [3] *ibid.*, 450. [4] *ibid.*, 670.

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sections of vedanā, saññā, sankhāra, and viññāṇa as well as that on the kāyagatā-sati is different. Upatissa's explanation of several terms such as dhuta, dhutavāda, or of the expressions such as 'Vimocayaṃ cittaṃ' are more natural and simpler than that of Buddhaghosa. Upatissa's interpretation of some words such as 'Pātimokkha' comes closer to that given in the Vibhaṅga. It is also noticed that where one goes into details the other does not.

5. Upatissa gives some new matter to which there is nothing corresponding in Buddhaghosa. Upatissa gives in detail the gradual development of the child in the womb from week to week. He also gives the names of the different worms in the human body located in the different parts. Upatissa possibly takes this matter from some old Indian work on medicine. One of these names can be identified with mṛṇālamukha. All these names are apparently the transliterations of Indian names. The names of worms mentioned in Atharvaveda, or Aṣṭāngahṛdaya, Caraka, or Suśruta do not agree with this list. The identification of the source of this information given by Upatissa will be of great use to solve the problem of the inter-relation of the two works.

6. In addition to Sān Tsāng referred to by name from which Upatissa gives quotations, there is also a mention of another work called 'Sheu-to-lo-Nieh-ti-li-chu' or as elsewhere he puts it 'Nieh-ti-li-po-tho-sheu-to-lo' which appears to be a transliteration of Netrīpadasūtra. With this may be compared the Netripadaśāstra of Sthavira Upagupta (see Louis de la Valeé Poussin's translation of Abhidharmakośa ii, 205). The identification of this text would also be of great use, especially if its date could be ascertained.

7. The names Viśvāmitra and Jamadagni are met with in Vimuttimagga. Also at the end of the book there is a reference to Moggalliputta Tissa which seems to be rather out of place and thus gives room for suspicion that it may be a later interpolation. There is also a reference to one Nārada. In addition to the proper names there are several other Indian words which are retained in their Chinese transliterations, such as caṇḍāla, ācariya, gandhabba, vipassanā, samatha, pātimokkha, pārājikā, sanghādisesa, sanghāṭi, uttarāsanga, uppala, paduma, puṇḍarīka, candana, tagara, etc. All these names tend to point to the Indian origin of the book.

8. Buddhaghosa often refers in the Visuddhimagga to the views of others, and it is discovered that there are about eight or nine such references where the views referred to have exact correspondences in the Vimuttimagga. In some cases, the passages are found to be word for word the same. In at least four of these cases Dhammapāla in his Commentary on the Visuddhimagga explains that Buddhaghosa alludes to the adherents of the Abhayagiri

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school and in one case [1] he explicitly states that 'the word "some" is said with reference to Upatissa, and that he has said so in the Vimuttimagga' (Ekacce ti Upatissattheraṃ sandhāya āha. Tena hi Vimuttimagge tathā vuttaṃ). This remark is found in the [Burmese edition of] Paramatthamañjūsā of Muṇḍayana Piṭaka Press, Rangoon, p. 113.

The writer need not repeat what he has already said elsewhere [2] about the probable inter-relation of the two books. That opinion is based on this explicit statement of Dhammapāla, the internal evidence of the two books, and the circumstantial evidence obtained from the religious conditions prevailing in Ceylon at the time of Buddhaghosa's stay in Ceylon.

Recently the writer has also discovered [3] that there is a Tibetan version of at least one chapter on 'Dhutaṅgas' from Vimuttimagga which closely agrees with the Chinese version and differs from the Pali version wherever the Chinese version differs from it. The writer has also found that the Peṭakopadesa of Mahākaccāyana contains several passages from Vimuttimagga though they may not be found in Visuddhimagga. But that is a separate topic which may form the subject of another paper.

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[1] *ibid.*, 102.

[2] Harvard Studies in Classical Philology XLIII, 1932.

[3] I read a paper on this subject at the seventh session of the Oriental Conference held at Baroda (December, 1933).

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INDRA AND VṚTRA

By A. Berriedale Keith

The more Vedic mythology is studied, the more obvious does it become that it is the product of much sacerdotal reflection and of a long process of development. The *Rigveda* presents us with a series of complex problems which are exceedingly hard to solve, and the help given by the *Avesta* is far from aiding us to achieve clear views of the character of Indo-Iranian religion. It is legitimate, therefore, to question even long current views, and the effort to reconstruct one aspect of Indo-Iranian belief which has recently been made by E. Benveniste and L. Renou [1] deserves the most respectful consideration. No doubt it is not wholly original; the authors are at pains to show in what measure their results have been anticipated by other scholars, and the fulness of the information which they present is admirably adapted to help their case.

The orthodox doctrine is probably that Indra Vṛtrahan, the epithet being derived from the most essential feat of the god, was an Indo-Iranian conception, but owing to the effect of the religious movement of Zoroaster, the god fell from favour and is found in the *Avesta* only as a demon of insignificant importance, while the epithet appears as denoting the genius of victory, the power which overcomes obstacles. The view now suggested is very different. The Avestan evidence is regarded as perpetuating the older state of things. There is no trade in it of a demon; *vṛθra* denotes 'resistance', and the *Avesta* knows Vṛθragna, who has in the Veda the parallel Vṛtrahan, but the *Avesta* knows nothing of the deification of the slaughter of foes; the god is simply the personification of victory in offence. It is in Indian mythology that there has developed the idea of a personal Vṛtra as a demon. This view can be supported by the colourless character of the demon, and by the evidence of language which suggests that *vṛtra* was originally a neuter, the plural regularly being unmistakably so, while Avestan has only the neuter. Again it is much easier to understand how in India Vṛtrahan ceases to be independent, and becomes normally an epithet of Indra, than to see why in the *Avesta* we find on the one hand Vṛθragna, and on the other Indra as a mere demon; it is not easy to see why the Iranians should have made him a demon because of his delight in the drinking of Soma,

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[1] *Vṛtra et Vṛθragna : Etude de Mythologie indoiranienne* (Paris, 1934).

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yet have re-established his honour by deifying his distinctive Vedic epithet Vṛtrahan.[1]

These general views are reinforced by an examination of the mode in which Indra-Vṛtrahan can be explained as the product of syncretism. As Indo-Iranian we must recognize the existence of a warrior god who triumphs over his enemies and affords assurance of victory to those whom he aids. Such a deity appears clearly in the *Avesta*. Vṛtrahan in the *Rigveda* admittedly shares but feebly this aspect, being primarily an epithet of Indra. We must, however, recognize that this is a secondary state of affairs, and must believe that Vṛtrahan was once an independent deity. Unfortunately, for this view the evidence is clearly wanting. It is true that other gods, such as Agni, Soma, and the Açvins occasionally have the epithet, and that the word may be applied to such ideas as *vajra*, *aṅçu*, *vacas*, *mada*, *çardha*, or *çuṣma*. But these instances do not help us at all; the syncretism of the *Rigveda* is such that it is most natural that the epithet of Indra should have been applied on occasion to other gods and to instrumentalities of the gods. Nor can any weight be allowed to the suggestion that *Avesta* and *Rigveda* alike allude in connection with *vṛθra* to the Turanian Dānus. Every reasonable probability connects *dānu* or *dānava* in relation to Vṛtra in the *Rigveda* with the idea of 'stream' or 'water', and denies any connection with Turanian Dānus in Yt. xiii. 38. It is easier and more natural to hold that we have in the *Avesta* an independent development, and this is strongly confirmed by the fact—admitted as presenting a difficulty by the authors—that the Avestan has no exact parallel to the epithet Vṛtrahan, but instead has an abstract made masculine, Vṛθragna. The form appears to attest the secondary character of the development. The attempt to remove this difficulty by claiming that divergence of form has not prevented identification of Āθwya and Vedic Āptya is not in point; the essential fact is that the deity in the *Avesta* by his name is a secondary product of priestly reflection, and presumably is not the original of the epithet Vṛtrahan.

A second element in the making of the Indra legend is found in the common idea of the contest between a hero and a monster, Zeus and Typhon, Hercules and the Hydra, Apollo and Python, Thorr and the serpent, Marduk and Tiamat, Gilgameš and Humbaba. In India we have Indra and Vṛtra, but in Iran θraitauna and Aži Dahāka. It is argued that we do not know that in Iran Indra figured as a demon slayer. It is true that Kretschmer[2] has claimed to find

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[1] As suggested by Reichelt, *Avesta Reader*, pp. 118, 119.
[2] *Kleinasi et Forsch.* i. 297ff.

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in Hittite mythology a reference to Innara as aiding the storm god to destroy a dragon by inducing a certain Hupašiya to make the dragon drunk and to chain him. But, as Sommer[1] declares that the text refers to a goddess Inara—not Innara—as winning Hupašiya's aid by promising him her favour, it may be admitted that no great stress can be laid on the alleged parallel. There is, however, nothing in this evidence to discount the originality of the Indra-Vṛtra legend. It is perfectly possible to regard its disappearance in Avestan as secondary. The same conclusion is suggested by consideration of the third element of the Indian myth as interpreted by the authors. In India the slaying of Vṛtra effects a release of waters in the skies and of streams on earth, for both aspects are to be discerned in the various descriptions in the *Rigveda* of the slaying of the dragon. In the *Avesta* we find a separation between the slaying of Aži Dahāka by θraitauna and the victory of the star Tištriya over the demon of drought Apavṛta,[2] which serves to set free the waters of the rain and of the sea Varukarta and the streams which depend upon it. The Indian version seems both simpler and more natural than the Avestan, which presents the appearance of later specialization rather than of a more primitive separation of motives. To dissect myths and to resolve them into what may seem to us natural component factors may prove to be merely a distortion of the primitive myth. The relations of the Avestan, Tištriya and Apavṛta have no appearance of early character or of Indo-Iranian provenance.

M. Benveniste suggests with Kretschmer that the name of Indra is borrowed from the Hittite or Luwi, but asserts that there is no proof that *innara* in Hittite was a divine name. It seems quite impossible to accept this suggestion. If the base of Indra is Indo-European, it seems wholly unnecessary to find in it a Hittite loan word.[3] But this suggestion is not vital to M. Benveniste's views.

Further M. Benveniste seeks to show that, as opposed to Vṛθragna, who is a deity proper, Indra is no more than a hero. His conception of a god as opposed to a hero stresses the connection of the hero with humanity ; his worshippers form him in their own image, they can make fun of him in adoring him ; he is bound up with some accomplishment, some victory, unlike the god who is connected with some element or energy and yet exists apart from

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[1] *Die Ahhijarā-Urkunden* (1932), p. 382.

[2] Wackernagel (*Kuhn-Festscharft*, pp. 158ff.) takes the name as 'Water-restrainer,' which would give an Avestan parallel to Vṛtra. Bartholomæ (Airlob, 72) connects it with the Greek apheúō, to singe off.

[3] Gray, *Iran. Rel.*, p. 181 accepts connection with Anglo-Saxon *ent*.

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his manifestations; he must die to attain the rank of hero. He cites as proofs of the hero character of Indra the much greater personification of him in the *Rigveda* than of the other gods; the criticisms of him which seem to have been current among the Brahmans who did not welcome over kindly to their pantheon a god of the Kṣatriyas; his exclusion by some from the drinking of the Soma. He has won deification by his great achievement in slaying the dragon, and has ultimately come to absorb the divine figure of Vṛtrahan. But it can hardly be said that any of these contentions is of much probative force. The exceptional character of the personification of Indra can abundantly be explained by the simple facts of his case. He is essentially one of the less transparent gods, whose physical basis has become obscure, and around whom, therefore, legends can easily be formed.[1] It is important also that he is a god in close relation to his worshippers, and therefore assumes freely many functions. It is perfectly obvious that a god with popular features of the kind found in Indra was not likely to meet with acceptance by Zoroaster, and this fact is sufficient to account for his degradation in Avestan belief. But the Vedic evidence clearly affords us no ground to trace him to other than a divine origin, whatever be the origin we ascribe to gods in general.

Another difficulty of M. Benveniste's theory is seen when we consider Indra's relation to Vṛtra. We are asked to find a guiding link in the Avestan doctrine which makes *θraitauna* victorious over the demon by participating in the power of *Vṛθragna*; in other words he draws from the god Vṛθragna the power to overthrow the enemy. This is a complex idea in comparison with the natural suggestion that Indra and Vṛtra are early opposed as god and demon, and that Vṛtrahan means simply what it obviously suggests, 'slayer of Vṛtra'. Indeed, it is easy to argue that Vṛθragna is a complex and late figure, especially as he is assigned the power to assume ten incarnations. The idea that gods can assume shapes at will is Indo-Iranian,[2] but the specification of the number is late in India, and it seems eminently reasonable to refuse to accept the view that Vṛtrahan was ever in Indo-Iranian times a distinct abstract deity, the power which overcomes resistance, from whom India has devised a demon Vṛtra, unknown to Iran. The argument that it is more natural for India to unite ideas than for Iran to separate those which in Indo-Iranian belief were united appears without weight. It is not even as if Iran had the true representation of Vṛtrahan as the genius of victory; what is given is the derivative form

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[1] Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, i. 124.
[2] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 41, 151.

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Vṛθragna, which suggests a secondary development. 'Zoroastrianism', writes Carnoy,[1] 'being inclined to abstraction and to personifying abstractions, has created a genius of victory, embodying the conquest of evil creatures and foes of every description which the myths attribute to Thrætaona, Tishtrya, and other heroes'. It is easy to understand how in this elaborate figure the simpler Vṛtrahan disappears. For the degradation of Indra from divine to demoniac dimensions a cause is suggested by Gray[2]; in India Indra was closely connected with the bringing of beneficent rain at the monsoons, while in Iran he was associated with the heavy rains of winter which bring malaria in their track. Whether this be the cause or not, it is impossible to deny Indo-Iranian character to Indra, as ingeniously suggested by Kshetreśa Chandra Chaṭṭopādhyāya.[3]

No doubt, Vṛtra has a name of transparent meaning, derived from the function he assumes of holding back the flow of the waters, but that is no sound ground for postulating that as a demon he is derived from, and is not the source of, Vṛtrahan. Nor can it fairly be said that he lacks definite character[4]; indeed, for a demon he is given a relatively distinct personality, which cannot well be explained away by the supposition that poetic imagination created him from an abstract 'resistance' by investing him with some of the trappings of the god who overthrows him. While his existence in the Avestan period cannot be proved, the fact that Vṛtra is essentially a serpent, and that there is the parallel of Aži Dahāka[5] in Iran suggests very strongly that the disappearance of Vṛtra as a demon name is of no cogent force.

M. Benveniste suggests that between Indo-Iranian mythology and that of Vedic India there falls to be considered the influence which must have been exercised on the Vedic Aryans by the indigenous culture of Mohenjo-daro, which must have developed a mythology of original character, and this must have acted strongly on the half barbarous Aryans. He, indeed, is inclined to hold that they owed as much to this civilization as the Greeks to the Creto-Mycenean.[6] Here, however, exception must be taken. We know from the evidence of excavation that the Greek invaders did occupy lands and sites of rich culture and advanced religion, and we can

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[1] *Iranian Mythology*, p. 271.
[2] *Iran. Rel.*, p. 182.
[3] *Proc. Fourth Oriental Conference*, pp. 11–24.
[4] Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 158ff.
[5] Cf. Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology*, pp. 265–67. The epithet Dahāka is of uncertain meaning; if Gray's view (*Iran. Rel.*, p. 190) is correct, we may have a combination of a mythical figure, Aži, and a historical invader.
[6] See M. P. Nilsson, *The Myœnæan Origin of Greek Mythology* (1932).

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therefore without hesitation assume a deep and far going influence on Greek religion of the older culture. In the case of the Mohenjo-daro civilization our information is still far from adequate to gauge its effect on the invading Aryans. If the evidence of date accepted by Sir J. Marshall is valid, it would seem that the culture, which is of unknown provenance and a singularly individual character, was in decadence before the Aryan invasion, and there is a total dearth of evidence as to actual contact with the Aryans of the *Rigveda*. That Vedic religion has advanced from that of the Indo-Iranian period may safely be assumed, but of the causes we have little knowledge, and the Iranian evidence is rendered very difficult to interpret and to utilize because of the great reforming movement of Zoroaster, which has obscured the earlier religion of Iran, in which a truer parallel to Vedic religion is naturally sought.

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EARTHQUAKES IN INDIA

By A. F. M. Abdul Ali

The great earthquake of the 15th January of the present year, in northern India, the memory of which is still fresh in the minds of the people of this sub-continent, created an unusual interest in the minds of students and laymen alike in natural phenomenon of this character.

I propose to give in this paper accounts of previous earthquakes, culled from official records, which may prove valuable from the point of view of the student as well as the layman. The records which are in the custody of the Imperial Record Department tell us that there was a great earthquake in the year 1762. We have a letter from Bartho: Plaisted to Harry Verelst, dated 1st May, 1762, which describes a quake which took place at Chittagong on the 2nd April, 1762 at 5 p.m. The letter[1] runs thus :—

'The Earthquake that happen'd on the 2d of April at 5 p.m. has made such devastation that nothing but a view of the place wou'd give credit to the several reports made thereof; . . . . . I sail'd thro' the middle of the borders of the water of the creek and sometimes found four fathoms. Julkudde River at the entrance for a mile up is entirely stopt, where before there was from two to four fathoms. The shoal on the right hand going in is entirely sunk, and I found four fathoms where it used to be dry at low water. However, it still is a very safe harbour, and easier now to enter by its being wider, but the shore on each side appears to be impracticable to be made habitable, being too low and almost overflowed in the springs. The tide rises here in the change 12 feet 9 inches perpendicular.'

The next important Indian earthquake about which we get thrilling accounts from the records[2] happened on the 16th June, 1819 and the three following days at Cutch, specially at Bhooj on the evening at 10 minutes before 7 o'clock. We find from the papers that a strange phenomenon occurred during this shock namely that a large tract of country in Guzerat, which was quite dry and insolated, was suddenly filled with a vast sheet of water. Let the following letters give us a graphic description of this terrible disaster :—

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[1] Home Dept. I.O. records, 5th April to 24th September, 1762, p. 32.
[2] Pol. O.C.'s 28th August, 1819, Nos. 6–9.

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To

William Newnham, Esquire,

Acting Chief Secretary to Government,

Bombay.

SIR,

It is with sincere regret that I have to inform you that this place was visited by an Earthquake yesterday evening at 10 minutes before 7 o'clock. The effects of the shock which lasted nearly two minutes, have been the levelling of the Fort Wall to the ground. Not a hundred yards of the wall remain in any one spot, and guns, towers, etc. are all hurled in one mass of ruin.

The destruction in the town has been distressing and awful; not ¼th of the houses are standing and those that do remain are all ruined. I cannot yet state the particulars of the losses, but I may in one word say that a flourishing population has been reduced in one moment to wretchedness and misery. I fear we shall have to lament the loss of upwards of one hundred people, besides those hurt.

Reports from the country state similar disasters in all the villages round about, and letters from Bhooj inform us, that that fort is much in the same condition as Anjar.

Slight shocks still continue to be felt, and I shall, at the first leisure moment, report such particulars as I may be able to collect.

I have the honour, etc.,

(Sd.) J. MACMURDO,

Resdt. at Bhooj and Collector at Anjar.

Anjar,

17th June, 1819.

To

Captain Thomas Morgan,

Commanding at Anjar.

SIR,

It is of the most importance for the safety of the town of Anjar that the Wursameree, and Sorlia, gateways, and the water drains, should be cleared of ruins, in order that the water may pass off, which would otherwise, in case of rains, swamp the better half of the town.

2. In consequence of the threatening appearance of the weather, and all the town people being at present too much employed in rescuing their families and small remains of property, I take the

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liberty to request, should you have no objections that a proportion of the regular sepoys be permitted to aid for a few days for the public good by their labour, in working parties to clear the passages for water and the gateways. I make this request with less hesitation as the dreadful misfortune has fallen with comparatively trifling weight upon the men of the Detachment.

I have the honour to be, etc.,
(Sd.) JAMES MACMURDO,
Resdt. at Bhooj and Collr. of Anjar.

Anjar,
17th June, 1819.

To
Captain James MacMurdo,
Resident at Bhooj and Collector at Anjar.

SIR,

Consistently with the military duties required of the Garrison under existing circumstances I am concerned to say it is not in my power to comply with your request. Their duties, I am ready to allow, should give way to necessities of greater magnitude, but until that is the case, I conceive the employment of soldiers in occupations of the nature required, would be improper and inconsistent with the established usage of the service.

I have the honour to be, etc.,
(Sd.) THOMAS MORGAN,
Captain Commanding, Anjar.

Anjar,
17th June, 1819.

Political Department.

To
William Newnham, Esq.,
Acting Chief Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

SIR,

Since my address under date the 17th instant, accounts have been received from various quarters of the country. There is every reason to believe that the shock has destroyed in a greater or less degree, every fort and town from Arrisir to Luckput; many of the villages round about Anjar are reduced to heaps of rubbish

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and I fear that those in Cutch and Wagur generally are little less injured. Bhooj has been a greater sufferer ; the walls of the town level with the ground ; the palace in many parts in the same state, and the private dwelling houses are in ruins. The loss of lives is not exactly ascertained, but the lowest calculation makes it 500 people. The Rao's family has escaped, with the exception of one old lady, the widow of the Raidhun. Mandavee is stated to have lost only 125 people. Accounts from Moorbee state that that town to be in ruins.

2. Our loss in Anjar has been greater than I had at first supposed. We have to lament the loss of 166 lives besides, and about double that number wounded, many of whom severely. Out of 4,500 houses of which the town is composed, about 1,500 are so completely destroyed, as not to leave one stone upon another. They are overturned from the very foundation. About 1,000 more are laid in ruins, and so dreadful has been the shock, that of the 2,000 standing, some are injured and many uninhabitable. The fort cannot now bear that name, as there is not a third of it remaining in different parts, and even those are likely to fall with the first rain.

3. It is impossible to describe the misery of the unfortunate people. Their property is buried in ruins, and exposed, without the possibility of saving it, to the weather ; their families, some among the ruins and some in the open fields exposed in the same wretched condition. The calamity has been so general that not a labourer can be had for money and the richer and more respectable class of people are seen sitting surrounded by their families, on the spot where their houses once stood, in the most helpless and destitute situation.

4. I have not in my power to assist them materially but what is in my power I have done. Free ingress and egress has been given to all property without taxes, and I venture to suggest to Government to continue this favour towards the people at least for some months to come. It seems impossible to levy duties from a town in ruins.

5. I have set the labouring people about cleaning the streets and making passages for the water to escape ; for if the rains were to set in with violence, the lower and greatest part of the town would, in the present state, be 6 feet under water.

6. I applied to the Commanding Officer for the assistance of a working party, but I am sorry to say that he did not think it proper to allow the men to be employed in assisting the inhabitants. Enclosed* is the correspondence for the information of Government.

* p. 4 *ante.*

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7. Since writing the foregoing, 150 Dooley bearers have been kindly sent by Colonel Milnes to our assistance.

I have the honour to be, etc.,
(Sd.) JAMES MACMURDO,
Resdt. at Bhooj & Collr. at Anjar.

Anjar,
19*th June*, 1819.

P.S.—I have neglected to observe that the public buildings of every description including the Judge's dwelling house, Offices, etc. are rendered unsafe to inhabit.

(Sd.) JAMES MACMURDO.

To

William Newnham, Esquire,
Acting Chief Secretary to Government,
Bombay.

SIR,

I have the honour to report for the information of Government that since I returned to Bhooj, I have ascertained the damage sustained by that town to be much greater than I had supposed. The loss in lives has not been correctly ascertained, as bodies continue to be dug out from the ruins. About a thousand have already been found. The Fort is in a most ruinous state, but although there is little of it entire, there are few places so completely levelled to the ground as that of Anjar. As near as can be calculated, seven thousand houses have been overturned, and few or none in the city left uninjured.

The palace which is an immense mass of building has been dreadfully shattered. All the upper parts overturned, and the pile, as low as the lower floor, rent and shook, so as to render the whole nearly uninhabitable. I am happy to say that the Rao's family has escaped without further loss, than already reported. The Ex-Rao is removed to tents near those of the Residency, where he is guarded by a Detachment of 100 rank and file; the Rao Dessul and all the females of the family, are also in tents outside the town where I hope to be able to persuade them to remain until some place can be made secure for their reception.

I may observe that although the whole of Cutch has suffered nearly equally in regard to loss of houses, yet I am glad to say that the proportion of lives lost in different places bears no affinity. Perhaps Bhooj has lost as many as the whole of Cutch put together.

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In Mandavi 116, and in Luckput 150, are said to have suffered. The Jharejhas have in some instances lost members of their families; Koteree, Thera, Kaira, Mothara and Nangercha are spoken of, as having experienced the most dreadful effects from the shock—but perhaps, there is little difference anywhere.

A number of phenomena are said to have occurred at the moment of the shock, but I shall only remark that, which appears the most striking. The Runn and Bhunee on the North of Cutch between that province and the insolated district of Kaiora which was quite dry, was suddenly filled with a sheet of water, the extent of which on the East and West was not known, but its breadth was generally about six miles, and its depth gradually increased to upwards of 2½ feet, after which, in a few hours the waters subsided to about half that quantity. Horsemen who crossed this tract on the day following the shock, describe a number of cones of soft sand elevated above the water, the tops of which were bubbling with air and water when they passed. As far as I have learnt, the sandy bed of every dry river in Cutch was filled for a short space of time with a flood of water. These waters have the colour and taste of the soil from whence they were ejected.

The effects which this awful visitation may have on the prosperity of Cutch, and consequently on our interests, are very material, but I shall defer entering on the subject until the return of the Bhyaut to Bhooj (from their homes, whether the late event has called them), shall enable me to mature my sentiments.

I have the honour, etc.,

Bhooj, 23rd June, 1819. (Sd.) J. MacMurdo.

The next important Indian earthquake about which our records speak happened in Northern India on the 26th August, 1833—a century before the last Bihar disaster and 14 years after the Cutch quake. In this seismic disturbance the shock extended more or less in the same tract of country as the last Bihar quake. The following English translation from the newspaper '*Aina-i-Sikandar*', dated the 9th September, 1833, and the records[1] of the Imperial Record Department give a graphic account of this dreadful calamity :—

'A severe earthquake occurred at Muzaffarpur on Monday, the 8th Rabi-us-Sani (26th August, 1833) an hour before sunset. The tremor subsided in a short while but it returned after eight hours.

[1] Mily. Board O.C., 25th March, 1834, No. 59; Pol. O.C. 13 Sept., 1833, No. 22.

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Between that day and the next morning six shocks took place at intervals. The officials as well as the populace left their houses and encamped in the open fields. The mosque, the roof of the Civil Court and the house of Mir Jafar Shah toppled down. At Azimabad (Patna) too, severe shocks were felt but luckily none of the houses and buildings were injured. On the 27th August at about 10 a.m. torrential rain fell in Monghyr and a large number of huts was swept away. After mid-day a fearful rumbling was heard issuing from the direction of the river. This continued for two minutes when the earthquake came on with such intensity that people lost their senses and massive buildings were thrown from their foundations. It went on for three minutes and then it ceased. Should it have lasted a little longer not a single soul could have survived and the structures would have fallen till there was nothing left standing between the desolate earth and the sky. In Bhagalpore also the quake lasted a minute.'

(*Translated from the* Aina-i-Sikandar, *dated 9th September*, 1833.)

From

Captain Wm. Sage,
Executive Officer, 3rd Division.

To

Lieutenant Colonel Tickell, C.B.,
Superintending Engineer, Lower Provinces,

Mozaffarpore, Oct. 21st, 1833.

SIR,

1. Reporting the inspection of the buildings at Chuprah and Singhea and arrival at Muzafferpore.

I have the honour to acquaint you that having inspected the buildings at Chuprah and Singhea at neither of which places has any extensive injury been done by the earthquake, I arrived here yesterday.

2. Stating the course the river took during the rains and damage done to the communications with the Town.

2. The river this year has cut away the whole of the village to the north of the Jail with the entire Bund forming the high road to Mullye and the private Bund crossing the tail of the Lake to the Indigo Factory is broken up in four or five places. The River when in full took its course through the Lake tapping the Bund and bridge and destroying the land communication between the Island and the Town. It has now subsided and flows in its old Channel.

The River appears to have acted with most violence, in its egress from the Lake one hundred and forty feet from the bridge

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Northward when the road has been destroyed and several pits excavated by the force of the stream 40×30×8.

The bund and bridge are not at all injured nor is there now any appearance of their having so lately been under water.

3. The Jail has escaped any serious injury from the earthquake but at the north-west angle it is only 285 feet and at the north-east angle it is only eight (8) feet distant from the river edge.

3. Dangerous contiguity of the Jail to the margin of the river.

The escape of this angle is, owing to a small patch of clay, which appears to have off the stream although not twenty feet from it. Along the North Wall there is nothing but sand, which the River has deeply indented and having passed the projection of clay has cut into the bank again carrying away eighty-seven feet of land which last year remained between the Jail Hospital wall and the bank of the river.

4. The Jail Hospital has been slightly cracked by the earthquake but the necessity of calculating for repairs is done away by the encroachment of the river.

4. Damage done to the Hospital compound wall by the corrosion of the stream and requesting instructions as to a substitute for the present Jail and Hospital.

The north-east angle of the compound wall has fallen into the stream to the extent of seventy feet on the northern and fifty feet on the eastern face, the margin of the river cuts the sections of the broken angle and the water is only thirty feet (of slope) from the east and nineteen feet from the north section of the broken wall. A reference to the plan in your office will at once show you that the corrosion of the stream this year is decisive of the question of stability as regards the Jail and that the sooner something is resolved on as a substitute for it, the better.

5. The Circuit Bungalow and the Collector's Cutcherry have received slight cracks from the Earthquake and thirty-six feet of the parapet wall of the latter have fallen down. Provision has been made for the repair of these buildings in the annual report which will be forwarded as soon as the estimates are prepared.

5. Showing the little damage done to the Circuit Bungalow and Collector's Cutcherry by the Earthquake. Reporting departure for Mullye.

6. Tomorrow I leave this for Mullye whence, should any thing unusual have occurred, I shall again have the pleasure of reporting to you.

I have, etc.,

(Sd.) W. SAGE,

Ex. Offr., 3d. Divn.

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Nepal Residency, August 28th, 1833.

W. H. Macnaghten, Esquire,
Political Secretary to Government,
Fort William.

SIR,

I am concerned to inform that a severe shock of Earthquake occurred here about 11 o'clock p.m. of the 26th whereby the Residency house and offices sustained some injury, though not material, nor accompanied by hurt of any human being. We owe our escape from serious loss to our insulated situation and to the substantial nature of our edifices for, I am sorry to say, the destruction of houses and of lives has been great throughout the towns of the Valley.

In Cathmandu, the Capital, as many as 130 houses are said to have been reduced to heaps of ruins, and at least 25 souls to have perished among them.

At Bhatgaon, Patan, Deo-Patan, and elsewhere, the injury done to property and to life is stated to have been much more extensive, in proportion than that sustained by the Capital. At Bhatgaon, for instance, not less than 120 persons are reported to have been killed by the fall of edifices during the shock. The vast pagoda of Jagannath and the Minars of Bhim Sen (the principal ornaments of the Capital) are level with the Earth : the Durbar of Patan is shattered to pieces, and many other public edifices, sacred and profane, in all parts of the Valley have been irreparably injured.

The principal shock was preceded by one less severe, which occurred at 6 o'clock p.m., and it has been followed, and still is, by many others, more or less trivial, but occurring so frequently, up to the present moment, that the population of the towns dare not return to their dwellings notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather.

Whilst I write, the Earth is trembling under my feet, and the unhappy population of the crowned Capital are responding with an audible wail of awe and fear to every mutter of the Earthquake. The Maharaja is encamped in Bhandar Khand, having, with his family, escaped all injury.

I have the honour, etc.,
(Sd.) B. H. HODGSON,
Resident.

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THE ERA USED BY THE KUṢANA KINGS

By DHIRENDRA NATH MUKHERJI

The question has all along been raging: to what era are the dates of Kaniṣka and his successors to be referred to? Prof. Sten Konow is of opinion that the epoch of the era is A.D. 128-9. Prof. Rapson holds that the same should be referred to the Śaka era of A.D. 78. The late Dr. V. A. Smith at first considered the epoch to be A.D. 120, then A.D. 78, and, lastly again, A.D. 120. But it seems that it has occurred to no scholar to try to solve this question in the light of astronomical calculation. There are dates in some inscriptions of these Kuṣana kings which contain astronomical data of importance and which admit of verification. They conclusively prove that the late J. F. Fleet and Dr. O. Franke are right in taking these dates to be years of the Vikrama era. The following are the only dates which are capable of verification and which I am glad I have been able to verify:—

1. The Zeda inscription of Kaniṣka (No. LXXV)[1] is dated 'Saṁ. 11, on the 20. d. of the month Āṣāḍha, in Uttaraphālguna'. Now, current Vikrama year 11 is equivalent to (58−10) or 48 B.C. (=K.Y. 3054). Kaliyuga year 3054 elapsed=(365·25876×3054) or 1115500·25 days. The Julian day number of the epoch of the Kaliyuga era (3102 B.C., 18th February)=588466. Therefore the Julian day number of the initial day of solar Vaiśākha in K.Y. 3054 =(1115500·25+588466) or 1703966·25 days, equivalent to March 16·25 days 48 B.C. The solar months of Vaiśākha and Jyaiṣṭha total 62·36 days. Therefore the 20th of Āṣāḍha is equivalent to June 6. On calculation we find that Nakṣatra Uttaraphālgunī began on this day about 9 h. 45 m. in the morning.

2. The Māṇikiāla inscription of Kaniṣka (No. LXXVI) is dated 'Saṁ. 18, on the 20. day in the month of Kārttika, on this first (*tithi*)'. Now, Vikrama Saṁvat 18=(58−17) or 41 B.C. Calculating similarly as the above we find that the last day of Aśvina was the 19th September and that the 20th of Kārttika was the 9th October, 41 B.C., on which day *śukla pratipad* (the first *tithi*) began at 11 h. 35 m. in the morning.

3. The Uṇḍ inscription (No. LXXXVII) is dated 'Saṁ. 61, on the eighth day, d. 8, of the month Caitra in Pūrvāṣāḍha'. Now, Vikrama Saṁvat 61 expired is equivalent to A.D. 4-5. Calculating

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[1] As numbered in Prof. Sten Konow's *Kharoṣṭhī Inscr.* (*C.I.I.*, Vol. II, pt. 1).

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as before the 8th day of Caitra was February 21, A.D. 5, on which day Nakṣatra Pūrvāṣāḍha continued till 7 h. 35 m. in the night.

4. The newly discovered Kalawan inscription (*E.I.*, Vol. XXI, p. 259) is dated 'Saṁ. 134 . . ., in the first Śrāvaṇa month'. Now, Vikrama Saṁvat 134 current is equivalent to A.D. 76. Calculating as before, we find that in this year the initial day of Śrāvaṇa was June 19·07 d. and the last day of Śrāvaṇa was July 20·54 d. Now there was a new moon on June 20·29 d. and another on July 19·93 d. Both these new moons falling in solar Śrāvaṇa, the month of Śrāvaṇa was intercalary in this year.

5. The Taxila scroll inscription (No. XXVII) is dated 'Saṁ. 136, on the 15. day of the first month Āṣāḍha'. Now, Vikrama year 136 expired = A.D. 79. In this year the initial day of Āṣāḍha was May 19·20 d., and the last day of Āṣāḍha was June 19·84 d. There was one new moon on May 19·66 d., and another on June 17·94 d. Both these new moons falling in solar Āṣāḍha, the month of Āṣāḍha was intercalary in this year.

On Prof. Sten Konow's epoch of an old Śaka era (84-83 B.C.) the Kalawan plate of Saṁ. 134, even when taken as a current year, yields, on Dr. Van Wijk's mode of reckoning, Bhādra as an intercalary month. Being unable to verify this date Dr. Sten Konow now wishes to give up the meaning of *ādyasya* for *ayasa*. For, says he: 'It seems to me that the Kalawan inscription in showing that the word *ayasa* in the silver scroll[1] cannot be used for an astronomical calculation of the era has made it as good as certain that we have to do with an epoch practically identical with the Vikrama era . . .' (*J.R.A.S.*, 1932, p. 964). But this does not seem to be right. *Ayasa* cannot be 'of Azes', for then other inscriptions also should have been found associated with this distinctive mark. From the verifications already made it is clear that Prof. Sten Konow rightly suspects 'that we have to do with an epoch practically identical with the Vikrama era'. But he could not shake off his pet theory of the old Śaka era to which he was wedded.

On the basis of Prof. Sten Konow's assumption that Kaniṣka's accession cannot be dated earlier than the initial point of the Śaka era (A.D. 78) and not much later than A.D. 135, Dr. Van Wijk calculated the epoch of the era used in Kushan inscriptions to be A.D. 128-29. On this epoch he calculated the Zeda inscription of 'Saṁ. 11, the 20. d. of the month Āṣāḍha, in Uttaraphālguna' to correspond to June 19, A.D. 139. But when he came over the

[1] That is, of Taxila dated 136.

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Uṇḍ inscription of 'Saṁ. 61, on the eighth day of the month Caitra in Pūrvāṣāḍha', he could not verify this on the equal space division of the Nakṣatras and reckoning with the unequal space division of the Nakṣatras he found the date to correspond to February 26, A.D. 189. Dr. Van Wijk assumed that these 'Āṣāḍha di 20', 'Caitra di 8', etc. denote the *tithis* and lunar months beginning from full moon. But these are very improbable assumptions. When, however, he came over to the calculation of intercalary months he assumed the lunar months to run from new moon to new moon. Moreover, even on his own assumption and calculation we find that *kṛṣṇa aṣṭamī* ended on the 25th February at 3 h. 36 m. A.M. at night. Hence, 26th February is evidently a misprint for February 25. On the 25th February, Nakṣatra Mūla continued the whole day till 7 P.M. in the night on the equal space divisions of the Nakṣatras. Hence Dr. Van Wijk resorted to the unequal space divisions and remarked that the equal division of the Nakṣatras was a late and artificial one. But this is an unwarranted remark. The equal division of the Nakṣatras was in use at least from the time of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣha (14th century B.C.). One reference from the same book will clear the point: *ardha-pañcama bhas-tu-ṛtu*, i.e. a season (*ṛtu*) is equivalent to four and a half (*ardha-pañcama*) Nakṣatras (*bha*). There being six seasons and 27 Nakṣatras over which the sun passes in a year, one season is equivalent to four and half Nakṣatras (*vide* also G. R. Kaye, *Hindu Astronomy*, Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 18, pp. 17–19). This and other references show that the equal space division was in vogue from a much earlier period.

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A SHORT NOTE ON THE LIMBUS OF DARJEELING

By P. C. Biswas

In the course of an Anthropological tour in Darjeeling in 1930, I came across the highly interesting tribe of Limbus. According to Grierson their language belongs to the eastern Pronominalized Himalayan branch of the Tibeto-Burma family. Physically they are undistinguishable from the other neighbouring tribes. So far I am aware the term of relationship of this tribe nor a full list of their clan names has yet appeared, and they are given below :

Along with several other tribes of the Tibetan stock they are often known collectively as Bhutias, which include Kirantis Murmis, etc. They (the Limbus) are found east of the Kiranti tract and south-east of the Khambu. Their head is generally broad, complexion dark to fair, with yellow tinge, stature short, nose is generally broad, face characteristically flat, and eyelids are often oblique. They have mostly scantly hair on face.

At the time of Ghurka conquest they held a great portion of the country in a sort of feudal subordination to the Rajas of Beejapoor and Mukwanpoor. Dr. Campbell thinks that the word Limbu is probably corruption of ' Ekthumba ' which was used by the Ghurkas to designate the people of that tract.[1] According to tradition the tribe has occupied the valley called ' Tambarkhola ' from time immemorial. They are now found in large number between the Doodkoosi and Konki rivers in Nepal and become scarcer on the borders of Nepal and Sikhim.

In religion they are Buddhists, but much of their older demonology survives under the Buddhist garb.

The Limbus are divided into the following twenty-six exogamous clans :—

1. Khapung.
2. Thumbunvi.
3. Thobra.
4. Chongbung.
5. Nangbung.
6. Pongdha.
7. Sereng.
8. Pongiangu.
9. Chhothore.
10. Tamden.
11. Parungden.
12. Thogleng.
13. Sauden.
14. Mabhu.
15. Phagu.
16. Artrie.
17. Suaba.
18. Niongba.

[1] J.A.S.B., 1840, page 495.

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19. Tholong.
20. Sonmenkhanba.
21. Choubisa.
22. Khajum.
23. Faklacha.
24. Soonvonvi.
25. Sungaro.
26. Soonavay.

The following are the terms of relationship of the Limbus:—

English terms.	Limbu terms.
Father	Amba.
Mother	Amma.
Sister (M.S.) and ..	Anno (elder)
(W.S.) ..	Nusay (younger).
Sister (not of own) mother	Do.
Sister (not of own) father	Do.
Father's elder brother (M.S. and W.S.) ..	Andoomvay.
Father's elder brother's wife	Andumay.
Father's elder brother's son	Nagpay.
Father's elder brother's daughter (M.S. and W.S.)	Nagmay.
Father's sister (M.S. and W.S.)	Annay.
Father's sister's son ..	Nagpay.
Mother's brother ..	Aungay.
Mother's brother's son ..	Alungay.
Mother's Brother's daughter	Alungay.
Mother's sister (elder) ..	Andumay.
Mother's sister's husband (elder)	Andumvay.
Mother's elder sister's child	Amvoay.
Wife's brother's son ..	Lumsay.

English terms.	Limbu terms.
Sister's son	Lumsay.
Son	Babbay.
Daughter	Mamay.
Brother (W.S.) ..	Amvoi (elder).
and (M.S.) ..	Ansay (younger).
Brother (not of own mother)	Do.
Brother (not of own father)	Do.
Father's younger brother (M.S. and W.S.) ..	Amvanga.
Father's younger brother's wife	Anchumbay.
Father's younger brother's son	Nagpay.
Father's younger brother's daughter (M.S. and W.S.)	Nagmay.
Father's sister's husband	Aungvay.
Father's sister's daughter	Nagmay.
Mother's brother's wife	Anniay.
Mother's younger sister ..	Anchmay.
Mother's sister's husband	Amvangay.
Mother's younger sister's child	Ansay.
Wife's brother's daughter	Lumsay.
Sister's daughter ..	Lumsay.

M.S., means male speaking. W.S., means woman speaking.

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1. Imperial Gazetteer.
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THE LAPCHAS OF SIKHIM

By P. C. Biswas

It is very difficult to determine the original home of the Lapchas and also to give their relation with their neighbours. According to their own traditions they were on the mount Everest, whence they came to Sikhim. They say, they have borrowed the language of the Sikhimite.

The Imperial Gazetteer contains more complete information on this subject than any other work, and this is contained in the following few lines :—

'The Lapchas claim to be the autochthones of Sikhim proper. Their physical characteristics stamp them as being members of the Mongolian race, while certain peculiarities of language and religion render it probable that the tribe is a very ancient colony from southern Tibet. (The language they speak belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family. To this also belong the languages of Bhotia, Limbu, Murmi, Mangar, Khambu, and Newar.)'

The Lapchas are divided into eight clans, which are as follows :—

(1) Adenbhutso ; (2) Ghartok ; (3) Sampabhutso ; (4) Nyinshabhutso ; (5) Masangbhutso ; (6) Afibhutso ; (7) Samdongbhutso ; (8) Sherokbhutso.

The above clans are all endogamous. A Adenbhutso male marries a Adenbhutso female but not a female of any other clans.

To marry a blood relation is strictly prohibited by the Lapchas. Any one, who violates this rule, is severely punished. The Lapchas have a belief that mother's relations are much nearer than the father's. They have an idea that father transmits bone to his offspring and from the mother they get flesh and blood.

There is no age limit in the Lapcha marriage. Those who are rich give their son's and daughter's marriage earlier, but they prefer adult marriage. Sexual freedom before marriage exists in them tremendously. There is among them freedom of choice on the part of the person marrying. Bride's maternal uncle and bridegroom's paternal uncle are those who negotiate in the marriage. There is no ceremony of betrothal. Marriage cannot be performed without the permission of the bride's maternal uncle. The parties for marriage fix a certain date on which the hand of the girl is grasped by the bridegroom. The marriage generally takes place after six months of the settlement.

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A man when courting, gives the girl of his choice some handkerchiefs and a few pieces of soap; a refusal of marriage is considered unlucky for him. As a bride-price the boy has to give a cow with a calf, and has to pay one hundred and forty rupees; over and above that a cloth is to be given to the mother of the bride. The above varies according to the pecuniary condition of the bridegroom and the bridegroom's parents.

The binding portion of the ceremony is the marriage feast. The Lamas and the village headman drink the health of the bride and bridegroom, and take an active part in the ceremony. The fathers of the bridegroom and bride do not see each other on that day. That night the inviters sing and dance till the day breaks. There is only sorrow when the bride leaves her parent's house. Should she have some children already they are taken over by the husband.

Polyandry is also practised by them. The Lapchas have a custom that the husband cohabits with the younger sisters of his wife during the lifetime of his wife even when they are married. Levirate (junior) and Sororate are also present among them.

A man can marry two women at a time. All the household property is under the management of the senior wife. Widow remarriage occurs among them, in this case no ceremony takes place.

If a woman goes wrong in her own community she is condoned. If on the other hand she commits adultery with an outsider or with one below her status she is outcasted. If a husband commits adultery the wife takes away the property and goes to her parents. Barrenness, misconduct, and sickliness are grounds for divorce. The divorced party is at liberty to remarry.

The Lapchas have got no puberty ceremony. The woman in her menstrual period has to observe certain taboos. For four or five days she will be regarded as untouchable. When the woman says that she is alright, then after bathing outside from a spring or a river she enters the rooms of her house.

There is also no ceremony at child birth. The villagers and relatives gather and rejoice and have a good feast. The Lama or the maternal uncle of the mother of the child names the child on the third day. The new-born babe receives its name after the day of the week it is born. After the birth of the child, the woman remains confined for three days, on the fourth day the Lama comes and sprinkles water to all the members of her house and she becomes pure.

Originally the Lapchas practised burial system but now both burial and burning systems are in vogue. For three days the spirit

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is believed to remain with the body in the grave, a Lama reads many prayers at that time rendering the spirit conscious till realizing the body is dead, the spirit leaves. A festival is given soon after death, a cow is killed and chi (a kind of intoxicated drink) is made and drunk. The feast lasts for several days during which time the mourners sit and talk. The Lapchas have an idea that some Supreme being snatches away the soul from the body. Formerly, they had no ceremony for the disposal of the dead, but they now follow the Buddhist form of ceremony.

The present religion of the Lapchas is Buddhism. The Tibetan Lamaism was introduced into them about three centuries ago and is now regarded as the official religion. It is difficult to determine the extent of the Buddhist influence on Lapcha psychology, but it is clear that the pre-Buddhist religion is not entirely dead.

The conception of God was in vogue before adoption of Buddhism. They had an idea of a Supreme being whom they called Tikung-tek and the Lapchas believed that He was the creator of human, animal and plant kingdoms.

They had also five original deities, viz.,

(1) Itmo (female); (2) Nazongngya (female); (3) Pa-sandi (male); (4) Takbo-thing (male); (5) Tashey-thing (male).

According to modern belief Tikung-tek has no father and mother and rises like all gods from a flower. His idol is made of brass or copper, in the form of a man having a big body and holding a stick in his left hand, his right hand being uplifted. He has a moustache and wears a pointed cap. The Lapchas believe that He is now flying over the snow mountains.

The religious duty was only in the form of sacrifices. Like other primitive peoples of the world, they had no idea of temple and idol.

The Lapchas possess like other primitive tribes of India and outside India, inexhaustible stock of demons, monsters, evil spirits, witches, etc.

There was a strong belief amongst the Lapchas that disease was mainly caused by the (malevolent) spirit intrusion. Mr. C. De Beauvoir Stocks has written a story in his Lapcha Folk-lore that there was the Evil Spirit of Smallpox (Rum-du-mung and Rurn-du), the Evil Spirit of Leprosy (Dom-mung), etc. And he has also mentioned in one of his stories the idea of Spirit-doctor who was known as Bong-thing, he was in the first place, believed to be the son of a goddess who was sent to relieve the human being from the tortures of demons, evil spirits, etc.

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2. Hastings' Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VII, pp. 784–789.
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FIVE RELIEFS OF NĀGĀRJUNIKONDA

(FEATS OF INTELLIGENCE)

By B. M. Barua

The five bas-reliefs, all brought to the notice of the public by the Department of Archæology, belong to the Mahāchaitya of Nāgārjunikonda and await identification. They illustrate different episodes of one and the same Buddhist Birth-story,—of the Jataka called Mahā-ummagga in Fausboll's edition (No. 546) and Mahosatha (Mahosadha) in the Siamese. We shall take them one by one and briefly describe such details of each as are necessary for the identification of its underlying story.

1. In the relief No. 1 the scene of action is laid in a public hall and court of justice. Just a corner view of the roof of the hall is shown on the left. The hall has a tank before it, the existence of which is indicated by the swimming figure of a woman with a floating duck in her embrace. In the centre is the figure of a man majestically seated on a throne-like seat, slightly reclined towards his right side, with his gaze fixed upon the face of a woman standing at the left corner below and showing him a small circular object on the palm of her right hand. Just above her we see a woman sitting on her legs with a small bunch of something in the grip of her right hand, while a little above and in front of her a woman is seen walking in with a circular bundle on her head, held between her two hands. Behind the swimming woman, and at right lower corner, one woman stands seizing hold of the right arm of another woman to prevent her from running away. Just above them we see two women, one to the left holding out something in her hands and the other to the right turning away her face in disgust or resentment, the posture of her two hands being expressive of the same kind of emotion. Above them, at the right upper corner, we see two women walking in, one behind the other, with a bundle of something held up on the right palm of each. Behind the central figure stand up six men and women eagerly watching the puzzling situation before them.

The underlying story is a simple one. Mahosadha, son of the banker Sirivaḍḍha, was a lad of the East market town. He had a public hall and court of justice with a tank before it. A certain woman was returning home with some fine cotton thread made into a ball. She went to bathe in Mahosadha's tank placing the

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ball on her dress. As she went down into the tank, another woman who happened to be there, saw the ball of thread, and conceiving a longing for it took it up, saying, 'This is a beautiful ball of thread; pray, did you make it yourself?' She put it in her lap as if to examine it more closely and began to walk off with it. The woman seeing it came quickly out of the water, and putting on her clothes ran after her and seized hold of her dress, crying, 'You are running away with my ball of thread'. The other replying that she was not taking anything of hers, a quarrel ensued between them. A great crowd collected as they heard this. Mahosadha heard them quarrelling as they passed by the door of his hall and inquired what the noise was about. He sent for them both and having detected by their countenance which was the thief, he asked them if they would abide by his decision. On their both agreeing to do so, he first asked the thief, 'When you made the ball what did you put inside?' Her reply was, 'A cotton seed'. Then he asked the other, and she replied, 'A tamarind seed'. The crowd heard what each said. Mahosadha untwisted the ball of cotton and found a tamarind seed inside and forced the thief to confess her guilt.

Turning to the illustration, we notice many of these details faithfully represented: the woman returning home with a ball of thread, her bathing in Mahosadha's tank, her seizing hold of the thief, the quarrel between the two, the gathering of the crowd, the skilful method of detection of the truth adopted by the Bodhisat, and the exhibition of the tamarind seed by the woman to whom the ball of cotton really belonged.

2. In the relief No. 2 the scene of action is laid in the same public hall and court of justice. The Bodhisat is seated majestically on the same throne-like seat, surrounded by a great crowd of men and women wistfully watching the situation. On the left, by the side of the wise man, and touching the seat, a royal emissary remains seated with a message held in his left hand, while the gaze of the wise man is fixed upon a cock which is held up before him by a man on the right from a corner of the seat.

The underlying story is this. One day the king of Videha, in order to test the intelligence of Mahosadha, sent a message to the people of the East market town to this effect: 'Send us a bull white all over, with horns on his legs, and a hump on his head, which utters his voice at three times unfailingly; otherwise there is a fine of a thousand pieces'. Not knowing one, they turned to Mahosadha. He said: 'The king means you to send him a cock. This creature has horns on his feet, the spurs; a hump on his head, the crest; and crowing thrice utters his voice at three times unfailingly. Then send him a cock as he describes.' They sent one.

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The sculptor has clearly brought out the crest, spurs and crowing posture of the cock.

3. In the relief No. 3, too, the scene of action is laid in a public hall and court of justice. The wise man remains majestically seated on a throne-like seat holding a message in his left hand and turning his face towards three royal messengers who came to deliver the message. He is usually surrounded by a crowd of men and women. On the left, at the lower corner, the existence of the tank is indicated by a floating duck, while just in front of the wise man's seat is a folded-umbrella-shaped rod, exhibited in a slanting position.

The underlying story is this. One day, with a view to testing the intelligence of Mahosadha, four Paṇḍits of the royal court of Videha fetched an acacia pole, and cutting off about a span they had it nicely smoothed by a turner and sent to the East market town, with this message: 'The people of the market town must find out which end is the top and which the root of the stick. If they cannot, there is a fine of a thousand pieces.' Not knowing which end is which, the people of the market town gathered together and turned to their wise man. Mahosadha said: 'Bring it here, I will find it out'. He sent for a pot of water, and tied a string round the middle of the stick, and holding it by the end of the string he let it down to the surface of the water. The root side being heavier sank first, yielding the awaited answer.

In the actual illustration we have to note that the stick alone is shown, and not the method tried by the wise man for ascertaining which end of it sank first in the water.

4. Here, too, in the relief No. 4, the scene of action is laid in a public hall and court of justice. In the centre we see a king seated on the throne with the queen by his side. The king is seen without the diadem on his head and the necklace round his neck. A woman is seen explaining in a standing posture something to the king from one side of the throne. Behind and around her are to be noticed four men, dressed alike, one seated on a *morha* and three anxiously looking away in standing posture. On the left, by the side of the throne, a woman remains standing up with a water-jug, while on the floor, just in front of the throne, are shown a basket and two small pot-like objects, one placed over the other.

The underlying story may be related thus. The four councillors of the royal court of Videha grew jealous of Mahosadha, and conceived a plan of getting rid of him. Senaka managed to steal the jewel from the royal crest. Pukkusa took his golden necklace, Kavinda, his woollen robe, and Devinda, his golden slipper. Each of them managed to have his thing sent as a present to Amarā, Mahosadha's newly married wife, without his knowledge, the jewel

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put in a pot of dates carried by a slave-girl, the necklace in a casket of jasmine flowers, the robe in a basket of vegetables, and the slipper in a bundle of straw. Amarā was intelligent enough to keep a full record of each present as it came, noting by whom it was stealthily sent. Those four men went to the palace, and said, 'Why, my lord! won't you wear your jewelled crest?' 'Yes, I will, fetch it.' But they could not find the jewel or the other things. Then they informed the king that his four ornaments were in Mahosadha's house, and that he used them. The king was angry, and sent to seize him. Mahosadha escaped out of the city in disguise to the south market town where he plied the potter's trade in a potter's house. Senaka and the other three, hearing that Mahosadha was gone, secretly wrote to Amarā, courting an interview. She took four letters, and answered to each that he should come at such a time. When they came, she took them all and the four precious things together, and went to the king's courtyard and there greeting him said: 'My lord! the wise Mahosadha is no thief; here are the thieves'. Referring to the relief, we have to note that Amarā is represented as unravelling the mystery of the incident, accusing the four men behind and around her person and describing the contrivances by which the stolen ornaments were sent to her by a maid with a pot of dates and in a casket of jasmine flowers, a basket of vegetables and a bundle of straw.

5. In the relief No. 5, we see the figure of a man seated majestically on a throne-like seat. He is surrounded by a crowd of men and women and is deeply engaged in a conversation with a man who is addressing him in a kneeling posture from one corner of the seat. At the other corner of the seat we see a royal messenger seated on a *morha* in a beseeching attitude.

The underlying story is nothing but a sequel of the preceding episode. The king of Videha having been anxious to see Mahosadha back, asked his four courtiers to go out of the city in a chariot, each in one direction, to find him out. The courtier who went out by the south gate, found the wise man in the south town. He handed over to Mahosadha the thousand pieces of money and the suit of clothes provided by the king. The potter was terrified to think that the wise man had been his workman. Mahosadha consoled him, saying, 'Fear not, my master, you have been of great help to me'.

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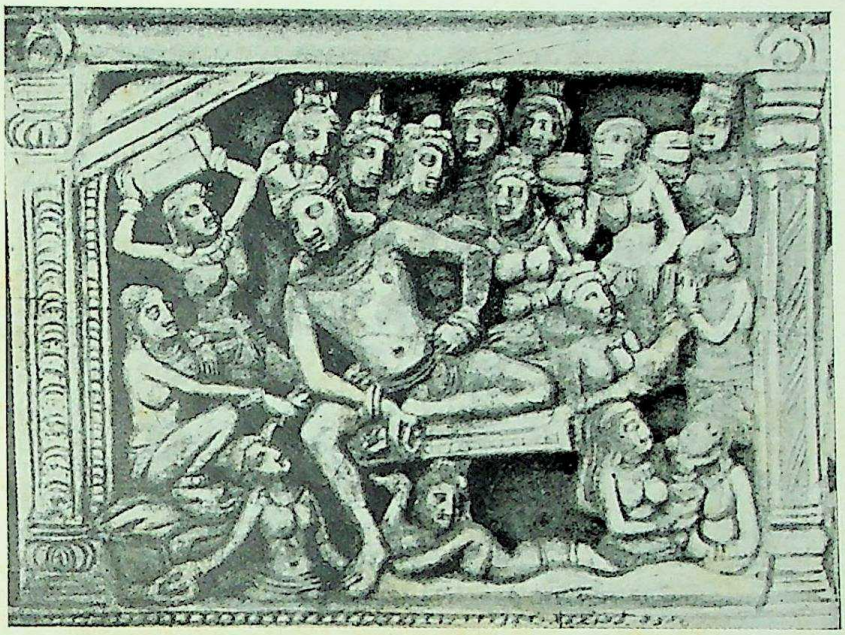
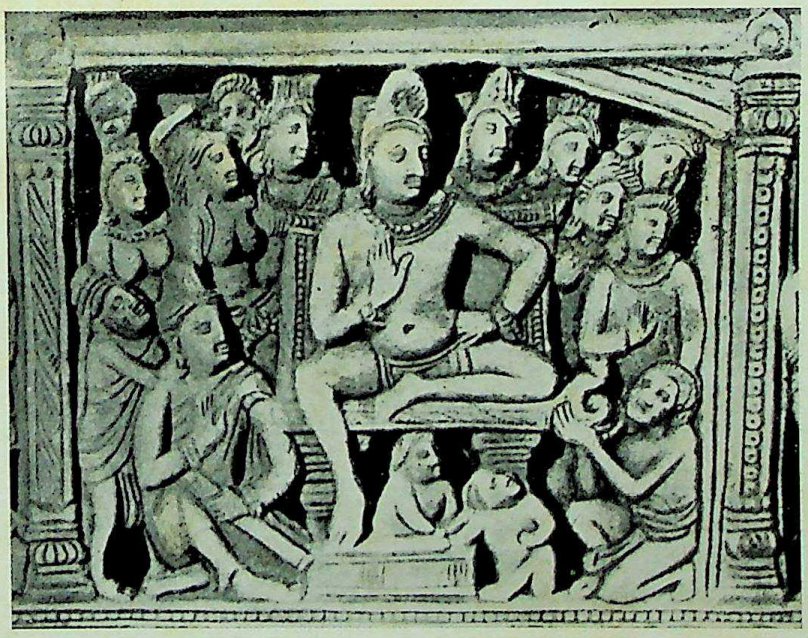


1. Riddle of the Ball of Cotton.



2. Riddle of the Cock.

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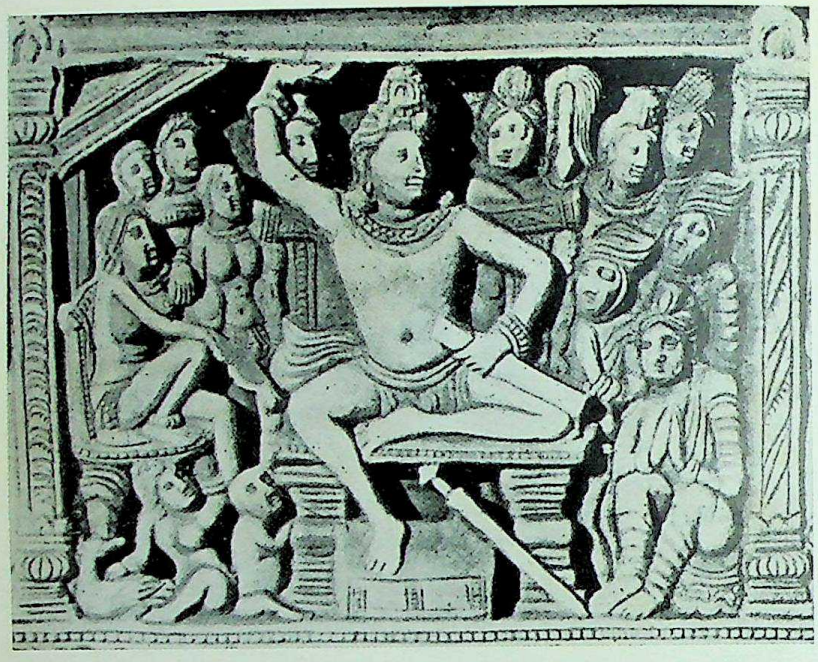
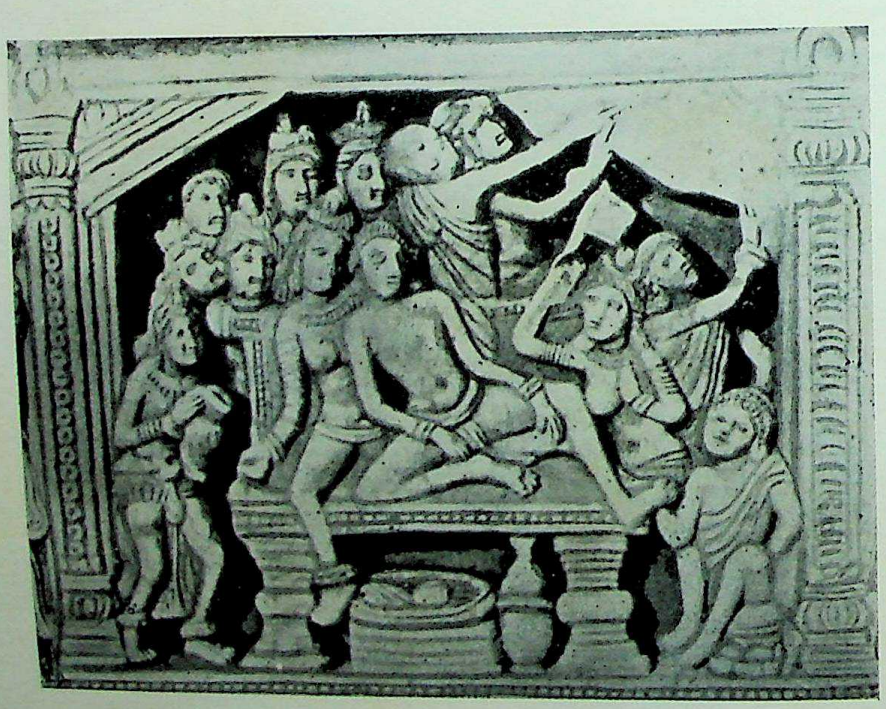


3. Riddle of the Pole.



4. Secret of the Theft.

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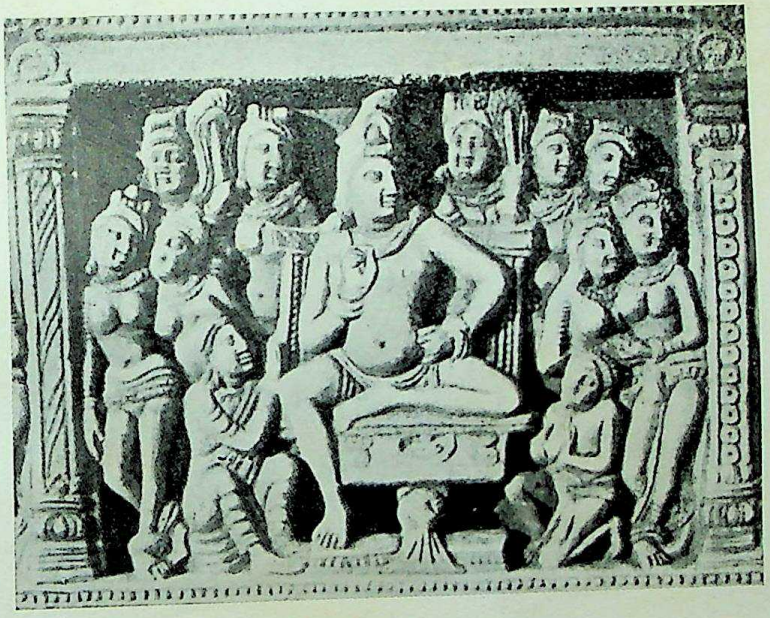

5. Mahosadha in Potter's House.

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MISCELLANEA

THE BṚHAT KATHĀ, THE MUDRĀRĀKṢASA, AND THE AVALOKA OF DHANIKA ON THE DAŚARŪPAKA

In an article entitled 'Some Observations on the Bṛhat kathā and its Alleged Relation to the Mudrārākṣasa' in Vol. I, No. 2 of the *Indian Culture* (pp. 209–225), Mr. C. D. Chatterjee points out that it is not possible to hold the view that the source of the Mudrārākṣasa is the Bṛhat kathā as the Avaloka of Dhanika on the Daśarūpaka of Dhanañjaya alleges by making the statement 'तत्र बृहत्कथामूलं मुद्राराक्षसम्' (on D.R., I, 68, p. 41, N.S., Edn.) and by following it up with two Anuṣṭubhs from the Bṛhat kathā. The case of the two Anuṣṭubh verses which really belong to Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī written after the time of Dhanika has already been decided. They have been held to be later interpolations by all. On p. xxxii of the Introduction to his English Translation of the Daśarūpaka, Haas says that these two verses *occur only in one of the manuscripts.* Mr. Chatterjee suspects that along with these two verses the introductory remark found in the Avaloka to the effect that the Mudrārākṣasa is based on the Bṛhat kathā is also later interpolation. He says at the end of his article (p. 225): "Under what authority, the author of the Avaloka has made the assertion, we do not know, but before we hold him responsible for the supply of that correct or incorrect piece of information, we must be certain that the passage in question, 'Tatra Bṛhatkathāmūlam Mudrārākṣasam', is not a later interpolation, like the two verses of Kṣemendra's Bṛhatkathāmañjarī which trail behind it."

The Mudrārākṣasa may or may not be based on the Bṛhat kathā; but the Avaloka of Dhanika is not responsible for the remark that the play is based on the Bṛhat kathā. *The passage* 'तत्र बृहत्कथामूलं मुद्राराक्षसम्' *is an interpolation.*

Not only is Dhanika innocent of quoting two verses from Kṣemendra and alleging that the Mudrārākṣasa is based on the Bṛhat kathā, but he is innocent also of the entire passage which now passes in the Nirnaya sagar edn. as his comments on the D.R., I, 68.

In the Madras Government Oriental MSS. Library, there are three Palm-leaf MSS. of the Daśarūpaka with the Avaloka which they call Avalokana. These three MSS. are described in the Descrip-

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tive Catalogue under Nos. 12888, 12889, and 12890. D. 12888 is an old Palm-leaf MS. in Grantha script. Its first chapter ends on leaf 22 and here we find the last verse of the first Prakāśa of the D.R. followed by nothing more than a single word—'Spaṣṭam'. The colophon then follows :—

Avaloka : अन्यान्यपि नाट्यधर्माणि × × × ×

नोक्तमित्युपसंहरति—

D.R. : इत्याद्यशेषमिह + वचः प्रपञ्चैः ॥ (I. 68.)

Avaloka : स्पष्टम् ।

इति दशरूपकावलोकने धनिककृते वस्तुविभागो नाम प्रथमः प्रकाशः ।

D. 12889 is a Palm-leaf MS. of the D.R. and the Avalokana, *new* in appearance. This MS. does not have even the word 'Spaṣṭam' under the last verse of D.R., I (Leaf 29). The colophon immediately follows :

इति दशरूपकावलोकने धनिककृते प्रथमः प्रकाशः ।

D. 12890 is another old Palm-leaf MS. of the same work and this MS. agrees with D. 12889 in not having even the word 'Spaṣṭam' as comment on D.R., I, 68. The colophon follows at once :

इति दशरूपावलोकने प्रथमः प्रकाशः ।

Thus all these three MSS. in Palm-leaf and Grantha script lead us to the conclusion that, besides the two Anuṣṭubh verses and the remark preliminary to them, *the whole preceding passage*

"वस्तुविभेदजातं, वस्तुवर्णनीयं, तस्य विभेदजातं, नामभेदाः। रामायणादि बृहत्कथां च गुणाढ्यनिर्मितां विभाव्य आलोच्य। तदनु एतदुत्तरं। नेत्रिति। नेता वक्ष्यमाणलक्षणः, रसाः, तेषामानुगुण्यात् चित्रां चित्ररूपां कथामाख्यायिकां। चारूणि यानि वचांसि, तेषां प्रपञ्चैः विस्तारैः आसूत्रयेत्।"

found as Dhanika's comments on D.R., I, 68 at the end of p. 41, N.S. Edn. is a later interpolation.

There is further evidence to prove that Dhanika's Avaloka did not have any comment on D.R., I, 68. In the same Library in Madras there is a late commentary by one Bhaṭṭa Nṛsimha on the D.R. Avaloka (R. 2421). Nṛsimha briefly comments on both Dhanañjaya and Dhanika, but on the latter chiefly. He says :—

दशरूपस्य या व्याख्या धनिकेन समीरिता ।

तस्या भट्टनृसिंहेन लघुटीका विधीयते ॥

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Nṛsimha gives Pratīkas from the Avaloka wherever Dhanika has commented upon the D.R. But where Dhanika has nothing more to say than 'निगदव्याख्यातम्' as on p. 5 of the N.S. Edn., Nṛsimha offers his own comments directly on Dhanañjaya, after giving the Pratīka 'निगदव्याख्यातमिति'. Nṛsimha closes his Ṭīkā on the first Prakāśa on p. 19 of the MS. There no bit of what the N.S. Edn. has printed as Dhanika's comments on D.R., I, 68 is traceable. No Pratīka is given from it and Nṛsimha makes his own comments directly on Dhanañjaya. Further, Nṛsimha was having before him a text of the Avaloka agreeing with that of the above-said D. Nos. 12889 and 12890. If his text of the Avaloka had at least the word 'Spaṣṭam' as in D. No. 12888, he would have given the Pratīka 'Spaṣṭamiti'. *This evidence of Bhaṭṭa Nṛsimha's Ṭīkā on Dhanika's Avaloka also proves that the whole passage passing now as Dhanika's commentary on D.R., I, 68 is a later interpolation.*

V. RAGHAVAN.

WHO WERE THE SATIYAPUTRAS?

Much has been written on the identification of the Satiyaputras of Aśoka's Rock Edicts or more appropriately the Satiyaputras. Though it has been generally accepted that the term amounts to Satiyaputras, still Dr. S. K. Aiyangar holds to the reading of the Satiyaputras and interprets it as sons of the chaste women. On the basis of this interpretation he goes to the length of identifying them with the nāyars of Malabar.[1] The Kālsi Edict has a variant Satiyaputras. Too much reliance on etymology would not take us far in the realm of history. There is no special significance attached in calling a certain class of people as sons of chaste ladies. Therefore it seems to us that the Satiyaputras of the Edicts can be regarded as equivalent to Satiyaputras.

This granted, we have now to discuss the question of their identification. S. V. Venkateśwara would have the Satiyaputras correspond to the people having Kāñcipura for their capital.[2] His arguments are that Patañjali mentions four South Indian Kingdoms, Pāṇḍya, Coḷa, Cera, and Kāñcipura,[3] that the country round Kāñci-

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[1] J.R.A.S., Oct., 1919, pp. 581-84; Oct., 1923, pp. 609-13. *Contra* K. G. Sankara, Q.J.M.S., Vol. XI.

[2] J.R.A.S., July and Oct., 1918, pp. 541-42.

[3] IV, 1, 2; and IV, 1, 4.

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pura was known as the Satyavrata country, and that Kāñci is even to-day known as Satyavratakṣetra. From these it is concluded that the Satiyaputras refer to the Satyavrata country of South India. At first sight the theory seems quite plausible. But other facts are against it. We do not know definitely whether Kāñci was enjoying the status of an independent kingdom when Aśoka was sitting at the Magadhan throne. Equally untenable is the assumption of R. G. Bhandarkar who would place the Satiyaputra State near Poona. One valid reason adduced in favour of this theory is that families of several castes in Poona still bear the name of Satpute, and these Satpute families might well represent the old Satiyaputras.[1] This could not be because in the order in which the inscription mentions the Satiyaputras, they seem to have undoubtedly occupied the Tamil portion of South India. And Poona is a far cry from Tamil India. Besides, we know as a matter of fact that the Mauryan empire extended to the Mysore frontier stretching even to the skirts of the Tamil kingdoms. Lastly, the evidence of Tamil Literature militates against this view.

V. A. Smith who has given some thought to this question seems to believe that the modern town of Satyamaṅgalam represents the country of the Satiyaputras. These, in his opinion, are one division of Tamil Brahmans, Bṛhad-caraṇas (the great immigration) subdivided into Maghanāḍu and Moḷagu, Maghanāḍu subdivided in its turn into Kaṇḍiramāṇikam, Māṅguḍi, Satyamaṅgalam, all villages along the Western Ghats.[2]

This suggestion is ingenious but incorrect. First, most of these villages are not on the Western Ghats. Secondly, it is difficult to accept the interpretation of the term Bṛhad-caraṇas as the great Immigration. Thirdly, from Aśoka's Edicts we have to gather that the Satiyaputras were holding an independent sway. Fourthly, the correspondence between Satyamaṅgalam and Satiyaputras is far-fetched and requires more substantial evidence to prove the thesis.[3] Lastly, the possibility of identifying this migration with that led by Bhadrabāhu in the reign of Candragupta Maurya still weakens the theory. For the migration led by Bhadrabāhu is still a bone of contention among scholars and no satisfactory settlement is as yet reached.

Among other interesting suggestions is the one connecting the Satiyaputras with the locality called *Satyabhūmi* occurring in the *Keralolpatti*, a legendary work of uncertain date.[4] The territory

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[1] *Indian Review*, June, 1909.
[2] *Indian Antiquary*, 1912, p. 231.
[3] *Aśoka*, third edn., p. 80.
[4] E. J. Thomas, J.R.A.S., July, 1923, pp. 411–14.

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referred to is said to correspond to one of the political divisions of Malabar known as Kūpaka, and later on Koḷathunāḍu or kingdom of the koḷathiri or koḷa dynasty. And koḷa line is a prominent royal line of the Malabar coast. If we can give credence to the legendary work of the *Keralolpatti*, then the problem of identification of the Satiyaputras becomes automatically solved. We have then to take that Aśoka meant by Satiyaputras the people occupying the *Satyabhūmi* of the *Keralolpatti* which is more or less the Koṅgu country of the Kośar.[1]

One thing is certain and it is that the Kośar were renowned for speaking truth and had great regard for truth. The *Aham* furnishes us with abundant materials in this direction. The Kośar are termed Oṉrumoḷik-kośar,[2]—the Kośar who were true to their word or who spoke the bare truth. Again it is said that the Kośar's regard for truth has attained the very heaven.[3] Another ode in the *Aham*[4] is a piece of evidence to illustrate their regard for truth. Here a reference is made to an incident where a culprit who had committed a serious crime was let off by the Kośar for the mere fact that the criminal owned his offence straightly. These incidents, it is reasonable to assume, tended to spread the fame of the Kośar for their *satya* or truth. And Aśoka who must have heard of these styled them Satiyaputras.[5]

Light comes from an expected quarter to corroborate this. The *Tolkāppiyam*, the earliest extant work of the Tamils, refers to the three kingdoms of the Coḷa, Cera, and Pāṇḍya.[6] Though the date of the composition of this celebrated treatise is still a bone of contention, yet it is generally assigned to the fourth century B.C.[7] The reference in the *Tolkāppiyam* shows that there was no fourth independent kingdom in the Tamil land. The *Śilappadikāram*, on the other hand, makes mention of a kingdom of the Kośar in addition to the old three dynasties. The Kośar dynasty is mentioned in the Śangam Literature like the *Aham*, as an important ruling line of a portion of Koṅgu-nāḍu. What is more interesting is that Iḷaṅko-Aḍigaḷ mentions the kings of Pāṇḍya, Coḷa, Cera, Koṅgu,

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[1] The term *Kośa* perhaps transformed itself into *Koḷa* in a later period of their history.

[2] *Aham*, 196.

[3] Vāymoḷi nilaiyaśeṇviḷaṅgu nalliśai
Vaḷaṅgeḷu Kośar—(*Aham*, 205).

[4] *Aham*, 262.

[5] See T. N. Subramanian's note in the J.R.A.S., 1922, January, p. 86: also Q.J.M.S., Oct., 1921, p. 102.

[6] 'Vānpukal mūvar tān poḷil varaippu' (Tolkāppiyam).

[7] See Author's *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*.

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and Ceylon, who dedicated temples in honour of the Pattinidevī and instituted festivals.[1] The order in which these kings are mentioned seems to possess some significance. For Aśoka in his inscriptions seems to follow this rather closely. In the Edicts the order mentioned is as follows: the Pāṇḍya, Coḷa, Satiyaputra, Keralaputra, and Tāmpraparṇi. We easily identify the Keralaputra with the Ceras and the Tāmpraparṇi with Ceylon. What is left is the Satiyaputra and it is difficult to identify them with any other than the Kośa-nāḍu of the *Śilappadikāram*. This was also known as the Tuḷu or Tuḷuva land of which the present Mangalore was possibly the centre. After Tolkāppiyaṉar and some time before Aśoka the Tuḷu country became an independent kingdom and it retained the status until the second century A.D., the date generally accepted for the composition of the *Śilappadikāram*. This is one of the few instances where occasional but welcome glimpse we get of the ancient South Indian continent from North Indian epigraphy.

V. R. RAMCHANDRA DIKSHITAR.

EXAMPLES OF ALAṀKĀRAS FROM THE THERA-THERĪ-GĀTHĀ

Buddhism can boast of various types of poetry without having evinced any appreciable interest in the study of Alaṁkāra-Śāstra or Poetics. It is, indeed, a remarkable feature of Buddhism that it developed a vast wealth of poetry without having little to do with the formal study of the rules and canons of the Science of Poetry or the method of literary criticism. There are, indeed, a few manuals dealing with the rules of prosody but all of them are far later than the poetical compositions themselves. So far as the early Buddhist literature is concerned, all that is of any importance to the Science of Poetry, is the recognition of the four classes of Kavis or poets—Sutakavi, Mutakavi and the rest.[2] The Buddhist composers made use of different alaṁkāras or literary ornaments. We shall cite a few examples from the gāthās of the early Buddhist brethren and sisters, illustrating such poetic figures as Anuprāsa, Yamaka, Rūpaka, Upamā, Dīpaka, Samāsokti, Nidarsaṇa, Preyas and Udātta, Vyājastuti, Atiśayokti, Śleṣa and Vyatireka.

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[1] *Śilappadikāram, Uraiperukaṭṭurai.*
[2] *Vide* Aṅguttara Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 230; Buddhist India, p. 184.

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I. Anuprāsa (Alliteration) :—

'Nadanti morā susikhā supekhuṇā sunīlagivā sumukhā sagajjino।

—Culaka, verse 2, Thera-gāthā.

Cf. 'Madhukaranikara karambilā kokilakūjilā kuñjakuṭhīre.'

—Jayadeva.

II. Yamaka (Rhyming) :—

'Sumuttike sumuttikā sādhu muttikamhi musalassa।

—Sumaṅgalamātā, verse 23, Therī-gāthā.

'Dumāni phullāni manoramāni samantato sabbadisā pavanti।

—Kāḷudāyi, verse 528, Thera-gāthā.

III. Rūpaka (Metaphor) :—

'Nāganāmo'si bhagavā, isīnaṁ isisattamo।

—Vaṅgisa, verse 1240, Thera-gāthā.

'Buddhānubuddho yo thero Koṇḍañño tibbanikkhamo lābhīsukhavihārānaṁ vivekānaṁ abhiṇhaso॥

—Vaṅgisa, verse 1246, Thera-gāthā.

IV. Upamā (Simile) :—

'Kāḷakā bhamaravaṇṇasadisā vellilāggā mama muddhajā ahuṁ।
Te jarāya sāṇavākasadisā saccavādivacanaṁ aññathā॥

—Ambapālī, verse 252, Therī-gāthā.

'Kālaṅginiṁ va takkāriṁ pupphitaṁ girimuddhani।
Phullaṁ dālikalaṭṭhiṁ va antodīpe va pāḷālim॥

—Cāpā, verse 297, Therī-gāthā.

V. Dīpaka :—

'Madhurañca pavanti sabbaso kusumarajena samuddhatādumā।
Paṭhamavasanto sukho utu ehi ramāmase pupphite vane॥

—Subhā Jīvakambavanikā, verse 371, Therī-gāthā.

VI. Samāsokti :—

'Sudhotarajapacchadaṁ subhaṁ gonakatūlika santataṁ navaṁ।
Abhirūha sayanaṁ mahāraham candanamaṇḍitaṁ sāragandhikaṁ॥

—Subhā Jīvakambavanikā, verse 378, Therī-gāthā.

'Anantādīnavā kāmā bahudukkhā mahāvisā।
Appassādā raṇakarā sukkapakkhavisosanā॥

—Subhā Kammāradhītā, verse 358, Therī-gāthā.

VII. Nidarśana :—

'Accharāsaṁghālāmattam pi citassupasamajjhagaṁ।

—Vaḍḍhesī, verse 67, Therī-gāthā.

'Khepetvā āsave sabbe sītibhūtamhi nibbutā॥

—Vimalā, verse 76, Therī-gāthā.

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VIII. Preyas and Udātta :—

'Buddhavīra namotyatthu sabbasattānamuttam।
Yo maṁ dukkhā pamocesi aññañca bahukaṁ janaṁ॥
—Mahāpajātīgotamī, verse 157, Therī-gāthā.

'Tuvaṁ buddho tuvaṁ sattha tuyhaṁ dhītamhi brāhmaṇa।
Orasā mukhato jātā Katakiccā anāsavā॥
—Sundarī, verse 336, Therī-gāthā.

IX. Vyājastuti (Sarcasm) :—

'Yaṁ taṁ isīhi pattabbaṁ ṭhānaṁ durabhisambhavaṁ
Na taṁ dvaṅgulipaññāya sakkā pappotumitthiyā॥
—Somā, verse 60, Therī-gāthā.

'Apathena payātumicchasi candaṁ kīlanakaṁ ganesasi।
Merum laṅghetumicchasi yo tvam buddhasutaṁ maggayasi॥
—Subhā Jīvakambavaṇikā, verse 384, Therī-gāthā.

X. Atiśayokti (Hyperbole) :—

'Sumuttaṁ maṁ maññamānā Cāpā puttamatosayi
Cāpāya bandhanaṁ chetvā pabbajissaṁ punomahaṁ॥
—Cāpā, verse 292, Therī-gāthā.

XI. Śleṣa :—

'Vālamigasaṁghasevitaṁ kuñjaramattakarenulolitaṁ।
Asahāyikā gantumicchassi rahitaṁ bhīsanakaṁ mahāvanaṁ॥
—Subhā Jīvakambavaṇikā, verse 373, Therī-gāthā.

XII. Vyatireka :—

'Brahmabandhu pure āsiṁ ajjamhi saccaṁ brāhmaṇo।
Tevejjo vedasampanno sotthiyo camhi nhātako॥
—Puṇṇikā, verse 251, Therī-gāthā.

MADHUSUDAN ROY.

DATE OF ŚĀLAṄKĀYANA DEVAVARMAN

In a note recently published in *I.H.Q.*, X (p. 160), Mr. Rama Rao says, 'I believe that he (*scil.* Devavarman) ruled between 290 and 300 A.D.'. In the present note I am trying to show that the Śālaṅkāyana king Devavarman could not have ruled earlier than Pallava Śivaskandavarman who, as I have suggested elsewhere (*J.I.H.*, XIII, p. 38*n*), can hardly be placed earlier than A.D. 300.

Ptolemy, who wrote his *Geography* about A.D. 140, mentions Tiastênes (=Caṣṭana) ruler of Ozênê (=Ujjayinī), VII, i, §63, and Siriptolemaios (=siri-Pulumāyi) ruler of Baithána (=Paithan in the

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Aurangabad District), VII, i, 82, as his contemporaries. The Andau inscription issued in the joint-reign of Caṣṭana and his grandson Rudradāman is dated in the year 52, which must be referred to the Śaka era and should correspond to A.D. 130 (Raichaudhuri, P.H.A.I., 2nd ed., pp. 307ff). Caṣṭana's contemporary Pulumāyi, who has been identified with Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāyi, son of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (*ibid.*, p. 313), must also have ruled about A.D. 130.

According to the Matsya-Purāṇa, which is the only work that gives a fuller list of the Sātavāhana kings and seems therefore to be more authentic as regards Sātavāhana chronology than the other Purāṇas, the following kings ruled after Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāyi (see Rapson, *Catalogue of Coins* etc., p. lxvii) :—

(1)	Śivaśrī [Śātakarṇi]	7 years.
(2)	Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi	7 years.
(3)	Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi	29 years.[1]
(4)	Vijaya	6 years.
(5)	Caṇḍaśrī [Śātakarṇi]	10 years.
		59 years.
(6)	Pulomā[yi]	7 years.[2]
		66 years.

The only inscription of Pulumāyi [Pulumāvi], the last king of the dynasty, has been discovered at Myakadoni in the Bellary District (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 153). We therefore cannot be definite as regards his rule over the Andhra country. But the Amaravati inscription of Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi and another of Sivamaka Sada (=Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi ?), the Chinna (Kistna District) inscription of Yajña Śātakarṇi and the Kodavali (Godavari District) inscription of Caḍa Sāta (=Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi) leave no doubt that at least the Sātavāhana kings who ruled before Pulumāvi of the Myakadoni grant were rulers of the Andhra country (*A.S.S.I.*, I, pp. 61 and 100; *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95 ; XVIII, p. 316). As Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi is known to have ruled in the second quarter of the 2nd century, it

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[1] The Chinna inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 95) is dated in the 27th regnal year of Yajña. The duration of his rule given in majority of the Purāṇas as 29 years may therefore be taken as almost correct. His real name was Yajña-Śātakarṇi (*J.R.A.S.*, July, 1934, p. 650). The real name of the Puranic Caṇḍaśrī seems to have been Caṇḍa (or Candra) Śātakarṇi.

[2] The Myakadoni inscription of Pulumāvi (*Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 153) is dated in his 8th regnal year. He may have ruled a little longer than 7 years.

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appears that the Andhra country was under the Sātavāhana yoke at least up to about the end of that century.

According to Kriṭhnasastri (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 318) the 2nd year of Caḍa-Sāta (=Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi) is probably equivalent to A.D. 210. We may therefore approximately arrange the chronology of the above kings as follows :—

(1)	Śivaśrī [Śātakarṇi]	*c.* A.D. 160–166.
(2)	Śivaskanda Śātakarṇi	*c.* A.D. 167–173.
(3)	Yajñaśrī Śātakarṇi	*c.* A.D. 174–202.
(4)	Vijaya ..	*c.* A.D. 203–208.
(5)	Caṇḍaśrī [Śātakarṇi]	*c.* A.D. 209–218.

State Museum Lucknow

According to the Matsya-Purāṇa, Vāsiṣṭhīputra Pulumāyi ruled for 28 years. He therefore seems to have ruled from about A.D. 132 to 159. This date, though approximate, corroborates the fact that Vāsiṣṭhīputra śrī-Pulumāyi was a contemporary of the Greek Geographer Ptolemy who wrote his *Geography* about A.D. 140 and of the early Śaka Satrap Caṣṭana who is known to have ruled in A.D. 130.

The Ikṣvākus who succeeded the Sātavāhanas in the rule of the Kistna-Guntur region (i.e. the Andhradeśa) must therefore have risen to prominence after Caṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi, i.e. about the end of the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Cāṃtamūla, the first known Ikṣvāku king, must be placed after Caṇḍaśrī. This king was certainly an independent ruler, as he is known to have performed the *Vājapeya* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. According to *Śat. Brāh.* (V, 2), the performance of *Vājapeya* bestows on the performer a superior kind of kingship called *sāmrājya*, while Keith has rightly pointed out that the *Aśvamedha* 'is an old and famous rite, which kings alone can bring, to increase their realms' (*Relig. Philos. Ved. Upaniṣ.*, p. 343). The *Baudh. Śraut. Sūtra* (XV, 1) says that a king victorious and of all the land should perform this sacrifice. According to the *Taittirīya Br.* (III, 8. 9. 4) : 'he is poured aside who being weak, offers the *Aśvamedha*', and again (V, 4. 12. 3), 'it is essentially, like the fire-offering, an *Utsanna-yajña*, a sacrifice of great extent and elaboration' (see Keith, *Black Yajus*, pp. cxxxii-cxxxiv). According to the *Āpastamba Śraut. Sūtra* (XX, 1. 1.) quoted in the *Śabdakalpadrumapariśiṣṭa*, s.v. *Aśvamedha*, a universal (*sārvabhauma*) king can perform the *Aśvamedha*, but not (*n=āpi*) an un-universal (*asārvabhauma*) king. It is clear from the above statements that a subordinate king could not perform the *Aśvamedha* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices.[1] Performance of these

[1] See *Ind. Cult.*, I, pp. 311ff.

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sacrifices by Cāṃtamūla most probably suggests his success against the Sātavāhanas.

We do not know for how many years the Ikṣvāku king Cāṃtamūla (I) ruled over the Andhra country. We know only of his two successors. His son Virapurisadata is known from the Jaggayyapeṭṭa inscriptions to have ruled at least for 20 years, while according to the Kottampalugu inscription his grandson Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla (II) ruled for not less than 11 years. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that these three Ikṣvāku kings together ruled for about more than half a century. The end of the reign of Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla (II) therefore seems to fall in about the beginning of the fourth quarter of the 3rd century A.D.

According to the Mayidavolu grant (dated in the reign of Śivaskandavarman's father), the Andhrāpatha with its headquarters at Dhānyakaṭaka passed from the Ikṣvākus to the possession of the Pallavas. Pallava Śivaskandavarman was preceded in the suzerainty of the Andhrāpatha at least by his father, who must have ruled the Andhra country after Ehuvula Cāṃtamūla (II). Śivaskanda therefore can hardly be placed earlier than the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

As I have noticed elsewhere (*J.I.H.*, XIII, p. 38 note), there is a great linguistic difference between the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman and the records of the Ikṣvāku kings. Like the Sātavāhana grants and all other early Prakrit inscriptions, the Ikṣvāku records of Jaggayyapeṭṭa and Nagarjunikonda express double consonants by a single letter. The Mayidavolu and Hirahadagalli grants of Śivaskandavarman on the other hand express double consonants, *in many cases*, by two letters. Though the grants of Śivaskanda are in Prakrit, the legend on the seals of both the grants is written in Sanskrit. The Hirahadagalli grant, moreover, ends in a *maṅgala* which is also written in Sanskrit. This linguistic difference between the grants of the known Ikṣvāku kings and those of Śivaskandavarman (one of whose grants is dated in the reign of his father) clearly points to the fact that there was an interval between the time of the known Ikṣvāku kings and that of Pallava Śivaskanda, who could not have therefore ruled much earlier than the beginning of the 4th century. His rule seems to have begun about A.D. 300. It must be noticed in this connection that Śivaskandavarman is known to have performed an *Aśvamedha*, which appears to suggest his success against the Ikṣvākus.

The Ellore grant (*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 56) of Devavarman Śālaṅkāyana is also written in Prakrit. A linguistic consideration may therefore be useful in ascertaining its date. This grant expresses double consonants, *in almost all cases*, by two letters and follows the spelling

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accepted in literary Prakrit. It has moreover the usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit. There can therefore be hardly any doubt that the Ellore grant of Devavarman was issued later than the grants of Śivaskandavarman. He may at best be a later contemporary of Śivaskanda. As we have shown elsewhere (*I.H.Q.*, IX, p. 212; *J.I.H.*, XIII, p. 37), Devavarman ruled a little earlier than Śālaṅkāyana Hastivarman, who came in conflict with Samudragupta during his southern campaign in about the middle of the 4th century. It is therefore not very unreasonable to place Devavarman between *circa* 320 and 345. The Ellore grant dated in his 13th year shows that his reign was not very short. We must also notice that Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman performed an *Aśvamedha*, which seems to suggest his victory either over the Pallavas or over the Bṛhatphalāyanas, most probably the former.

Such linguistic considerations have led us to believe that Pallava Śivaskandavarman, Śālaṅkāyana Devavarman, *vijaya*-Skandavarman of the British Museum grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 143), Kadamba Mayūraśarman of the Chandravalli inscription (Arch. Surv. Mysore, A.R., 1929, p. 50), the Kadamba king (Mayūraśarman?) of the Malavalli inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, No. 264) and Bṛhatphalāyana Jayavarman of the Kondamudi grant (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315)—all these kings may be placed roughly between the beginning and the middle of the 4th century A.D. The Banavasi inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 331) of Viṇhukaḍa Śātakarṇi seems to be some time earlier than A.D. 300; but the Malavalli inscription (*Ep. Carn.*, VII, Sk. No. 263) seems to be of a later date.

DINESH CHANDRA SIRCAR.

HALĀYUDHA

In the latter part of the twelfth and the first part of the thirteenth century A.D. there flourished three or four Halāyudha Paṇḍits in Bengal. They are :—

1. *Halāyudha of Dakshiṇa Rādhi*

Dr. Hiralal supplies the following particulars about this Halāyudha :—

'On the inner side of the *maṇḍapa* wall of the Amareśvara temple (at Māndhātā, Nimar Dist., C.P.) there are long records in Sanskrit verses, but they do not afford any historical data. They

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are prayers to the gods, or eulogies of the goddess Narmadā. One of these, having 64 verses, was composed by Halāyudha, a resident of Navagrāma in Dakshiṇa Rārhī. The record is dated on Kārtika Vadi 13 of Samvat 1120 or A.D. 1063.' (*Inscr. in the C.P. and Berar*, 2nd edn., p. 84.)

There is still a village named Navagrāma in paraganā Bhurshut in the district of Hughly. This Bhurshut is no doubt the same as Bhūriśreshṭhi in Dakshiṇa Rāḍha, where Bhaṭṭa Śrīdhara completed his commentary named *Nyāyakandalī* on *Padārthapraveśa*, under the patronage of the Kāyastha king Pāṇḍudāsa, in Śaka 913=991 A.D. This Bhūriśreshṭhi in Rāḍha is also mentioned in the *Prabodha-Candrodaya* of Kṛṣṇamiśra, which was performed at the court of the Candella king Kīrtivarman about 1065 A.D.

The date of the inscription, Saṁvat 1120, has been interpreted as the Vikrama era by Dr. Hiralal. We are inclined to take it as the Śaka era, because Halāyudha was a resident of Bengal, where this era was current at the time. If our surmise is correct, the date becomes equivalent to 1198 A.D., when king Lakṣmaṇasena was reigning in Bengal.

2. *Halāyudha, one of the first kulīns of the Rāḍhi Brāhmaṇs*

One of the first Rāḍhi Brāhmaṇs, made *kulīn* by king Ballālasena, is Halāyudha of the Cāṭāti or Caṭṭa gāñi and Kāsyapa *gotra*. The Brāhmaṇs of this Chaṭṭa gāñi, now-a-days, are known as Chaṭṭopādhyāyas. As he was one of the first *kulīns*, he must have been a contemporary of Ballālasena, but according to the *Mahāvaṁśa* of Dhruvānandamiśra, he was also present at the court of his son Lakṣmaṇasena. We shall presently see that he cannot be identical with Halāyudha, the author of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*.

We, however, think that he is the same as Halāyudha, No. 1. Both are Rāḍhi, i.e. the residents of Rāḍha. According to our interpretation of the date of the above inscription, they are contemporary too. Now the question is: did he go to Māndhātā simply on a pilgrimage or settled there? We think the latter, for although Dhruvānanda could only give the name of his son, no further particulars are given about him or his descendants. This is in favour of the supposition that he left the country. But why did he leave Bengal and when? He must have left before 1198 A.D., that is, immediately before or after the fall of Nudiāh, which event took place some time between 1193 and 1205 A.D. It may be due to the panic created by the currency of the prophesy that the country would fall into the hands of the Turks, or due to the fall of his patron. Now, another question arises: why did he go to a

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distant province like Mālava, instead of to a neighbouring place? It may be that some of his relations had already settled there, for we find that Brāhmaṇs from Bengal settled in that part of the country as early as 982 A.D. (*List of Exhibits, 150th Anniversary of Foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, p. 9). We also find that Brāhmaṇs from Navagrāma migrated to Māndhātā even as late as 1260 A.D. (E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 117ff.).

3. *Halāyudha, the author of the Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva and other works*

Of all Halāyudhas, he is the best known for his works on various subjects. In the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* he has given an account of himself and his parents. His father Dhanañjaya was born in the family of sage Vātsya. He was the *Dharmādhyaksha* of the king and a great sacrificer (*yajvana*). About himself he says that in his early years he was *Rāja-paṇḍita*, in youth *Mahā-mahattara*, and in advanced years the *Dharmādhikāra*. In the colophons of the manuscripts of *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal he has been described as '*Āvasathika*', i.e. in charge of the sacrificial hall.

Some identify him with Halāyudha No. 2, mentioned above. This cannot be, for he belonged to the Vātsya *gotra*, while No. 2, we have seen, belonged to the Kāsyapa *gotra*. Again, their fathers' names are also different. The father of No. 2, according to the *Mahāvaṁśa*, was Nāndo. The Tagores of Calcutta also claim the author of the *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* as one of their forefathers. This also is incorrect. For the Tagores are of the Śāndilya *gotra*, not Vātsya. Besides, their Halāyudha is of much later date than this one.

There is also a misconception about the section of Bengal Brāhmaṇs to which he belonged. Some say that he belonged to the Vaidika section. Their argument in support of this supposition is that he, in the chapter on *Vedādhyayana-Vedārthajnāna-praśaṁsā* of his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*, has said that the Rāḍhīya and the Vārendra Brāhmaṇs do not read the Vedas, but they obtain some knowledge of them by their discussion as to what is to be done or not to be done in a sacrifice. They say that if Halāyudha was either a Rāḍhi or a Vārendra he would not have written about his own section in this way. Therefore he was a Vaidika. This gratuitous insult to the character of the savant is not at all justifiable. For he has not spared the Vaidikas either. He says that the Utkalas (the modern Dākshiṇātya Vaidika Brāhmaṇs, whose forefathers are said to have come from Orissa) and the Pāśchātyas read the

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Vedas, but do not know the import of it. Now, if we follow their argument, the conclusion is irresistible that Halāyudha did not belong to any of the four sections of the high class Brāhmaṇs of Bengal. We shall presently see that this is far from the truth. What Halāyudha tried to emphasize is that the Vedas should be read, not only studied, but their import should be understood. This is palpable also from the name of the chapter, viz. '*Vedādhyayana-Vedārthajñāna-praśaṁsā*', i.e. 'eulogy of the study of the Vedas and knowledge of their meaning'. He found this wanting in Bengal[1] and tried to revive it. He had no intention to unduly praise or revile any sections of Brāhmaṇs of his time.

Now let us see if we can find out to which section he himself belonged. Speaking of his mother, he writes—

'*Gocchāṣaṇḍī-daivatam-Alayā-mati-dhairya-saṁpadām vasatiḥ* |
Prakṛtir=iva parama=puṁsas=tasy=ābhud=yajvano-gṛhiṇī ||'

i.e. Alayā, like the goddess of the Gocchāṣaṇḍī (*kula*), was the home of intellect, patience and wealth. Like *Prakṛti* to *Parama-Puruṣa* she became the wife of that sacrificer (Dhanañjaya). But what is Gocchāṣaṇḍī-*kula*? We find that Gocchāsi or Gocaṇḍi is one of the *gāñi* of the Vārendra Brāhmaṇs of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*. These are no doubt the corrupt forms of Gocchāṣaṇḍī. This clearly proves that Halāyudha's mother was a lady of the Vārendra section. We hope, we shall not be wrong to infer from this that his father also belonged to the same section. Although the Rāḍhī and the Vārendras are descended from the same forefathers, it is clear from Halāyudha's own statement that they were separate communities by that time and ceased to have inter-marriages. So Halāyudha was neither a Rāḍhī nor a Vaidika Brāhmaṇ, but a Vārendra.

4. *Āvallika Paṇḍita Halāyudha*

This Halāyudha figures as a donee in the Sāhitya-Pariṣat Copper-Plate of Viśvarūpasena. He belonged to the Vātsya *gotra* with

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[1] It is apparent from the statement of Halāyudha that the true Vedic studies with knowledge declined among the Bengal Brāhmaṇs in his time, although we find glowing descriptions of ritualistic performances here and there. This clearly shows that the knowledge of the Vedic *mantras* was not a criterion for conferring on the Kulinism by the king Ballālasena. Neither was the knowledge of the rituals, for in that case we would have seen Halāyudha, an *āvasthika*, and his father Dhanañjaya, a *yajvana*, among the *Kulīns*. Further, these two qualifications do not find place among the *nava-guṇas*, claimed for the *Kulīns*. Ballālasena was a *Tāntrika*. Naturally he would honour the *Tāntrikas*. So, we are afraid, the word '*Kulīna*', of the Kulinism in Bengal, should be interpreted in its second sense, i.e. 'a worshipper of *Śakti*, according to the left hand ritual' (*Śavdasāgara*).

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five *pravaras*, Aurva, Cyāvana, Bhārgava, Jāmadagnya and Āpnuvat, and a student of a section of the Kāṇva *śākhā* of the Yajurveda. He was a great-grandson of Lakṣmīdharadevaśarmman, grandson of Devadharadevaśarmman, and son of Adhyāyadevaśarmman. His epithet of Āvallika differentiates him from Halāyudha Nos. 2 and 3, but the meaning of the term is not clear to us. Can it be a mistake of the scribe for 'Āvantika'? If so, he must have come from Avanti.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

INDRAMITRA AND BRAHMAMITRA

A short time ago I had occasion to study the 'Sunga Period' of the Ancient History of India. I naturally turned to the 'Political History of Ancient India' by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri which is the book that is now generally read in India, at any rate in Bengal. On p. 270 of his third edition he says: 'Names of two Mitra kings, Brahmamitra and Indramitra, are found engraved on two rail pillars at Bodh-Gayā as well as on coins discovered at Mathurā and North Pañchāla'. Unfortunately he does not tell us to what publication he is indebted for his remark that the names of Brahmamitra and Indramitra are engraved on rail pillars at Bodh-Gayā. I thought that perhaps reference to this publication was inadvertently omitted in this edition. So I turned to p. 251 of the second edition. There too no reference has been given though the passage in question occurs there. I therefore turned to the first edition of Dr. Raychaudhuri's book where on pp. 211-212 is found precisely the same passage. Here, too, the necessary reference to the original source has been sadly omitted. I was thus compelled to turn to the 'Cambridge History of India', Vol. I, to find out whether this book spoke of Brahmamitra and Indramitra at all. On pp. 526 and 626 it speaks of Inscriptions on two rail pillars recording that they were presented by the queens of king Indramitra and king Brahmamitra respectively. Curiously enough, even here, no reference to the original source has been given by Prof. E. J. Rapson both as Editor of the volume or as the specific writer of Chapter XXI. Now, this volume of the Cambridge History was brought out in 1922, whereas the first edition of Dr. Raychaudhuri's book came in 1923. It is possible that the latter scholar has made his statement on the authority of the Cambridge History, but one wonders why no reference to this publication at any rate was made by Dr.

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Raychaudhuri in any of the editions of this book that are now before us.

Anyhow, the original source to which Prof. Rapson and Dr. Raychaudhuri are indebted for the statement that they have made, has not been vouchsafed to us by any one of these scholars. May I, therefore, humbly request them to make it known to us as early as possible in the pages of the *Indian Culture* or some other Journal of repute? I am, however, afraid to say with all due deference to them that Prof. Rapson and Dr. Raychaudhuri obviously following him, have both gone wrong. For, if we can rely upon the 'List of Brāhmī Inscriptions' of Prof. Lüders, we find that Nos. 943 and 944 speak of one Indrāgnimitra as being engraved in Bodh Gayā Coping-stone Inscriptions. But be it noted that the name here occurring is Indrāgnimitra, and not Indramitra, as asserted by Prof. Rapson and Dr. Raychaudhuri. But what about Brahmamitra? I am unable to trace this name in Prof. Lüders' List. Can any scholar enlighten us on this point [1]?

JYOTISH CHANDRA GHATAK.

NOTES ON THE NĀGARS

(i) *The Nāgars of Bengal*

Twenty-three years ago Professor D. R. Bhandarkar pointed out that there was a racial identity or rather affinity between the Kāyasthas of Bengal and the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs of Bombay, Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. When he expressed that opinion he had not before him any better evidence than the similarity in their surnames. Not long after Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda published his 'Indo-Aryan Races' in which he demonstrated the practicability of Prof. Bhandarkar's theory by anthropometrical measurements. A few years back we happened to interest ourselves in this subject, and published, after some preliminary studies, a paper entitled

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[1] For the needed references the writer may be referred to Vol. II of Barua's Gayā and Buddha-Gayā (Indian Research Institute Publications, Fine Arts Series, No. 4), Book III, containing the latest edition of the Bodh-Gayā Railing inscriptions. These references will at once convince him that the name of Indrāgnimitra occurs not only on two pieces of coping but also on one of the rail-posts. As for the name of Brahmamitra, it looms large in Nāgadevī's inscription on the Yakṣa pillar of the same Railing.—B.M.B.

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'Grant of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa and the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs' in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1930, pp. 6ff., in which we made an attempt to prove by means of epigraphic and other evidences that Nāgar Brāhmaṇs existed in Bengal so far back as the fifth century A.D. This led Prof. Bhandarkar to study the question over again in the light of the mass of evidence which had accumulated since the publication of his article in 1911 A.D. The result was his second article entitled 'The Nāgar Brāhmaṇs and the Bengal Kāyasthas', covering over twenty-six pages of the *Indian Antiquary*, 1932, pp. 41–55 and 61–72. In this he has marshalled his facts and figures, drawn from various sources, in a most convincing manner.

A recent examination of the existing anthropometric data by Mr. Ghurye also 'suggests a high degree of racial likeness between the Kāyasthas and the Brāhmaṇs of Bengal and the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs of Gujarāt'. (*Census of India*, 1931, Vol. V, Pt. I—Report, Chap. XII, para. 543, pp. 471-2.) The Census authorities also have accepted the conclusions of the Professor and say: 'It is now generally admitted that the Kāyasthas as a caste did not come into existence until a comparatively late period, and that the word previously indicated an executive, administrative, judicial or clerical officer of government and there seems also to be a fair measure of agreement that the Brāhmaṇs, as was natural, contributed a high proportion to the class of Kāyasthas and consequently various groups from which the caste was formed.' (*Ibid.*)

Not till recently before our visit to Rajshahi we had any knowledge of an excellent piece of evidence about the Nāgars in Bengal. There we came to know that a cultivating caste of the name of Nāgar lived in Maldah. In the latest census report the Nāgars are said to have numbered 16,614, of which 14,356 were found in Maldah alone. Risley in his *Castes and Tribes of Bengal* seems however to have associated these Nāgars with Bihar, where one of the divisions of the Nāgara caste is called Bhāṭnāgar. Strangely enough, this is also a sub-caste name of the Kāyasthas of north India to the west of Bengal. Bhaṭṭanāgar, again, is one of the old sectional names of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs of Gujarāt. (*Nāgarotpatti*, p. 59, by G. S. Pañcholi.) The presence of the Nāgar caste in Bengal leaves, therefore, no doubt of the fact that a tribe called Nāgar came to Bengal in swarms, settled down there, and was merged into the different strata of the Bengali population.

Enquiries at Maldah about the Nāgars of Bengal brought us the information that they were divided into the two sections: Kānāi and Palsā; and further, one member of that community, Durgacharan Maṇḍal by name, so far as we can remember it, further

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informed us that Kānāi and Palsā[1] were also known as Kṛshṇaurā and Pṛshṇaurā. This is indeed a very interesting piece of information which cannot lightly be brushed aside as mere similarity in names. These two sectional names obviously correspond to the Kṛshṇorā and Pṛshnorā[2] divisions of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇa community in Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār. It is indeed very strange that these names should have persisted among the Nāgars of Bengal, though separated from their brethren in Western India, not only by a long distance but also by a long period of time.

There is yet another interesting piece of information we have been able to gather. The full caste council of the Nāgars of Bengal is called *Chaurāśī*, i.e. eighty-four. It is curious indeed that according to the *Brāhmaṇotpatti-mārtaṇḍa*, a compilation containing the traditional and other accounts of the origin of the different tribes of Brāhmaṇs, the original number of the *gotras* of the Nāgar Brāhmaṇs was eighty-four. Twelve seceded from them and went over to Koṭyārka *tīrtha*. There they came to be known as Khaḍāyatā Brāhmaṇs (pp. 60-61). The remaining seventy-two again correspond to the seventy-two of the Bengal Kāyasthas, colloquially known as '*Bāhāttare Kāyeth*'.

(ii) *The Maithil Gṛhastha Brāhmaṇs*

Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* divides the Maithil or Tīrhutiā Brāhmaṇs into five hypergamous sections, viz., Śrotriya or Srotī, Jog, Panjībandh, Nāgar and Gāiwār (p. 21, Appdx. I). There is a colony of Maithil Brāhmaṇs in Maldah, who call themselves Gṛhasthas.[3] This reminds us of the two endogamous sub-divisions, viz., Bhikṣu or Bhikṣuka and Gṛhastha, among the Baḍnagarā, Viśnagarā and Sāṭhoḍrā sections of the Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār Nāgar Brāhmaṇs. But these Gṛhasthas of Maldah do not call themselves Nāgars. The Maithils of Maldah however are generally the priests of the Nāgar caste, though now-a-days other sections of the Brāhmaṇs are also found to officiate as their priests. Our information about the Maithil Brāhmaṇs of Maldah has been supplied by Mr. Pramatha Nath Misra, B.L., Pleader and Vice-Chairman of the District Board, Maldah.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

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[1] Palsāi is a gāñi of the Rāḍhī Brāhmaṇs of Bengal. Palshikar or Palshe is a sub-sect of the Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇs, principally found in the Thana district. They are considered to have come from Gujarāt. (Enthoven's *Castes and Tribes of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, p. 248.)

[2] Pṛṣṇorās are not found in Gujarāt—now-a-days. (*Ibid.*, p. 236.)

[3] Gṛhastha is a synonym for Bābhan. They call themselves Bhumihār or land-holder Brāhmaṇ. (Risley's *Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, Vol. II, App. I.)

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THE ORIGIN OF THE PRATÎHĀRAS

One of the main branches of the Gurjara tribe is believed to be the Pratîhāras, about whom several inscriptions supply us with information. Many scholars, like Campbell, Jackson, D. R. Bhandarkar, and V. A. Smith are upholders of this view. But recently this view of their Gurjara origin has been challenged and criticized by Dr. D. C. Ganguly (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 337 ff.)[1] That the Pratîhāras belonged to the Gurjara tribe is proved beyond all doubt by such expressions as, e.g. 'Gurjara-Pratîhār-ānvaya' occurring in the inscription of one Mathanadeva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 266). According to him the expression means not 'Pratîhāra clan of the Gurjara tribe' but 'the Pratîhāra family of the Gurjara country'. Evidently, the word 'Gurjara' in this expression is taken by him in the sense of, not 'the Gurjara tribe or race' but 'the Gurjara country'. But does 'Gurjara' bear this signification so far as this word is concerned in this inscription? For, a little further on, in line 12 occur the words 'Etat-pratyâsanna-Śrī-Gūrjjara-vāhita-samasta-kṣetra-samêtaḥ' which Kielhorn rightly translates by 'together with all neighbouring fields, cultivated by the Gūrjaras'. This clearly shows that the term 'Gurjjara' denotes a people, or, rather a tribe or race, because cultivators themselves were the Gurjjaras. It is scarcely necessary to point out that the tribe of Gurjjara is not extinct in India, but is found in places as the cultivator of the land also. If in the Rajor inscription the meaning of the word 'Gurjjara' has thus been made quite clear by the expression, *Gūrjjara-vāhita-samasta-kṣetra*, etc., if, in other words, 'Gurjjara' here signifies the Gurjjara tribe or race, is it not somewhat strange that the word in the same inscription should be taken at another place to mean the Gurjjara country as Dr. Ganguly has no doubt done in the expression 'Gurjjara-Pratîhār-ānvaya'? What appears to me clear is that the Gurjjara tribe had at this time, that is, in V.E. 1016, occupied the northern part of Rajputana in such swarms that they became the cultivators of the soil. In fact, this was pointed out by Prof. Bhandarkar long ago in his paper on 'the Gurjjara', from which the following may be quoted:—

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[1] Dr. Ganguly is not the first to express this view. The same view was propounded some time ago by Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya in his *History of Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. II, as pointed out by Mr. Dasaratha Sarma (*I.H.Q.*, Vol. X, p. 582). No scholar, however, thinks seriously of his book, because Mr. Vaidya displays here the spirit of advocacy, and not the judicial frame of mind. See, e.g., what Mr. Niharranjan Ray has proved about him and his views in the *Ann. Bhand. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 121-22. The same obsessment is perceptible in the book of Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha.

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'Again, a stone inscription has been published by Dr. Kielhorn of a king named Mathanadeva (A.D. 960), who is described as belonging to the Gurjjara Pratîhāra dynasty. His capital was Rājyapura, modern Rajor in Alwar State, where the stone inscription was found. Mathanadeva was therein represented to have granted to the god Lachchhukeśvara, the village of Vyāghrapāṭaka, together with all neighbouring fields, cultivated by the Gūrjjaras. It is thus plain that Mathanadeva, himself a Gurjjara and belonging to the Pratîhāra family, held sway over a territory corresponding to the present Alwar State and that this territory was occupied by the Gurjjaras as they appear to have been the agricultural class there' (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 416).

But Dr. Ganguly does not stop here. He has quoted passages from other inscriptions also to show that the Gurjjara, by itself, was the name of a country. He, thus, cites the following passage from the Nausâri grant of PULAKÉSIN dated 738-9 A.D.: *Saindhava-Kacchella-Saurāṣṭra-Câvoṭaka-Maurya-Gurjarādi-rājyé*, etc. But how the word 'Gurjjara' in this passage can mean the Gurjara country, we cannot understand. Gurjjara on the other hand has been preceded by Câvoṭaka, Maurya, which are the names of clans. It is again immediately succeeded by the word *Ādirājyé*. This grant is here referring to the kingdoms of the Câvoṭakas, Mauryas, and the Gurjjaras. It will thus be seen that in this passage Gurjjara, by itself, far from denoting the Gurjjara country, denotes rather the Gurjjara clan like the Câvoṭakas, and the Mauryas. In fact, there is no clear evidence to show that the word 'Gurjara' like 'Mālava' denoted not only a tribe but also a country.

He then proceeds to define the territory corresponding to the 'Gurjjaratrâ-bhūmi' (Daulatpur Ins. and etc.) and concludes by saying: 'In this circumstance the country of the Gurjjara is to be taken to have extended from at least Didwana in the west to Rajor in the east, comprising the western part of the Jodhpur State, and the whole of the States of Jaipur and Alwar'. But he apparently forgets that the same thing was pointed out years ago by Prof. Bhandarkar in *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, p. 414. By the bye, we may ask Dr. Ganguly on which grounds exactly, he says that some parts of Jaipur and Alwar were comprised in this 'Gurjjaratrâ-bhumi'? Maglānā with which Maṅgalānaka has been identified is surely 28 miles from Didwana, not NNE from it as asserted by Kielhorn but SSE as any detailed map of the Jodhpur State will show. See also *Prog. Rep. West Circle*, 1906-7, p. 40.

Such is the line of arguments pursued by Dr. Ganguly in his paper 'On the Origin of the Pratîhāra Dynasty'. We have carefully gone into it, and are convinced that he has therein said nothing

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which will upset the conclusion of Jackson and D. R. Bhandarkar, namely, that the Pratîhāras belonged to the Gurjjara race. It is not therefore necessary to go further into the other arguments he has adduced to demolish the theory. Before, however, we close this note, we may perhaps take a passing notice of what he has said about the expressions *Gûrjjarêsvara-pati* and *Gûrjjarêsvara* occurring in the Baroda plate of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Karka, Chief of Lāṭa. He says that the former denotes Vatsarāja's successor, Nāgabhaṭa II, and the second, his feudatory. So according to Dr. Ganguly the prince who was 'evilly intoxicated by conquering the lord of the Vaṅga and the lord of the Gauḍa' was not the sovereign Nāgabhaṭa II, but only his subordinate chief! We do not quite understand why the two expressions must necessarily denote two different individuals. Cannot *Gûrjjarêsvara-pati* be understood to mean not 'master of the lord of Gûrjjara' as understood by Dr. Ganguly, not 'the leader of the lords of the Gûrjjaras' as translated by Fleet, but by 'the prince of the Gûrjjaras who was the overlord'.[1]

The September issue of the *I.H.Q.* contains a note on 'Origin of the Pratihāras' by Mr. Mankad. 'That the Pratihāras were originally Brâhmaṇas, says he, was incidentally proved by Mr. Mehta in his book 'Mevâḍanā Guhilo' published in 1933, by quoting the Mandor inscription of Bāuka and two Ghatiyālā inscriptions of Kakkuka, brother of Bāuka. But may I point out here that this was done years ago by D. R. Bhandarkar, in his 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' published in *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, pp. 7–37, and later on, by Mr. J. C. Ghosh in his paper 'The Paḍihâras' published in the same journal in 1931, p. 239.

(Miss) Bhramar Ghosh.

THE CASTE OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANA RULERS OF THE DECCAN

Scholars are at variance in regard to the real origin of the Śātavāhana rulers of the Deccan, who rose to the height of power, after the downfall of the Śuṅgas. It is an undoubted fact that they were not foreigners in India, but quite an indigenous power of the Deccan. Neither the accounts of the Purāṇas nor the epigraphical

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[1] We do not quite understand why he has taken the 'Gûjjarêsvara-pati' to be Nāgabhaṭa II, instead of his father Vatsarāja as taken by Jackson, D. R. Bhandarkar, and others.

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evidence of the time yields any happy result about their caste, and hence the conflicting views come forward.

The incidental references found in some of the Śātavāhana inscriptions, instead of clearing the point of their origin, rather make the question somewhat hazy. Scholars like Senart and Bühler are of opinion that the Śātavāhanas were undoubtedly Brāhmaṇs by caste. In explanation of the fact, it has been pointed out first by them that the metronymics used by these rulers, such as 'GAUTAMĪ', MĀḌHARĪ, VĀSIṢṬHĪ, are clearly derived from Brāhmaṇic *gotras*. Secondly, in support of their view, they draw attention to two passages of an inscription [1] found on the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3 at Nāsik. The first of these which begins with line 5 is *Khatiya-dapa-māna-madanasa*, 'of king Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who humbled the pride and conceit of the Kṣatriyas'. From this, it has been inferred that Gautamīputra could not have been a Kṣatriya, for, if he had belonged to Kṣatriya caste, there would have been no propriety in his saying that he suppressed the prowess and conceit of the Kṣatriyas. Then, what caste does he belong to? He must, therefore, be either one of the three, namely, Brāhmaṇ, Vaiśya or Śūdra. Again, the Nāsik inscription throws some further light on the point. We are, thus, referred to a second passage in the inscription, namely, EKABAṂHAṆASA. Bühler translates the expression by 'of him who alone (was worthy of the name of) a Brāhmaṇ'.[2] Senart also renders the passage as 'the unique Brāhmaṇ'.[3] Both the scholars take the word 'bahmaṇa' in the sense of Brāhmaṇ and they are apparently of the view that those rulers are Brāhmaṇs by caste.

But, it is worthy of note that their Brāhmaṇic origin can be easily questioned and, after all, one cannot be definitely certain about this origin. Some scholars oppose the view of their Brāhmaṇic origin by criticizing the above two passages of the epigraph and offering new interpretations of them. Thus they say, that the word 'bahmaṇa' of the passage 'ekabahmaṇasa' may stand not only for 'Brāhmaṇa' but also for 'Brahmaṇya', 'the only supporter of the Brāhmaṇs'[4] (R. G. Bhandarkar) or 'the only holy man'[5] (Bhagwanlal Indraji).

In criticism of the second passage it is possible to say that as the Śātavāhanas are represented to have humbled the Kṣatriyas, the utmost that this statement can prove is that they were not Kṣatriyas.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 8, p. 60.
[2] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. 4, p. 110.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 8, p. 60.
[4] *Trans. Inter. Cong. Ori.*, Lond., 1874, pp. 310-11.
[5] *Bomb. Gazetteer*, Vol. 16, pp. 552, 554.

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It does not necessarily prove that they were Brāhmaṇs, and thus the prop in support of their Brāhmaṇic origin becomes weak. How, then, are we to explain the passage KHATIYA-DAPA MĀNA-MADANASA of the Nāsik *praśasti*? Even, if we use the word KHATIYA in the sense of Kṣatriya caste, the passage before us proves at the most that the king Gautamīputra was not a Kṣatriya; but not necessarily that he was a Brahmin.

But is it, however, the only sense of the word Kṣatriya? No, the word can be interpreted otherwise also, and is possibly pregnant with a valuable piece of historical fact. It may well convey the sense of the 'Kṣatriya tribe'. The history of the tribe is well known, especially about the time of Alexander. Gautamīputra must have put down this tribe just as his contemporary rival Rudradāman did the Yaudheyas of his time.[1] In the accounts of the foreign writers and in the Sanskrit literature some account of the tribe is found. Thus, ARRIAN who wrote a history of the invasion of Alexander says that when the Macedonian Emperor laid camp near the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, these people lived as an independent tribe. Alexander, we are told, reduced to submission and received deputies and presents from the 'XATHROI' tribe.[2] The same tribe is apparently mentioned as KHATRIAIOI by Ptolemy.[3] This tribe then held territory between the Ravi and Beas, with their capital at Sangala. Thus, we find that in the time of Ptolemy, this tribe had proceeded to the north-eastern part of the Punjab and settled there.

The tribe is very possibly the same people mentioned by Kauṭilya in the passage *Kâmbhoja-Surāṣṭra-Kṣatriya-Śreṇyādayo vārtā-śastr-opajīvinaḥ*. Dr. Shamasastri translates the passage by taking the word *Kṣatriya-Śreṇi* to be one word meaning 'corporation of warriors'. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal was the first to point out that the Kṣatriyas were a people just like the Kāmbojas and the Surāṣṭras, whose chief occupation was industry and agriculture.[4] They are no doubt the 'Kshattri' described in the Manusmṛti, and the Kṣatriyas of the later inscriptions. The Ḷāḍnu inscription[5] of Sādhāraṇa, while describing his genealogy, states that in a village named 'UI' there lived a Kṣatriya of the Kāśyapa *gotra* named Bhuvanapāla. Similarly, in the genealogy of his mother, it is also mentioned that his mother was also a Kṣatriyā of Śrīmad gotra and his father-in law's ancestor is described as a KṢATRIYA. One point to be noticed here is that

[1] McCrindle's *Anc. Ind.—Its Invasion by Alex.*, p. 156.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. 13, p. 360.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 8, p. 44.
[4] *Hindu Polity*, p. 60.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. 12, p. 23.

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the Kṣatriyas of the epigraph also used the Brāhmaṇic gotras. From the text of the inscription it appears that they are represented by the Khatris of the present day. These people are still found spread over an immense area in the north-west of India from the Hindukush to Bengal and from Nepal to Gujarāt. It will, thus, be seen that this tribe may well have been the KṢATRIYAS whose pride and conceit Gautamīputra is said to have crushed down.

On the other hand, the same Nāsik inscription refers to another passage where Gautamī Balaśrī is called, *Rājarisi-vadhu-sadaṁ akhilam anuvidhīyamānā*, wholly conforming to the title 'wife of the royal sage'. Now, the word *Rājarisi* is always taken in contradistinction to Brahmarṣi, 'a Brāhmaṇ sage'. Therefore, the very use of the term Rājarṣi is enough to show that the ŚĀTAVĀHANA rulers never claimed themselves to be BRAḤMARŚI. As they were a ruling class, they take pride in calling themselves Rājarṣis.

All these criticisms when taken together make the Brāhmaṇic origin of the ŚĀTAVĀHANAS weak and shaky.

(MISS) BHRAMAR GHOSH.

VIṢṆUPADA-GIRI

The question is not a new one. Several scholars before us have tried to locate it, in connection with the Mihraulī (Delhi) Iron Pillar, which is said to have been originally erected on the Viṣṇupada-giri. The attempts of the earlier investigators were more or less speculations. Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarty was the first to take advantage of the references to it in the epics and the Purāṇas. In his opinion, Viṣṇupada must be the bathing *ghāṭ* in Hardwar, where *Hari ke caraṇa* is now exhibited, or, somewhere in the vicinity (*An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. VIII, 1927, pp. 172ff.). Three years later, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal opined that it was 'probably in the Himalayas near or above Hardwar which is reputed as *Viṣṇupadī*' (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 31). There is no mention of Mr. Chakravarty in this last article, though the conclusion is the same. Let us therefore see how Mr. Chakravarty himself arrived at his conclusion.

The earliest reference to Viṣṇupada is found in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 22-16), where three strides of Viṣṇu are spoken of. Yāṣka, in interpreting it, quotes Aurṇavābha, who says :—

Samārohaṇe Viṣṇupade Gayaśirasi.

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Durgācārya explains it thus :—

Samārohaṇe Udayagirau udyan padam=ekaṁ nidhatte। Viṣṇupade madhyandine' ntarikṣe। Gayaśirasy=astaṁgirau iti Aurṇavābha ācāryo manyate।

From this statement, we can learn this much that Viṣṇupada was somewhere between the easternmost (*Udayagiri*) and the westernmost points (*Astagiri*) of the country known at the time of Aurṇavābha. Yāṣka has quoted Aurṇavābha ; so he was earlier than Yāṣka, who was again earlier than Pāṇini (*c.* 700 B.C.). This Aurṇavābha may be the pupil of Kauṇḍinya, a teacher mentioned in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* (IV. 5, 26, Mādhyandina Recension). Anyhow he was very ancient.

Viṣṇupada has been said to be in *antarikṣa*, which means the sky or atmosphere. If so, Viṣṇupada must be some luminary or star, or some imaginary spot. Let us see if *antarikṣa* was used in any other sense. One such is indeed found in the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, Ch. 83), which reads :—

'*Pṛthivyāṁ yāni tīrthānī antarīkṣacarāṇi ca।*
nadyo hṛadās=taḍāgāś-ca sarva-prasravaṇāni ca॥ 193'
'*Pṛthivyāṁ Naimiṣaṁ tīrtham=antarīkṣe ca Puṣkaraṁ॥* 203'

As Puṣkara in the *antarīkṣa* is not imaginary, so Viṣṇupada in the *antarīkṣa* need not be considered imaginary. What is it then ? It is neither river, nor lake, nor pool, nor spring, nor even *pṛthivī*. We think here *pṛthivī* should be taken as the 'plains' and *antarīkṣa* as a high peak of some mountain almost reaching up to the sky. So Viṣṇupada-giri means a mountain peak, which is the place of Viṣṇu or which bears his foot-print.

It may be mentioned here that Viṣṇu in the *Ṛgveda* mentioned above meant the Sun god, but in the epic period he was transformed into Viṣṇu, the second god of the Hindu Trinity, the preserver, and so Viṣṇupada, the *pada* of the Vāmana *avatāra* of this Viṣṇu. Gaḍura, in describing the important places of the North to Gālava, speaks of the Gaṅgādvāra, then the Kailāsa, then the birth place of the ten *apsarases*, or the heavenly nymphs, and then the Viṣṇupada, created by Viṣṇu, while covering the three worlds. (*Mahābhārata*, Udyogaparva, Chap. 111, Vs. 16–21). Mr. Chakravarty quoting the last verse remarks that 'from the context in which the verse occurs the hill appears to have been somewhere near the Kailāsa range and not far from Gaṅgādvāra or Haradvāra'.

From the description nothing can be gathered about the distances of the places mentioned, but it is clear that they are all in the north, and that the Gaṅgādvāra and Viṣṇupada are two different places. Mr. Chakravarty has lost sight of this important fact and was thus

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led to a wrong conclusion. Gaṅgādvāra is no doubt the same as Haradvāra, for we find that Kanakhala has been mentioned immediately after the Gaṅgādvāra (*Ibid.*, Vanaparva, Ch. 84, Vs. 27–30). Again Gaṅgādvāra is not a hill, but the name of the place where the Gaṅgā enters the plains. So Gaṅgādvāra cannot be the Viṣṇupadagiri, which must be a high peak of mountain. This we have already pointed out above. The Gaṅgā (=Viṣṇupadī) is said to have originated from the feet of Viṣṇu, but that event did not occur on the earth (*Brahma-purāṇa*, Ch. 74, V. 58). *Hari ke caraṇa* must be a later innovation of the *Vaiṣṇavas*, who changed the name of Haradvāra to Haridvāra. The Gaṅgā in her descent to earth first came in contact with Hara and not Hari. We must not fail to notice one very important point in this connection, which did not strike Mr. Chakravarty. If Viṣṇupada was identical with the Gaṅgādvāra, the most sacred river Gaṅgā and ablutions therein would surely not have gone unmentioned, in this or any passages about Viṣṇupada.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* (II. 68. 18-19) occurs the following verse about the locality of Viṣṇupada :—

'Yayur=madhyena Vālhikān Sudāmānaṁ ca parvatam ।
Viṣṇoḥ padaṁ prekṣamāṇā Vipāśāṁ c=āpi Śālmalim ॥

Mr. Chakravarty, quoting the above passage, identified Sudāman hill with the Siwalik range and with a view to identify Viṣṇupada with the Gaṅgādvāra, extends the Vālhika or rather the Vāhika country to Kumāun. But it is beyond our comprehension how he could ignore the fact that Viṣṇupada was in the vicinity of the Vipāśā and not of the Gaṅgā.

Although Mr. Chakravarty quoted many passages from the epics and the Purāṇas, he missed one very important passage of the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, Ch. 130, Vs. 8–10), which we quote below :—

'etad=Viṣṇupadaṁ nāma dṛśyate tīrtham=uttamam ।
eṣā ramyā Vipāśá ca nadī parama-pāvanī ॥
atra vai putra-śokena Vaśiṣṭho bhagavān=ṛṣiḥ ।
Bandh-ātmānaṁ nipatito Vipāśaḥ punar=utthitaḥ ॥
Kaśmīra-maṇḍalaṁ c=aitaṁ sarva=puṇyam-arindama ।
maharṣibhiś=c-ādhyushitaṁ paśy=edaṁ bhrātṛbhiḥ saha ॥

It is clear from the above that not only the Vipāśā, but also the Kāśmīra-maṇḍala was visible from the Viṣṇupada. This shows that Viṣṇupada was on a hill on the Vipāśā, not far from the Kāśmīra-maṇḍala. Can this be said of the Gaṅgādvāra or Kumaun ? It appears that the Vipāśā had her source in the mountains of the Kāśmīra region in the time of the ancient Aryans (Jopson's *Historical*

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Atlas of India, No. 2). On emerging out of Kāśmīra into the country of the *Saptasindhavaḥ* (Panjab) it has formed a sharp bend in the border of Gurdaspur and Kangra districts. Viṣṇupada may be somewhere there.

The *Rāmāyaṇa*, we have seen, mentions first the Vāhlikas (or rather Vāhikas) then the Sudāman hill, then Viṣṇupada and then the Vipāśa. In the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparva, Ch. 27, Vs. 11–23), we find that Arjuna conquered the northern tribes of Sudāman, Pauravas, seven tribes of Mlecchas, Kṣatriyas of Kāśmira, Vāhlikas, etc. The country of the last has been placed between the rivers Śatadru (Sutlej) and Vipāśā (Beas) in the east, and Paruṣṇī (Rāvī) in the west, by Pargiter (map attached to *An. Ind. Hist. Tradn.*). The Pauravas on the Paruṣṇī can be traced even in the time of the *Ṛgveda* (*Ibid.*, p. 172). We find Porus (Paurava) in the neighbourhood even in the time of Alexander. It is thus clear that all the places and the tribes mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* are found about the Vipāśā and not near Hardwar.

Recently Pandit Jaya Chandra Vidyālaṅkāra has located Viṣṇupada 'in the Siwalak or the Solasingi range near the river Beas' (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 97–100). In support of his conclusion he has quoted and relied upon a passage from the *Rāmāyaṇa*, but it is strange that he does not mention the name of Mr. Chakravarty, though it was he who first pointed out the passage. Pandit Vidyālaṅkāra again has quoted some passages from the *Mahābhārata*, but it is strange that none of these makes any mention of the Vipāśā. The *Mahābhārata*, however, does contain a passage, which shows that Viṣṇupada was situated not far from the Beas. This has already been pointed out by us in this note above. The Pandit's reference again to the *Ṛgveda* about the Vipāśā is wrong. It is not 'III. 10' but 'III. 33. 10'. Again the Vipāśā did not stop 'the progress of the Ṛgvedic king Sudās', but of the sage Viśvāmitra. The hymn, again, was not sung by Sudās's bard Vasiṣṭha, but by Viśvāmitra.

Mr. Chakravarty has quoted passages from the *Vāyu-purāṇa* (XCIX. 102), the *Harivaṁśa* (XXXI, 45), and the *Mahābhārata* (XII. 29) to show that kings Dharmaratha and Aṅga performed sacrifices on the *Viṣṇupada-giri* and drank *Soma* with Indra. The former was a king of Aṅga (Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts). His son Chitraratha is distinctly spoken of as a king of Champā (*Ibid.*, Anuśāsanaparva, Ch. 42, Vs. 8 and 16). Aṅga also denotes the king of the country of that name. As such we can scarcely expect that they performed sacrifices on the Viṣṇupada which is near the Vipāśā. This Viṣṇupada perhaps is not the one in Gayā mentioned in the *Gayā-Māhātmya*, because it is very doubtful if

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there was any Viṣṇupada in Gayā in the time of the *Mahābhārata*. In fact, we find no mention of it in the descriptions of Gayā in the *Mahābhārata* (Vanaparva, Chs. 84, 87, and 95). Possibly Gayā was a different country under a different king in the time of Aṅga. Among the kings conquered by Māndhātā are Gayā and Aṅga (*Ibid.*, Śāntiparva, Ch. 29, V. 88). This king Gayā was in all probability the king of Gayā. Thus the Viṣṇupada, where Dharmaratha and Aṅga performed sacrifices must be somewhere in the Aṅga country. Where could it possibly have been? May it be the Mandāra hill near Bhagalpur (ancient Champā), where there is a colossal image of Vāmanadeva (N. L. Dey's *Geo. Dictionary*)? It might have some connection with king Balī, father of Aṅga.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

DID NOT YAVANA DENOTE PERSIANS EVEN BEFORE THE SECOND CENTURY A.D.?

Prof. Bhandarkar in his note on Kâkavarṇa, son of Śiśunâga, on pp. 16-17 of the *Ind. Culture*, says that the word 'Yavana' in a passage of Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*, means the 'Persians' and not the Greeks, as it is generally supposed. He holds that 'In early times Yavanas always denoted the Greeks, but, from the second century A.D. onwards, it seems to have been used to denote the Persians. Thus, the well-known Junâgaḍh rock inscription of Rudradâmana speaks of a Yavana prince called Tuṣāspa, which evidently is not a Greek but a Persian name. Similarly, Kâlidasa, in his *Raghuvaṁśa* (Canto 4, vs. 60-61) speaks of a people whom he calls both Pārasikas (Persians) and Yavanas. When Bāṇa, who lived in the seventh century, makes mention of the Yavanas we have thus most probably to understand "the Persians" by that term'. And further according to him when the commentator Saṁkarâya says that Kâkavarṇa had conquered the Yavanas, the latter could be no other than the Achemenians.

It should, however, be noted that not long ago, Dr. E. J. Thomas, while writing on 'The Zoroastrian Influence of Early Buddhism' (*Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, pp. 279ff.), also came to the same conclusion, namely, that the Sanskrit word 'Yavana', though originally it denoted the Greeks, was used to denote the Persians even during the Achemenian domination of the Punjab and Sind. His view rests fully on the assumption that the word 'Yavana' was first introduced to the Indians through the Persians who first

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came in contact with the Greeks rather than with the Indians, and it is a well-known fact that the first foreign attack on India was made by the Persians. We thus find that it was the Persians, who first felt the necessity of coining the word 'Yavana' to distinguish the Greeks in the Persian military service. Later on, when the Achemenians invaded the Punjab and Sind, Greek troops were stationed there. So, 'there was plenty of opportunity for the actual residents of India to become acquainted with the name, Yavana'. The Indians later on, applied the name to all these foreigners, whose military power was represented by these Yavanas, that is, to the Persians generally. Dr. Thomas further remarks that 'There would be nothing surprising that they should misapply or wrongly extend a term that they had learnt from the strangers who overran their country. In the same way, the Romans gave the name "Germani" to a large number of northern tribes, who knew nothing themselves about the appellation German and the name "Graeci" was used by the Romans to describe their eastern neighbours the Hellenes, possibly because, it was the name of the first Greek tribe they met with'.

Moreover, Dr. Thomas is of opinion that in the inscriptions of Aśoka, there are also some indications to prove that the word Yavana (under the Prâkrit form Yona) does not necessarily stand for the Greeks, as it is gratuitously assumed. He rightly says that 'what conception of the Yonas Aśoka had in his mind, is naturally not easy to prove.' According to Dr. Thomas, 'the Yonas mentioned in the 5th and the 13th Rock Edicts appear to be a people, south of the Gandhāras, where, it is possible, that the Greeks had settled after the expeditions of Alexander and Seleukos. But, it must be remembered that Darius I had held that province for nearly two centuries previously, and that the foreign element in it was more likely to be predominantly Persian'. Similarly, the word 'Yona' in *Antiyako Yona-rājā* mentioned by Aśoka both in the 2nd and 13th R.E. may mean a different thing. Here, 'Yona-rājā' need not stand for a Greek-ruler, because in the 13th R.E. Aśoka mentions, along with Antiochus, four other kings two of whom, Antigonos of Macedonia and Alexander of Corinth (or possibly of Epirus), were peculiarly Greek, but he does not call them Yona-rājās. Aśoka applies it only to Antiochus II. Theos, who ruled over the Syrian empire. By 'Yona' Aśoka obviously understands the people of this empire who were more probably of Persian descent than Greek. And he calls Antiochus Yona-rājā, because the latter was the chief ruler of the ancient Persian empire. Thus, we find that even here, Dr. Thomas likes to take the word 'Yavana' in the sense of 'the Persians' rather than 'the Greeks'.

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I have thus drawn special attention to this view of Dr. E. J. Thomas, because it seems to have escaped the notice of Indian scholars though his paper has been published in the *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*. I should particularly like Aśokan scholars to discuss this subject and ascertain what exactly *Yona-rājā* of Aśoka inscriptions means.

(MISS) BHRAMAR GHOSH.

KOSALA

Here an attempt has been made to give an account of the formation and rise of Kosala. Kosala is known to the Buddhists as the land of the Kosala princes.[1] These princes traced their descent from king Ikshvāku and belonged to the Solar race of the Kshatriyas. The Śākyas of Kapilavāstu who founded a territory by the side of the Himalayas and were proud of their high birth and purity of blood used to derive their family prestige from their original home in Kosala and their connection with those princes, the ancient rulers of Kosala.[2] The descent of those ruling princes of Kosala from Ikshvāku is equally borne out by the genealogies in the Rāmāyaṇa as well as the Purāṇas.[3]

The Rāmāyaṇa mentions indeed Ayodhyā as the earlier capital of Kosala and Śrāvastī as its later capital, while one Pāli Jātaka speaks of a king of Kosala reigning in the city of Ayodhyā, another Jātaka of another king of the same country as reigning in the city of Sāketa, and other Jātakas of other kings reigning in the city of Śrāvastī.[4] Thus all these references, taken together, would seem to point to Ayodhyā as the first, to Sāketa as the second, and to Śrāvastī as the third or last capital of the kingdom of Kosala.

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[1] Sumaṅgala-vilāsinī, I, p. 239 : Kosalā nāma janapadino rāja-kumārā. Tesaṁ nivāso eko pi janapado rūḷhīsaddena Kosalā ti vuccati.

[2] Sutta-nipāta, pp. 73-4 : Buddha introduced himself to king Bimbisāra as Ujum janapado rāja Himavantassa passato dhanaviriyena sampanno Kosalesu niketino. Ādiccā nāma gottena, Sākiyā nāma jātiyā, tamhā kulā pabbajito ' mhi rāja.

The expression ' Kosalesu niketino ' is not to be taken literally as done by Rai Chaudhuri (Political History, 3rd ed., p. 70), in the sense of ' inhabitants of Kosala '. The Śākyas in Buddha's time were not the inhabitants of Kosala. The Suttanipata commentary precisely explains it in the sense in which we have taken it.

[3] Rai Chaudhuri's Political History, 3rd ed., pp. 71-2.

[4] Rai Chaudhuri's Political History, 3rd ed., p. 74. Cf. Ghata Jātaka (no. 454) and Nandiyamiga Jātaka (no. 385).

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Ayodhyā became an unimportant town in Buddha's time,[1] while both Sāketa and Śrāvastī stood out prominent among the then six great cities of India.[2]

Both Daśaratha and Rāma, who are extolled in the Rāmāyaṇa as the rulers of Kosala, may find mention in some of the Vedic hymns but in none of them they are 'connected with either the Ikshvāku family or with Kosala'. The desired connection is virtually denied in the Pāli Dasaratha-Jātaka (Fausböll, Jātaka, No. 461).[3] The ancient Indian tradition of seven kings (satta Bhāratā), as preserved in the Mahāgovinda-Suttanta[4] speaks of the glory of Kāśī, Aṅga, Videha, Avantī and three other kingdoms of Northern India, while Kosala and Magadha, the two powerful and neighbouring states of Buddha's time, have no place in it, nor even by way of bare mention of their names.

References in Vedic literature to Kosala, its rulers and teachers are few and far between. Para-āṭnāra Hiraṇyanābha is the only ancient king of Kosala who finds mention in the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 5. 4. 4). Hiraṇyanābha Kauśalya and Āśvalāyana Kauśalya figure in the Praśna-Upanishad (I, 1) as two contemporary seekers of truth belonging to Kosala. The connection between Hiraṇyanābha of the Praśna and Para-āṭnāra Hiraṇyanābha of the Śatapatha text is uncertain. In the dynastic list of kings occurring in the Purāṇas of doubtful authority Hiraṇyanābha is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of Prasenajit who was a contemporary of Buddha, while Mahākosala stands out in the early tradition of Buddhism as the father and immediate predecessor of Pasenadi. The Pāli legends preserve the memory of a few other kings of Kosala, such as Kālasena, Dīghiti, Prince Dīghāyu, Mallika, and Vatika. One of them had his capital at Ayodhyā, some at Sāketa and the rest at Śrāvastī.[5] Dr. Raychaudhuri rightly holds that no connected chronology of Kosalan kings can as yet be made out of these stray names. The legends are nevertheless important, first, as clearly indicating a succession of three capitals of the kingdom of Kosala: Ayodhyā, Sāketa, and Śrāvastī, and secondly, as broadly outlying the four main stages in the historical process which culminated at

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[1] Buddhist India, p. 34.

[2] Dīgha-nikāya, II, p. 146. Rai Chaudhuri's Political History, 3rd ed., p. 74.

[3] Rai Chaudhuri's Political History, 3rd ed., p. 53: 'A king named Daśaratha is eulogised in a Rig-Vedic hymn (I. 126. 4), but there is nothing to identify him with the Ikshvāku king Daśaratha. The Rig-Veda (X, 93. 14) mentions a powerful person named Rāma but does not connect him with Kosala. The Dasaratha-Jātaka makes Daśaratha and Rāma kings of Bārāṇasī.'

[4] Dīgha-nikāya, II, p. 235.

[5] Rai Chaudhuri's Political History, 3rd ed., pp. 70–5.

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about the rise of Buddhism in the unquestioned supremacy of Kosala over Kāśī. In the first stage, as brought out in the canonical legend of Dīghīti and his son Dīghāyu Kumāra, king Brahmadatta appears as the powerful king of Kāsī invading the kingdom of Kośala, led by the love of conquest, easily defeating the Kosalan king Dīghīti who was by far the weaker rival, and immediately ordering execution of the Kosalan king and queen when they were detected in the realm of Kāśī living harmlessly in disguise.[1] In the same stage we see how the Kosalan prince Dīghāyu after having gained favour with the king of Kāśī and risen to the position of a general, tried to avenge the inhuman cruelty done to his parents. In the second stage, as portrayed in the Rājovāda-Jātaka (F., No. 334) Kāśī and Kosala appear as two equally powerful kingdoms, flourishing side by side, each with its inner circle, outer districts and border-lands, one ruled over by its king Brahmadatta and the other by its king Mallika. In this stage we see that the ruler of the former following the religious principle of 'conquering wrath by wrathlessness (akkodhena jine Kodhaṁ)' and the ruler of Kosala following the strong administrative principle of 'applying hardness for the hard and softness for the soft' (daḷham daḷhassa khipato, mudussa mudunā muduṁ). In the third stage, as disclosed in the Mahāsīlava-Jātaka (F., No. 51), the king of Kosala appears as taking advantage of the goodness of the king of Kāśī and invading the neighbouring kingdom, and the king of Kāśī as remaining passive with the consciousness of his superior dignity and religious security. And in the fourth stage, reached at about the rise of Buddhism the great king Mahākosala, father and immediate predecessor of Pasenadi is seen wielding his sovereign power over the extended realm of Kāśī-Kośala. He strengthened his position by entering into a matrimonial alliance with Seniya-Bimbisāra who made himself the master of Aṅga-magadha,—offering the hand of his daughter Kosalā-devī to the latter and granting the revenue of the Kāśī area as her pin money. After the death of Mahākosala, his son and successor Pasenadi inherited the royal throne of Kosala and extended his kingdom so far as to reign as a supreme monarch with four sub-kings under him in Buddha's time.

B. C. LAW.

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[1] Vinaya Piṭaka, Mahāvagga, pp. 342–9.

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A PRELIMINARY STUDY ON THE RATE OF GROWTH OF THE BENGALEE STUDENTS

The object of this study was primarily to find out the age at which the difference between the Bengalee children and the children of other countries of the same age begins to become manifest. The criteria considered are the stature, weight and ponderal index. The ponderal index is obtained as follows: cube root of weight in kg. multiplied by 100 divided by stature in cm.:

$$\frac{\sqrt[3]{\text{Weight} \times 100}}{\text{Height in cm.}}.$$

(1) In the following three diagrams I have represented the figures for the different age groups of German, English, Japanese, Philipino and the Bengalee students of definite ages. A consideration of the above graphs will show that the total gain in height for these nations between the ages 7 and 18 is as follows:—

German	..	..	..	49·5 cm.
English	..	..	..	58 cm.
Japanese	..	..	..	45 cm.
Philipino	..	..	..	47·5 cm.
Bengalee	..	..	..	47·5 cm.

or an average of 49·5 cm. in 11 years, i.e. approximately 4·5 cm. per year.

(2) The rate of growth is not equal throughout the period. The major part of this increase in height takes place between the ages 11 and 16.

(3) The English, German and Japanese show a further increase in height beyond the age of 16 and in all these cases there is a period of comparative arrest at the age of 12 or 13.

(4) In the cases of the Bengalee and the Philipino the gain in height during the period 11–16 is more or less equally distributed and in both it suffers an arrest after the age of 15 which is more marked in the case of the Bengalee.

(1) The figures for the corresponding weight for these age groups are given below:—

Thus the total gain in weight for the different peoples is as follows:—

German	..	..	..	39·3 kg.
English	..	..	..	37·8 kg.
Japanese	..	..	..	32 kg.
Philipino	..	..	..	30·9 kg.
Bengalees	..	..	..	29·7 kg.

or an average of 3 kg. per year.

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(2) The total gain during this period is the lowest for the Bengalee and the highest for the German.

(3) The rate of increase is not equally distributed throughout.

(4) Between the ages 15 and 18 an increase over and above the normal of 3 kg. per year, is well marked among the German, English, and Japanese students. This increase is not found among the Bengalee students.

(5) Between the ages 11 and 15 the gain in weight among these different nations is fairly equally distributed. The Germans, however, show a greater increase in weight. The Bengalees, on the other hand, show a smaller increase, which is particularly marked in the age groups 13 and 14.

These two tables considered together lead us to the following conclusions :—

(1) That in the average Bengalee student the progress of growth is suddenly arrested at the age of sixteen.

(2) That throughout the growing period, the gain in body weight is proportionately less than the increase in height.

This is very well shown in the attached chart of the Ponderal Indices of the peoples. The figures on which these curves are based are given in the following table :—

Ages	German	English	Japanese	Philipino	Bengalee
7	2·37	2·42	2·40	2·41	2·35
8	2·33	2·38	2·32	2·36	2·31
9	2·32	2·38	2·38	2·35	2·29
10	2·32	2·34	2·38	2·38	2·27
11	2·30	2·34	2·38	2·35	2·25
12	2·29	2·32	2·34	2·31	2·24
13	2·29	2·33	2·40	2·34	2·25
14	2·30	2·34	2·44	2·35	2·23
15	2·29	2·30	2·40	2·32	2·23
16	2·30	2·28	2·38	2·28	2·23
17	2·31	2·30	2·38	2·28	2·22
18	2·33	2·27	2·35	2·30	2·23

The peculiar features of the curve for the Ponderal Index of the Bengalee are :—

(1) The steady and unbroken fall of the Ponderal Index throughout the period 7–16.

(2) The absence, in particular, of the sudden rise in Ponderal Index between the ages 12 and 14, shown by the other nations.

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A consideration of the curves shows that there is a marked resemblance between the curves of the Japanese and the Philipino (the pure and mixed Mongolic types), a fair resemblance between those of the English and the Germans (teutonic group) and the curve for the Bengalee follows a third and distinct course. These facts open up a comparatively unexplored branch of investigations, viz. Are the rates of growth of the different human bio-types distinct and characteristic of that group ?

A. CHATTERJEA.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE FIJIAN HAIR

This paper is a preliminary study on 19 samples of hair, placed at our disposal for examination by Dr. Panchanan Mitra who collected those samples from a Hospital at Suva in Fiji Islands in the year 1929 in the course of his field investigation there under the auspices of the Bishop Museum of Honolulu.

Of these 19 samples of hair, one belongs to Tongan, one to Samoan, one again to Solomon Islanders and the rest to Fiji Islanders. The majority of hair under examination belongs to male though 5 cases have been noticed where they belong to females. There are 3 hybrids among them and are as follows :—

1. Grandfather European,
   Grandmother half-caste,
   and both father and mother half-caste.
2. Father, Chinese, Mother, Fijian.
3. Father, New Hebridean, Mother, Fijian.

The length of the hair varies from 2·5 cm. to 9 cm. The character of the hair varies from straight (in the case of the cross between Chinese and Fijian) to wavy and frizzly. These characters resemble *a*, *b*, *d*, and *g* in Martin's classification. In three cases they resemble '*h*' of Martin.

(*Vide* :—Martin—Lehrbuch der Anthropologie Band 1.)

In 5 cases the colour appears to be brownish shade black. In 9 cases it is brown varying from 4 to 7 in Prof. Eugen Fischer's scale. In 5 specimens it is black varying from 27 to 28 in Fischer's scale.

These specimens of hair when examined with the aid of a microscope give the result which corroborates fully our microscopical identification. It should be noted here that we have found one white hair in these samples.

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In the majority of cases the cross-sections are oval but in one sample it approaches elliptic. In the case of the cross-breed (i.e. between Chinese and Fijian) it appears a little circular. Besides these we have noticed in 3 cases slightly irregularity of form as noticed by Mr. Pruner-Bey in the hairs of Papuans of New Guinea.

The average thickness of the female hair is 96·5 μ while the average thickness of the male is 95·76 μ.

The following table shows the average thickness of hair in other races :—

Thickness in	Male	Female
1. Kiser Islanders (Saller, 1927)	140 (103–27)	127
2. Flores, Timor Soemba	117 (79–149)	
3. Tierra del Fuego Islanders, Saller—1928 ..	116 (83–158)	112
4. Sakai (Saller, 1928)	116 (83–135)	..
5. Middle Europe, Scheffet—1915	105 (64–148)	..
6. Semang	94 (66–139)	95

Vide :—K. Saller—Weitere Haarproben aus dem Malayischen Archipel. (Flores, Timor, and Soemba).

Medulla varies from 9 to 31·5 and in 7 samples it is entirely absent. In a few samples, however, we have observed its presence but it is found to be discontinuous. In 2 cases only we have found it perfectly continuous.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that with regard to the thickness of hair, there is a great possibility of relation between frizzly or crispy hair of the Fijians and those of the Semangs of Malay Peninsula. But unless we have a large sample of hair (frizzly or otherwise) from Malay Peninsula on the one hand and Fiji and other neighbouring islands on the other, it will be hazardous to draw any conclusion whatsoever.

We now take this opportunity of expressing our most sincere thanks to Dr. H. N. Ray of the Zoological Department, University of Calcutta and Mr. S. M. Banerjee of the Physiological Department, Presidency College, Calcutta, not only for their valuable suggestions but also for their unfailing courtesy in placing their laboratories at our disposal. Our best thanks are also due to our friend Mr. P. C. Biswas of the Anthropological Laboratory.

J. K. GAN.

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STUDIES IN PULSE AND RESPIRATION RATES AMONG THE BENGALIS

There can be no gainsaying in the remark that we find no precise statement as to the average rates both of pulse and respiration of the peoples of India in any text-book of Medicine excepting that they vary from 40 to 96 or more in the case of pulse and 16 to 24 or more in the case of respiration among normal individuals. An attempt is therefore made in this paper to estimate the average pulse and respiration rates of the Bengalees.

The data were collected by me from five hundred individuals, in collaboration with my associate and my former pupil Mr. J. K. Gan, in the course of my work as a medical practitioner in Calcutta and also as a Medical Officer for Great Indian Insurance Ltd. of Calcutta in the year 1929-30. From these 500 individuals measured I have taken for the present purpose those who are between 20 and 30 years of age. It is needless to point out that they were in perfectly sound health and may be called First Class lives. The data were taken with the individuals in sitting posture and at rest.

The average Pulse and Respiration rates are arranged according to age in the following tables :—

TABLE 1

PULSE ACCORDING TO AGE

	No. of cases	Average rate per minute
Age 20	20	73·12
,, 21	24	74
,, 22	20	74·2
,, 23	17	74·6
,, 24	24	73·7
,, 25	41	75
,, 26	23	74
,, 27	21	74·9
,, 28	23	73·9
,, 29	13	73·54
,, 30	34	72·6

Let us compare now with the rates of other races :—

1. Whites of America .. .. 74 per minute.
2. Negroes of America .. .. 74·8 ,, ,,

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3.	American Indians	76·3 per minute.	
4.	Mulattoes	76·9 ,, ,,	
5.	Kirghizs	77·7 ,, ,,	
6.	Europeans	71-72 ,, ,,	[1]
7.	South African Negroes	72·1 ,, ,,	Male.[2]
		76·5 ,, ,,	Female..
8.	Cantonese Male :—		
	Ages 7–10	88·7 ,, ,,	
	,, 11–15	83·8 ,, ,,	
	,, 16–20	81·6 ,, ,,	
	,, 21–25	75·6 ,, ,,	[3]

TABLE 2

Average Respiration Rate per minute according to age

	No. of cases	Average rate
Age 20	20	17·9
,, 21	24	18
,, 22	20	18·5
,, 23	17	18·6
,, 24	24	17·5
,, 25	41	18·5
,, 26	23	18·2
,, 27	21	17·9
,, 28	23	17·6
,, 29	13	18·12
,, 30	34	17·7

Let us now compare the respiration rates with the rates of other races :—

1.	South African Negroes (Age 20 and over)	20·5 per minute	Male.[4]
		20·9 ,, ,,	Female.
2.	Old Americans	18 ,, ,,	Male.[5]
		19 ,, ,,	Female.

It should be observed that the average pulse rate of the Bengalees is more frequent than that of Europeans recorded by Mr. Luciani, while the respiration rate is less frequent than that of

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[1] L. Luciani—Human Physiology, pp. 341ff.
[2] V. Suk—Studies on South African Negroes, Amer. Jour. of Physical Anthro., Vol. X, p. 60.
[3] Cadbury—The normal rate of Pulse in Cantonese students, China Medical Journal, March, 1922.
[4] V. Suk—Studies on South African Negroes, A.J.P.A., p. 62.
[5] A. Hrdlicka—Old Americans.

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the South African Negroes. As to whether the pulse rate decreases with the increase of height as observed by Dr. Koruel Korosky and others among the Europeans and by Prof. Suk of Brno among the South African Negroes is being investigated and will be reported in due course.

R. N. BASU & J. K. GAN.

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REVIEWS

SANNYĀSĪ AND FAKIR RAIDERS IN BENGAL, by Rai Sahib Jaminī Mohan Ghosh, B.A., B.C.S., pp. 1–160 with an appendix consisting of 2 pages, a map and a photo; compiled mainly from official records—Published by the Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, Writers' Buildings, Calcutta. Price Rs. 1-8: 2*s*. 6*d*.

This interesting volume, which was published in 1930, consists of 13 chapters, viz. Ch. I—Sannyāsīs and Fakirs; Ch. II—Their places of pilgrimage; Ch. III—Conditions in Bengal; Ch. IV—The earliest incursions, 1760–1769; Ch. V—The raids increase, 1770–1772; Ch. VI—Wide-spread incursions and military operations, 1772–1774; Ch. VII—Warren Hastings' measures; Ch. VIII—Fakir raiders reappear, 1775–1780; Ch. IX—Sannyāsīs in Cooch Behar; Ch. X—Fakirs in Northern and Eastern Bengal, 1781–1792; Ch. XI—The Fakir leaders; Ch. XII—Their final suppression, 1793–1800; Ch. XIII—Resident Sannyāsīs and an appendix containing the English translation of a Bengali poem on Majnu, the famous Fakir leaders. At the beginning there is a reproduction of a photo of a Mohunt and Gossains which was originally drawn by Deen Allee and at the end a map containing those portions of Bengal and Bihar, based on Rennell's map (survey 1764–77), which were raided by Sannyāsīs and Fakirs in 1760–1800.

The book, in its main outline, gives us an account of the struggle between the Sannyāsī, and Fakir raiders on one hand and the rising of the British power in Bengal in the said period on the other. The main characteristic of this book is that the account is mostly compiled from British official records which the author had opportunity to consult at first hand. Thus though the account is authentic, yet it has proved to be one-sided.

Chapter I gives us an account of the rise of the Sannyāsīs and Fakirs in Bengal in the 2nd quarter of the 18th century. Their rise was due to 'the apathy and fatalism of the country ... as well as the awe and veneration in which these mendicants were held owing to their religious profession'. Regarding the definition of the terms 'Sannyāsī' and 'Fakir', Wilson observed 'Sannyāsī is a generic term and equally applicable to any of the erratic beggars of the Hindus be they of what religious order they may ... The term Fakir is of equally general application and import although of Muhammadan origin'. But according to Yule and Burnell 'the words were often applied indifferently to those of either religion'. The history of the growth of Sannyāsism may be traced back prior to the time of Śaṅkarācārya, but it was owing to the great impulse by that great philosopher that it is believed to have become an established factor in the religious system of the Hindus. There are accounts to prove that later many Sannyāsīs became armed men and fought on the battle-field. The Fakirs also became military men in the same manner.

The places of pilgrimage of the Sannyāsīs were mainly the Kumbhamelā which is held successively at Hardwar, Allahabad, Nasik, and Ujjain every three years, Mahāsthānagaḍh on the Karotoyā, the Ka-lo-tu of the Chinese writers, near the modern town of Bogra, Chilmari in Rangpur, Singjani (modern Jamalpur), Begunbari in Mymensingh, Nangalbandh in Dacca, the island of Sagar, Agradwip, and Puri. The places of pilgrimage of the Fakirs were Makhanpur, Hemtabad, Damdama, Pandua, and also Mahāsthānagaḍh. In chapter III, an account of the administrative system of Bengal before 1765 and its physical features are given. Chapters IV–VI, VIII, X, and XII give the interesting account of the very hard struggle for supremacy in Bengal from 1760 to 1800 between the Sannyāsī and

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Fakir raiders and the rising British power. In many parts of Bengal the Britishers had to fight very hard for supremacy. The author has clearly given an idea of the definite steps taken by Warren Hastings to check this movement, but does not let us know clearly the actual measures adopted by other governor-generals during the period (1760–1800). According to the Regulating Act of 1773 Warren Hastings became the first Governor-General of Bengal, but as the struggle ranged from 1760 to 1800 A.D., the actual measures, besides those of Warren Hastings (1774–1785), adopted by Lord Clive (1766–1772), Sir John Macpherson (1785-86), Marquis of Cornwallis (1786–93), Sir John Shore (1793–98), Sir Alfred Clarke (1798), and Marquis of Wellesly should have been given in very clear outlines. Chapter IX gives us an interesting account of the entry of the Sannyāsīs into the politics of a powerful State which was in alliance with the British power. The chapter which will be most interesting to a general reader is Chapter XI where an account of the lives of the principal Fakir leaders is recorded. Among the Fakir leaders Majnu Shah appears to be a man of extreme ability, intelligence, and shrewdness. Bhavānī Pāṭhaka and Devī Chaudhurāṇī, who had been immortalized in Bankim Chandra's Bengali novel Devī Chaudhurāṇī, were in active league with Majnu Shah. The successors of Majnu Shah were Musa Shah, Cherag Ali Shah, Pharagul Shah, Subhan Shah, Madar Bux, Jori Shah, and Karim Shah. The last chapter which deals with resident Sannyāsīs is also interesting.

On the whole, the book appears to be a meritorious one. The author has been able to give a graphic account of the struggle between the indigenous pseudo-religious men and the British power in Bengal in 1760–1800. It is also worth noting that every statement of fact is supported by official documents in this book. But there are some striking defects which the author should not have committed. Firstly, the author has not used diacritical marks in the spelling of a Sanskrit word in Roman character, e.g. the spelling of the words 'Sannyāsī' is given as 'Sannyasi', 'Śaṅkarācārya' as 'Sankaracarya', 'Bhavānī Pāṭhaka' as 'Bhawani Pathak', 'Devī Chaudhurāṇī' as 'Debi Caudhurani' to mention a few cases only. Secondly, no index is given at the end of the work whose inclusion is an essential element in a really good book. The book is well-bound. We wish that it will have a good circulation among the educated community.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

HISTORY OF THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS (RĀṬHODS), by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu; published by the Archæological Department, Jodhpur, 1933. Price Rs. 2; pp. 155.

The author of the book under review has tried to give an account of the ruling families known as Raṭṭa or Rāshṭrakūṭa and also that of the Gāhaḍavālas whom he takes to be a branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa clan. In the earlier chapters of the book, he has discussed the Emigration of the Rāshṭrakūṭa from the North to the South, their origin, and their identification with the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj, not omitting a refutation of the objections raised to that identification. Then follow three short chapters on the religion of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of Mānyakheṭa, on Science and Arts in their time, and on the glory of the early Rāshṭrakūṭas. Next the Pandit deals with the political history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa, the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Lāṭa, the Raṭṭas (Rāshṭrakūṭas) of Saundatti, the early Rāshṭrakūṭas of Rājasthān, and, lastly, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj.

The object of the book is not so much to give an exhaustive political history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and their branches from the age of Aśoka down to modern times, but rather to show how the present Rāṭhoṛ dynasty of Jodhpur is connected with the

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Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj. The object of the author is therefore to establish and maintain that the Gāhaḍavālas were, after all, a sept of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. Chapters IV and V of his book, which handle this topic, are exceedingly polemical, nevertheless, intensely interesting. Perhaps all scholars may not assent to the view propounded by Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu, the author of the book. At the same time every scholar will admit that it is very difficult to dislodge the Pandit from his position. It will therefore be scarcely doubted that the book has served the purpose which it had in view.

There are however some faults in his work which require to be pointed out in order that the second edition of this book may steer clear of them. It is doubtless through oversight that he has omitted mention of his colleague Pandit Ram Karan Vidyaratna whose 'History of Rathors' published in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*, Orientalia—Part II, pp. 255ff. deserved notice in this connection. The Pandit again is sometimes not up-to-date. It is strange that he refers in pp. 65, 69, 70, etc. to the Sanjān Plates of Amoghavarsha I, published some years ago in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, as still 'unpublished'.

The author believes that the word *Turushka-daṇḍa* mentioned in some Gāhaḍavāla grants means a tax levied from the Muhammadans (pp. 44 and 116). This interpretation, as it is, is not very convincing as he has adduced no evidence to prove the existence of a single Muhammadan subject in the kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas. Similarly, as from the beginning of the 11th century onwards, the Hindu kings of Northern India were afraid of Muhammadan invasions from the North-west, it has been argued by some that *Turushka-daṇḍa* was a tax levied for the purpose of maintaining extra army to fight the Muhammadans. But this does not satisfactorily explain how the Brāhmaṇ grantees have been given the right of levying this tax who could not be expected to raise and maintain an army against the Muhammadans (see, e.g. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 103, l. 12). It is thus very difficult to decide between two views. Nevertheless, some time ago when I wrote my article on the *Slow Progress of Islam Power in Ancient India* I decided in favour of the former as we have evidence that there were Muhammadan settlers in the Gāhaḍavāla dominions (*An. Bhand. Ori. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XI, p. 138). Pandit Reu should have gone more deeply and critically into this discussion.

These are some of the criticisms that may be levelled against the author of the book. Nevertheless, one cannot but admit the labour and perseverence he has evinced throughout his work and the polemical subtlety of a Kashmiri Pandit he has displayed in the writing of Chapters IV and V. His book is far superior to many recently published by scholars in Rajputana. We congratulate the Jodhpur Darbar upon the publication of the work and sincerely hope that this is but a precursor of many others that are to follow under their enlightened patronage.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

ANCIENT INDIAN TRIBES, Vol. II, by Bimala Churn Law, M.A., B.L., Ph.D., London, 1934, Luzac & Co., pp. vi and 66.

Dr. Bimala Churn Law has added to his formidable list of publications on the ancient Indian tribes a new volume, which in interest and value ranks with its predecessors. No fewer than twenty tribes are dealt with in his usual manner. All the information so far available from Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit texts, from inscriptions and coins, is adduced, and the most plausible of the suggestions of modern writers as to the location and history of the tribes are duly noted. It is impossible to exaggerate the value to all students of these great critical collections of material, and the industry and care with which the texts and other sources have been searched deserve warm recognition.

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Many interesting speculations are suggested by the evidence. One result is fairly certain; there were many movements among the tribes, or sections of them, and any attempts to locate any particular tribe must often have validity only for a specific period. The Sibis or Śivas afford an excellent example, if we follow Dr. Law (p. 48) in finding their first recorded home in the Swat valley, and accept their later extension to the banks of the Kāverī, and the attribution to them of the ruling Chola family. It is certainly probable that they were not Aryans, though in such a case as theirs it is difficult to find conclusive evidence. Ābhīras again are ascribed to the Dakṣiṇāpatha, and Kekayas to Mysore. Dr. Law inclines (p. 59) to accept the view of Dr. H. C. Rai Chaudhuri that Vāhlīka, the home of the Kārdama kings, must be placed somewhere in Persia, presumably Balkh in Iran. The suggestion, however, is by no means proved, and must remain decidedly speculative: the Balhika of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* has no necessary connection with Balkh,[1] and our information regarding a river Kardama in the Pārasīka land is decidedly late. The Bāhīkas or Vāhīkas are, doubtless, correctly distinguished from the Vālhīkas or Vāhlīkas by Dr. Law; they are found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 7. 3, 8) where they stand clearly in opposition to the Prācyas, and apparently are to be assigned to the Punjab and Indus regions. There is no suggestion in that text of their being in disrepute, but no doubt, the tendency was for the mid-Indian Brāhmaṇs to despite their western neighbours. That the Niṣadhas were Aryan is suggested by the mention of Naḍa Naiṣadha in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[2] It is curious how vaguely they can be localized (p. 63), but no doubt, they were a minor tribe who became merged, like so many others, in one of the greater groupings, and so disappear as a distinct factor in history.

A. Berriedale Keith.

BUDDHISM (A HISTORICAL AND DOGMATICAL SKETCH), by Louis De La Vallée Poussin, pp. 1–32—Published by the Catholic Truth Society, London.

This booklet on Buddhism by Dr. Poussin is included in the Studies in Comparative Religion Series 6 (R. 106) published by the Catholic Truth Society of London. In the first section the author has given a short biography of Śākyasinha. Laymen of all castes listened to the doctrine of the Buddha and so also the bhikkhus. There is no doubt that primitive Buddhism or its later phase was or is actuated by a Catholic spirit. The author has dealt very sparingly with the topic of the upāsakas and upāsikās, bhikkhus and bhikkhuṇīs and their respective positions in the Buddhist monastic order. He then discussed to some extent the subject of Buddhism in Aśoka's time. He has given a few hints as to how the Canon was written. The author ought to have said something in detail about Aśoka's dhamma and the principal teachings embodied in Aśokan Edicts. In the second section, the author has recorded the Hīnayāna views of transmigration, act and Nirvāṇa. Buddhism like many other religions attaches much importance to kammavipāka—reward in case of good deeds and punishment in case of bad deeds. Transmigration has been explained by the theory of series. There are many speculations about it, but we think that desire (taṇhā) is at the root of this and if it is uprooted there ends the state of transmigration. Lastly, the author has tackled the problem of Nirvāṇa setting forth the real nature of it as the eschatological absolute and eternal refuge.

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[1] *Vedic Index*, i. 504, 505; ii. 63, 64; *C.H.I.*, i. 87.
[2] *Vedic Index*, i. 433, 461.

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The third section which is interesting deals with Mahāyāna touching such notable points as the earliest Mahāyāna, the doctrine of salvation, the Bodhisattva, monks and laymen, the Blessed Land. There is an Appendix treating of the Buddhist influence on primitive Christianity. At the end there is a Bibliography which is not however exhaustive. The booklet under review is useful as it puts in a nut-shell some of the salient points of Buddhism as a whole.

B. C. LAW.

EXPLORATION IN SIND, by N. G. Majumdar, M.A., Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India, No. 48, pp. 172 and XLVI plates—Published by Manager of Publications, Delhi, 1934. Price 27*s.* 6*d.* (Rs. 17-2 as.).

In Archæology it has been rightly observed spades are trumps, but to the expert alone is it known where to try his spades successfully. Since R. D. Banerji's momentous discovery of Mohenjo-daro much spade work has been done at that site, but there the position remains very nearly the same about the stratigraphy of the chalcolithic Indus cultures. Thanks however to Mr. N. G. Majumdar's lucky camels and spades, we are now confronted with cultures which may be for the first time bringing us irrefragable stratigraphic evidence of the Pre-Mohenjo-daro and Post-Mohenjo-daro phases of the civilization. With unerring instincts of a ceramologue Mr. Majumdar uncovers the interesting site of Amri, whose fame, already broadcasted in the Nature by Gordon Childe, is attracting enterprising explorers from abroad. 'The earlier pot-fabrics of Amri should be looked upon as representing an earlier phase of the chalcolithic civilization than that represented by Harappa and Mohenjo-daro (p. 27)'. In Amri, at an upper layer, was found a hundred potsherds of the familiar Indus valley type, while at a lower stratum occurred 'the Amri type', with generally thin walls having a plain reddish brown band at the neck, a chocolate band on the inner side of the lip and geometric patterns on the body in black or chocolate on pink, and in some cases on cream wash. This pottery was associated with chert flakes and cores. Similar ware has been discovered also at the sites of Lohri (near Lake Manchhar), Pandi Wahi, Bandhni, Damb Buthi, and Chauro.

Similarly, a late phase of Indus culture has been brought to light from the upper levels of Jhukar, Lohumjo-daro and from certain interesting lake-dwelling sites on Lake Manchhar.

From the lower levels of Chanhu-daro, Ghazi Shah, Karchat, and Shahjo Kotiro also have been unearthed intermediate Indus types.

Thus a host of new stations have been brought to light which await the future digger for more intensive work. But Mr. Majumdar does not stop there. Fully utilizing all the known literature, he attempts comparisons with the Baluchistan types of Nal and Nundara on the one hand and Kulli and Mehi on the other, and he tries to throw new light on the results of a possible hybridization of the cultures of the Eastern and Western zones. He also arrives at the interesting conclusion that the Amri type of pottery, which bears affinities with Kulli and Mehi types, is parallel to the rimless and straight-shoulder pots with geometric patterns of Anau II, and together with its Baluchi counterparts recalls certain features of Seistan, Susa I, and Tepeh Musyan.

The affinities of Mohenjo-daro with Susa II have been generally recognized. The relation of Susa I and Susa II has called forth numerous controversies, and we do not know definitely how Anau cultures stand chronologically and culturally in relation to them, though theories there have been many. Mr. Majumdar is to be congratulated in bringing before us sites in which similar types from both culture areas are noticeable. We are not inclined to agree with his interpretations and lean-

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ings towards a prior claim of Western sites. But we are grateful to him for bringing us new data for the understanding of the origins of the wheel-cattle-cereals-plough complex, with which ultimately the claims of the priority of cultures in sites from the Indus to the Nile are to be decided. It is possible that there were different culture traditions, and possibly ethnic compositions, of an Anau type and a Susa type—the former having travelled by Northern routes and the latter by Southern routes to Baluchistan and Sind, or it is possible that there was a prototype in the Eastern zone in India which got differentiated into Northern and Southern subtypes and diffused westwards, bifurcating more and more into the Anau and Susa varieties. In any case these interesting speculations are possible only for the new data from fresh fields culled by Mr. Majumdar. There are still vast unexplored areas between Harappa and Mohenjo-daro, and in Eastern Sind and also in the Las Bela State of Baluchistan, not to speak of the zones intermediate between Harappa and Anau, and it is high time that the Government of India resumed this very important and interesting survey which was started by Sir Aurel Stein and continued so ably by Mr. Majumdar. His excellent map, plans of sites, and excavations and the well-reproduced plates of painted pottery, etc. have made his work a masterpiece of accurate scientific exposition, and no future explorer in Sind can do without it.

PANCHANAN MITRA.

A SOUVENIR OF THE SILVER JUBILEE CELEBRATION OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR THE PUBLICATION OF ORIENTAL MANUSCRIPTS, TRIVANDRUM.

This Souvenir consists of four parts: (I) Foreword; (II) A Brief Resumé of the Working of the Department for the Publication of Oriental Manuscripts (pp. 1–32); (III) Letters of Appreciation (pp. 33–47); and (IV) Contributions (pp. 48–131). The Foreword is by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, K.C.I.E., and the Brief Resumé by K. Sambasiva Sastri, the present curator. Letters of Appreciation include those from Prof. A. Berriedale Keith of the Edinburgh University, Dr. Sylvain Lèvi of Paris, Prof. Franklin Edgerton of the Yale University, Dr. Ganganath Jha, Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, Prof. Winternitz of Prague, and so on, and so forth. As regards the fourth Section, it comprises nine original articles by Indian scholars, all, however, hailing from the Draviḍa country.

Strictly speaking, 1928 may be considered as the year fit for the Silver Jubilee Celebration, as the preparation and publication of Oriental Manuscripts was begun in 1903. But Dr. Ganapati Sastri who was in charge of this work was at that time the principal of the Sanskrit College. A separate Department for this work was created for the first time only on the 3rd of September, 1908. Calculated from this date, 25 years were completed on the 4th of September, 1933, on which day therefore the Silver Jubilee Celebration took place. Though the Department was but 25 years in existence, as many as 113 works in Sanskrit and 26 in Malayalam had been published. By the fame and importance of its work and, above all, the prestige it enjoys, it has shown itself to be a most worthy rival of similar Departments in the States of Mysore, Baroda, and Kashmir. Ganapati Sastri was 48 years old when he entered this Department. The ordinary rule that officers should retire at 55 was set aside and as many as eleven extensions were granted to him by the Travancore Government as they rightly recognized that the Department being a technical one made the research worker in it more and more fit for the work as years advanced. He, therefore, retired in October, 1925, at the ripe age of 66!! It was not however till the 15th of March, 1926 that Pandit K. Sambasiva Sastri took charge of his office as Sanskrit Curator.

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The service done by the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series is invaluable. Every Sanskrit scholar and student of Ancient India, whether in India or in the west, cannot but feel grateful to it. Many new texts, formerly unknown, were published and for the first time, and many old and well-known texts also appeared in new invaluable editions. Again, there is hardly any field of Sanskrit literature to which this Series has not done justice. As to Drama we have not yet forgotten the exceeding sensation produced in the scholarly world in 1910 when the late MM. Ganapati Sastri discovered 13 plays, which he declared to be the dramatic works of Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa. A whole literature has centred round these plays, and a controversy started about the authorship which has not yet subsided. Nevertheless, we shall do well to remember what Prof. Winternitz remarked in 1923 when he delivered a Readership Lecture on Bhāsa before the Calcutta University: 'If it should finally be proved that Bhāsa cannot be the author of these plays, they will yet always have to be counted among the most valuable treasures of Indian literature, and we should—even in this case—have every reason to be thankful to MM. Ganapati Sastri who has unearthed these treasures for us'. Of particular importance again for the history of Sanskrit Drama is the *Mattavilāsa-Prahasana*, the oldest *Prahasana* that has come down to us. It is also of historical importance as its author is the royal poet, Mahendravikramavarman of the Pallava dynasty, who flourished about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.

In the field of Arthaśāstra great service to the cause of Sanskrit learning was similarly done by the publication of Kauṭalya's *Arthaśāstra* in three parts, which form one of the gems of the whole Trivandrum Series. Dr. Ganapati Sastri had found not only new manuscripts of the text but also considerable fragments of the ancient commentaries of Bhaṭṭasvāmin and Mādhavayajvan. And, further, the commentary of his own which Ganapati Sastri published along with the text was based not only upon these but also upon *Arthaśāstrabhāṣāvyākhyā* which is an old commentary in Malayalam of Kauṭalya's work. This commentary of Ganapati Sastri has been very much commended by savants, but we have to remember that this Malayalam commentary was to Ganapati Sastri's work what the substance is to its shadow.

In fact, there is hardly any field of Sanskrit literature which has not been traversed by the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. Whether it is *Kāvya*, Philosophy, *Alaṁkāra*, Grammar, Lexicography, *Dharmaśāstra*, Tantrism or such sciences as Medicine, Elephant Lore, Architecture, and Astronomy, it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of the work achieved by the Department. The catholicity of the Trivandrum Series again is proved by the inclusion of one Buddhist and one Jaina work. The Buddhist work is of a Tantric character, though it calls itself a Mahāvaipulya-Mahāyānasūtra. It calls itself Āryamañjuśrī-mūlakalpa of Bodhisattva-Piṭakāvataṁsa. This important text was translated into Chinese between 980 and 1000 A.D., and into Tibetan in the 11th century. And it is now published in the Trivandrum Series for the first time in original Sanskrit. The importance of this work for the history of later Buddhism and also for Buddhist Iconography can scarcely be overrated.

It is, however, in the sphere of the Veda that the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has recently created a sensation,—a sensation as great and widespread as when the plays of Bhāsa were published. For this agreeable surprise the present Curator of the Series is responsible. He has unearthed a very rare and ancient Bhāṣya of the Ṛgveda called *Skandasvāmi-bhāṣya* with a concurrent commentary of Veṅkaṭamādhava. The renowned Sanskrit scholar, Max Müller, was unaware of it when he, for the first time, brought out his edition of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya. But Sāyaṇācārya himself refers to Skandasvāmin and admits that the latter is a greater authority than himself. And it must be a matter of exceeding

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pride to the Travancore Durbar that the Bhāṣya of Skandasvāmin was obtained from their land. The whole scholarly world, in fact, is exceedingly indebted to Pandit K. Sambasiva Sastri for commencing the publication of the Bhāṣya. We personally have no doubt that some European University or another will be delighted to confer the Honorary Degree of Doctorate upon him when the publication thereof is complete, as it no doubt honoured his predecessor.

In conclusion, let us express the fervent hope that the present Mahārājā of Travancore will tread in the worthy footsteps of his father, H.H. Sir Mulam Tirunal, and will leave no stone unturned for the spread of Oriental Culture throughout the world for which the kings of Travancore have been renowned from time immemorial and that the present Curator will continue to help the Durbar till at least the Golden Jubilee of his Department is celebrated, though for this purpose he may have to be given a number of extensions.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

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IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 54, *No.* 3, *September,* 1934.

1. The Ritualistic Continuity of Ṛgveda, X, 14–18, by Horace I. Poleman.

   The death-rites of the Ṛgvedic period are generally inferred from fire hymns of the tenth maṇḍala. From a study of the rites of the post-Vedic period, Mr. Poleman thinks that not only the verses of each hymn 'present a ritualistic continuity but also that each hymn takes up the thread of events where the preceding dropped it'.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. 10, *Nos.* 1 *and* 2, *September,* 1934.

1. Kolhapur Copperplate Grant of Akālavarṣadeva, by Prof. K. G. Kundangar (illustrated with photos of facsimiles of plates).

   On the ring that keeps the three plates together is a square seal on which are in bas-reliefs the images of Śaṅkara, Gaṇapati, and Ṣaḍānana. Below the image of Śaṅkara, are inscribed '*Śrīmad-Akālavarṣa-devaru*' in nāgari. The inscription records the grants of a village near modern Kolhapur by Akālavarṣadeva, also called Vallabha Narendra-deva of the Rāṣṭrakuṭa dynasty in Śaka 882=960 A.D.

2. Meteorology in the Ṛgveda, by Rao Sahib Mukund V. Unakar.

   In the present instalment the writer dwells upon the Ahis and Vṛtras and their meteorological significance, famines, and seasons of Ṛgvedic times. He discusses also some meteorological features of present climatic conditions and remarks on a possible deduction of a change of climate from the Ṛgveda. Finally, he gives some concluding remarks on the principal features of Ṛgvedic meteorology.

Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIII, Part 2, *August,* 1934.

1. The Genealogy and the Chronology of the Early Kadambas of Vanavasi, by Mr. M. Govind Pai.

   Mr. Pai gives a revised study of the genealogy and chronology of the Kadambas basing his observations on

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hitherto unavailable and up-to-date documents, beginning from Mayuraśarman who came to power in 180 A.D. down to Kṛṣṇavarman who according to him ruled till 450 or 455 A.D. He also combats the theory that the early Kadambas were all of Jaina persuasion.

2. *Dasabandham*, by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A.
   Mr. Dikshitar offers an explanation of the term *Dasabandham* which occurs frequently in ancient Sanskrit literature on polity and law, in mediæval inscriptions and even in modern documents.
3. Akbar's Regulation System: When did it end? by Mr. C. S. K. Rao Sahib.
4. The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughals, by Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law.

The Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. X, No. 3, September, 1934.

1. The Great Goddess in India and Iran, by Prof. Jean Przyluski.
2. Ideals of Tantra Rites, by Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A.
3. Location of Kṛṣṇa's Capital Dvāravatī, by Nalini Kanta Bhaṭṭasālī, M.A.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1934.

1. Epigraphic Notes, by Dines Chandra Sarkar, M.A.
   In a note on 'Hiraṇyagarbha', Mr. Sarkar brings out the correct interpretation of phrases like *hiraṇyagarbha-saṁbhūta, hiraṇyagarbha-prasūta*, etc. mentioned in the inscriptions of South Indian kings.
   In another note on the genealogy of the Ānanda kings of Guntur, he tries to prove that Dāmodaravarman was not the predecessor of Attivarman as had hitherto been thought, but was rather the successor of Attivarman, and was presumably the latter's son.

Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series, Vol. XXIX, 1933, *No.* 4.

1. St. Thomas and a Kuṣāṇ king, by Harit Krishna Deb.
   In the Mathurā archæological museum there is a torso of a statue that bears an inscription, perhaps fragmentary, of three letters read by Dr. Vogel as: Mastāna, the name presumably of a Kuṣāṇ prince. Mr. Deb finds an equation of Mastāna with Mastwana or Mastyana who was responsible for the death of St. Thomas. He concludes therefore that

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'the king who is reputed to have put St. Thomas to death will thus have been a Kuṣāṇ prince (i.e. Mastāna) whose torso we possess in an archæological museum to-day.'

2. Susa in Sanskrit literature, by Harit Krishna Deb.
3. India and the Persian Empire, by Harit Krishna Deb.

Journal of the Assam Research Society, Vol. II, No. 2, July, 1934.

1. Kāmrūpa and Vajrayāna (Author is not mentioned).
   The author points out that Kāmākhyā and Śrīhaṭṭa (Sylhet) were the two very early centres of Vajrayāna which was widely diffused in Kāmarūpa and existed there till as late as the 16th century.

Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. II, No. 1, *June,* 1934.

1. Two Coḷa Temples by Percy Brown.
   Here the writer has given an account of the two temples and discussed about their architecture.
2. The Central Image of the Bayon of Angkor Thom by G. Coedès.
3. Foot-Paths in Ancient Indian Towns by B. B. Dutt.
   It is an interesting paper throwing some light on vithikā, vedikā, pakṣa, etc.
4. The Painted Sarās of Rural Bengal by G. S. Dutt.
5. Sculptures and Bronzes from Pagan by Niharranjan Roy.
6. Kaliṅga Temples by St. Kramrisch.
   An exhaustive account of the temples in the Kaliṅga kingdom has been recorded in this paper.

Published by Satis Chandra Seal, M.A., B.L., 55, Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta, and Printed by P. Knight, Baptist Mission Press, 41A, Lower Circular Road, Calcutta.

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THE HIDDEN FEAR

By W. J. Ennever

FEW things which I have encountered in the course of my life have impressed me more than the prevalence of what I here call "*the hidden fear*."

It is a fear which is not openly confessed: indeed, in many cases those who suffer from it are not conscious of its existence, even though its deterrent effects are constantly experienced. But nevertheless it is a very real fear which has far-reaching consequences.

Actually, this "hidden fear" of which I speak is at the root of what is termed "inferiority complex." It is probable that the more scientific term misleads a good many people, and that is why, for the present, I prefer to discuss it as "the hidden fear."

I have met with it in men whom none would suspect of an "inferiority complex"—they themselves would scorn the suggestion. Nevertheless, they are afflicted and handicapped by a "hidden fear" which prevents them being all that they might otherwise be. I have been honoured with the confidences of men and women of recognised eminence in many fields of human activity—statesmen, men of letters, actors, and members of the legal and medical profession—who have in the course of conversation revealed the existence of a fear which, consciously or unconsciously, dogs their progress.

The "hidden fear" is, however, much more in evidence with those whom I may term "the rank and file" of business and the professions, and, in my opinion, it is this which in the vast majority of cases is responsible for failure and mediocrity.

Here I will state an opinion which I firmly hold, and which every year, every day almost, tends to confirm. It is that *the normal man or woman possesses capacities and abilities far greater than they themselves believe.*

I make that statement quite seriously, for it is based upon my observation of some thousands of cases during my thirty years' work at the Pelman Institute.

A reader of these words may exclaim impatiently, "Oh! but that cannot apply in my case. I know myself: I know my own powers and my own limitations." Probably he does: but he has never sought to discover the cause of his "limitations." I venture to say that the cause is, in almost every case, a hidden fear of some sort—a doubt, self-distrust, fear of opinion, timidity, dread of novelty or any departure from settled habits. It is impossible to catalogue all the varieties of the hidden fear, but these are some of the more prevalent, and until they are abolished a very real limit is set to the possibilities of progress.

They limit progress because they deter a man from exerting himself to the full extent of his capabilities. He does not really believe in his own abilities beyond a certain point, and, not believing, he does not try. He may be ambitious, but his fear of failure holds him back from the attempt to climb. And yet, if his fear, his doubt, his indecision, were to be analysed or subjected to the questionings of *reason*, they would vanish like a mist before the rising sun.

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That is why I say emphatically that most people possess far greater abilities than they credit themselves with; but as those abilities are unrecognised and not put to use, they remain in a lowly station instead of rising, as they well might, to the highest.

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VEDĀNTA AND SĀṂKHYA IN PRIMITIVE BUDDHISM[1]

By F. Otto Schrader

By primitive Buddhism I understand the teaching of the Buddha as displayed to us in the Nikāyas generally, i.e. with the exception of what cannot but be recognized as scholastic tampering by any trained critic. My Buddha, consequently, comes nearer to Prof. Stcherbatsky's[2] than to the 'true' Buddha, discovered by Mrs. Rhys Davids, who taught neither the four Noble Truths nor the Not-Self, neither Suffering nor release from individuality, and whose religion is, indeed, so different from what is commonly understood by Buddhism that the discoverer felt compelled to monopolize for it the name Sakya (Śākya).[3] Without denying that there are in the Nikāyas certain traces of a 'pre-canonical' Buddha, who, e.g. did not understand Liberation as the mere cessation of becoming as which it has come to be looked at in Hīnayāna Buddhism, I cannot admit that we are allowed to deviate from tradition to such an extent as Mrs. Rhys Davids has done by sticking to her principle that 'historical perspective should forbid the explaining of the older by the younger' (The Milinda Questions, p. XIV). This is merely a going from the one extreme (which has, indeed, been in vogue far too long) to the other—just as Ṛgvedic research has done in the West (though in the opposite direction: disregard followed by over-valuation of Sāyaṇa) before it decided definitively for the Middle Road. As to the 'co-workers' of the Buddha, it is, indeed, likely enough that his doctrine is partly due to them; but this problem need not trouble us here, because our 'primitive' Buddhism is meant to include everything that the Nikāyas, with the restriction mentioned above, consider as part of the (final and for them also original) doctrine of the Buddha.

Nobody, so far as I know, has ever denied that there was already some sort of Vedānta when the Buddha began to teach.

---

[1] This paper was written without knowledge of Mrs. Rhys Davids' lecture 'The Relations between Early Buddhism and Brahmanism' (published in the Indian Historical Quarterly of 1934, pp. 274–287) with which, however, so far as it covers the same ground as mine (Vedānta), I fully agree, excepting, as will be seen, the passage on p. 279 where she says: 'Contradict me if I have overlooked anything to the contrary'.

[2] The Doctrine of the Buddha, *BSOS.*, 1932, pp. 867 fll.

[3] Sakya or Buddhist Origins, London, 1931.

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The Nikāyas, at any rate, show him conversing with Vedāntins, e.g. in the Brahmin village Manasākaṭa where two Brahmins are debating on the 'road' leading to *brahma-sahavyatā*. But here, as elsewhere (though not everywhere; see below) the Sutta is only concerned with the personal god Brahmā and his 'world' for whom there was a place, though not the highest, also in the Buddha's system. It has therefore often been stated by writers on Buddhism that the neuter Brahman did not occur at all in the Nikāyas. Yet, in the dialogue referred to (the Tevijja-Sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya) it remains doubtful whether the two Brahmins meant the personal or the impersonal Brahman, though the Buddha in his questions and answers means undoubtedly the personal one. For, the words placed into the mouth of the *tevijjā brāhmaṇā*, viz. *yaṃ na jānāma yaṃ na passāma tassa sahavyatāya maggaṃ desema*, though seemingly used as a mere winding up, are strikingly similar to certain well-known Upaniṣad passages, such as Kaṭha-Up., VI, 12:—

naiva vācā na manasā prāptuṃ śakyo na cakṣuṣā /
astīti bruvato 'nyatra kathaṃ tad upalabhyate //,

Kena-Up., I, 3:—

na tatra cakṣur gacchati na vāg gacchati no mano /
na vidmo na vijānīmo yathaitad anuśiṣ(i)yāt //

and several others, and this raises the suspicion that the Buddha has here, unknowingly or rather knowingly (because he avoided metaphysics), committed what in logic is called the fallacy of the ambiguous middle—quite in accordance with his habit of twisting the meaning of his interlocutor and recoining ancient terms. But, however that may be, there is at least one passage which clearly refers to the impersonal Brahman, viz. in the Alagaddūpama-Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya where the Buddha says: 'World and Self are one: that shall I be after death; eternal, firm, everlasting, not subject to change, like the everlasting one; thus shall I stay: is not that, O Bhikkhus, a mere, complete doctrine of fools?' This 'doctrine of fools' (*bāla-dhammo*) teaching the identity of world and soul can be nothing else but an echo of the famous *tat tvam asi* of the Chāndogya-Upaniṣad![1] However, the view condemned here is, of course, not the idealistic Advaita of a Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara; for that Advaita warns against the identification of the world (body and mind) with the Self in the

[1] The *chandokā brāhmaṇā* are mentioned in the Tevijja-Sutta.—Professor Stcherbatsky will have to reconsider his referring (*loc. cit.*, p. 873) the *bāla-dhamma* to the Sāṃkhya. If the latter was meant, we should have *añño—añño* and not *so—so* (=Skt. *yaḥ—saḥ*).

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same emphatic way (though with less consistency; see below) as does the Buddha himself in the mentioned Sutta and many others. That Advaita had not come into existence yet at the time of the Buddha, but appeared much later and under the influence of Buddhism. The theory of identity condemned in our Sutta must be a materialistically tinged pantheistic Vedānta, i.e. the very view evidently held by the author of the Great Word, Uddālaka Āruṇi. But then, it may be asked, was there not also the lofty *ātma-vāda* of the great Yājñavalkya with its remarkable approach to genuine Advaita? It may not have been there yet; for, as I think with Mrs. Rhys Davids, it is wrong to believe that the older Upaniṣads must be throughout anterior to the Buddha; nor is it in the least likely that all of them were known to him, since in his time they were still new and not yet common property. At any rate, the Nikāyas show no acquaintance with any idealistic Vedānta.[1] They do, however, point to the existence, in that time, of still other varieties of the pantheistic Vedānta, such as the doctrine, taught by Atidhanvan Śaunaka (Chānd. Up. I, 9), of infinite *ākāśa* as the highest principle (comp. Taitt. Up., II, 7: *yad eṣa ākāśa ānando na syāt*), and of the all-pervading *vijñāna* (*prajñāna, prajñā*) taught by several schools (see Ait. Up. III, Kauṣ. Up. III, etc.). These doctrines have been made use of by the Buddha (though perhaps not directly) in building up his system of the Arūpabrahmalokas. And, finally, there is undoubtedly Vedānta in those spiritual exercises called *brahmavihāra* and, in the language of the Nikāyas, in terms like the one just mentioned and phrases like *brahmabhūtena attanā viharati*.

Was there also a Sāṃkhya at the time of the Buddha? I remember the late Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids having once told me that in his opinion the Sāṃkhya owes its origin to Buddhism; and Dasgupta has recently shown a propensity for this view by trying to substantiate his omission of the Sāṃkhya in his treatment of primitive Buddhism with the fact 'well-known to every student of Hindu philosophy that a conflict with the Buddhists has largely stimulated philosophical inquiry in most of the systems of Hindu thought' (H.I.Ph., I, p. 78). But it seems to me to be a hopeless task for a historian of philosophy to construe an evolution from Buddhism to Sāṃkhya, while he could easily derive the latter from the former. The classical Sāṃkhya, of course, cannot well have existed in that time; but that its fundamental ideas had already taken shape then and joined in some sort of system or systems

[1] Unless the negative answers on the condition of the deceased Tathāgata have something to do with Yājñavalkya's *neti neti*.

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recognizable in certain Upaniṣads (Kāṭhaka, Muṇḍaka, etc.)[1] is now believed by a majority of scholars, as also that the Buddha has been strongly influenced from that side. Let us see, then, what traces of such influence may be found in the Nikāyas.

In the Brahmajāla-Sutta a view is mentioned which has often been taken to be the Sāṃkhya. Here, as in similar cases (comp. above the saying of the *tevijjā brāhmaṇā*), no such supposition is required by the context, still we may assume that the Buddha has made use here of a credo which really existed, though not in the very same form. This becomes the more likely if we venture to deviate from all former translations by understanding the word *kūṭaṭṭha* not as the adjective as which is it elsewhere used but as the substantive *kūṭastha* which is with the Sāṃkhyas a synonym of *puruṣa*. For, then the meaning of the passage[2] would be as follows: 'The self (1) and the world (2) are eternal; (for), the Kūṭastha (1) is unproductive, as a pillar firmly fixed; and the beings (2) run through births, transmigrate, pass away and spring up, which is (again) a sort of eternality'.[3] This is practically the same as what the Bhagavadgītā (under Sāṃkhya influence) expresses with the words: *kṣaraḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāni, kūṭastho 'kṣara ucyate*. It is the Sāṃkhya tenet of the two eternities styled in that system *kūṭastha-nityatva* and *pariṇāmi-nityatva*, i.e. the eternity of the unchangeable and the changeable, resp., or, in other words, timeless eternity and eternity in time.[4]

This tenet is the very backbone of the Sāṃkhya. It shows the uncompromising dualism of the system placing on the one side an eternal matter (*prakṛti*) characterized by causation and transmigration[5] and on the other an unchanging 'man' (*puruṣa*) who is beyond causation, *vandhya* 'barren' or *aprasavadharmin* (Sā. Kā., 11), 'neither evolvent nor evolute' (*na prakṛtir na vikṛtiḥ, ibid.*, 3), and with but a single positive attribute: *sacetana* (*ibid.*,

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[1] That all metrical Upaniṣads must be later than the ancient prose Upaniṣads is a prejudice based on Deussen's preliminary Upaniṣad chronology. See for a different and more reasonable view Belvalkar's attempt at an Upaniṣad chronology in his H.I.Ph., Vol. II, especially the table on p. 135. An antique poetry can continue by the side of a modern prose, but the opposite case is just as possible in a country where poetry is much more cultivated than prose.

[2] *Sassato attā ca loko ca, vañjho kūṭaṭṭho esikaṭṭhāyiṭṭhito, te ca sattā sandhāvanti saṃsaranti cavanti upapajjanti, atthi tv eva sassati-samaṃ.*

[3] On *sassati-samaṃ* with v.l. *sassata-samaṃ* see Franke, Dīghanikāya, p. 23, n. 2.

[4] For the former of which the Buddhist epithet *kappātīta* applied to the Arahant may be compared.

[5] It is the liṅga, not the puruṣa, that transmigrates (S.K. 42*a*. 62)—just as in our Pāli quotation (above, f.n. 2) the sattā only are thus characterized.

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11). The *puruṣa* is only one, until, towards the end of the 'epic' period, he is inconsistently multiplied.[1] The Nature is also one, not, however, like the Spirit, in the absolute sense, but (with a *svagata-bheda*) as an organic unity, a triadic organism, evolving and again absorbing within itself through a process of *pariṇāma* or transformation (condensation and attenuation) the variety of individual not-selves. The Self is in bondage, according to this view, by erroneously identifying itself with some part of the not-self; and it is liberated when it succeeds in cutting this bond by means of *viveka* or clear recognition of its absolute difference from the not-self. The formula for this redeeming knowledge is: *nāsmi na me nāham* (Sā. Kā., 64), i.e.: 'I do not exist (as a being in transmigration), naught is mine (such as a body or mind), I am not an ego (with body and mind)'.

Now, it can be easily shown not only that the Buddha taught a dualism of this very kind but also that he, and not the Sāṃkhya, is the borrower. For, the Buddha's standpoint, as we shall see, shows two corrections of the Sāṃkhya dualism, one on either side of it, and thus becomes the more advanced view which it is impossible to imagine as the root of the Sāṃkhya.

In continuation of the passage already known to us, which condemns the Vedāntic *tat tvam asi*, the Buddha states that the pernicious *attavādupādāna* can arise only in one who is deluded by the relation of owner and possession, but never in him who has realized the non-existence (in relation to the Absolute) of one and consequently both of these, i.e. knows that there is to be found in this world neither an *attā* (*ātman*) nor an *attaniya* (*ātmīya*); and to train themselves in this conviction he invites his monks to repeat to themselves with regard to each and every constituent, bodily and mental, of their individual existence (viz. the skandhas enumerated here) the words: *n'etaṃ mama, n'eso 'ham asmi, na m'eso attā*, i.e.: 'This is not mine, I am not this, this is not my self'. And, to exclude any misunderstanding, he at once turns against the *uccheda-vāda* (imputed to him by 'some Śramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas') by emphatically declaring that he did not teach 'the breaking off, the perishing, the going out of the real being' (*sato sattassa ucchedaṃ vināsaṃ vibhavaṃ*). He then still further elucidates his standpoint by means of a parable: supposing, he says to his monks, there would come a man

[1] The result being a plurality of puruṣas who are absolutely alike! On the lateness of this step, which is even in the Bhagavadgītā hardly foreshadowed yet, see P. M. Modi's book 'Akṣara, a forgotten chapter in the history of Indian philosophy' (Baroda-Bhavnagar, 1932). 'It was a Herculean task for Indian thinkers to free themselves from the grip of the ancient Aupaniṣada tradition with its one and only Atman' (p. 120).

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to this Jeta wood (in which we are just now) and take away or burn whatever it contains—grasses and boughs and branches and leaves—could you then possibly think : ' Us takes the man away, us is he burning ' ?—' Certainly not, master '.—' And why not ? '—' Because, O master, that is not our self (*attā*) nor what belongs to it (*attaniya*) '. —' Just so, ye monks, what is not yours, give that up ! And what is not yours ? '—Here there follows once more the enumeration of the bodily plus mental constituents.

The meaning of all this can only be that a man by losing even everything that can be shown to constitute his individual existence does not lose thereby his ' real being '. It would, of course, be unscientific to ascribe a view to primitive Buddhism on the authority of a single Sutta ; for we know that the Suttas do not all agree with each other and partly not even within themselves, while, on the other hand, there are traces in many of them of their having been made to agree by later ' editing '. But this is exactly what entitles us to assume that a view that appears here and there as an undercurrent, as it were, throughout the older literature, and is suppressed by the later official doctrine, is a genuine teaching of primitive Buddhism. And such is the case with the passages referred to above and similar ones, as I have tried to show many years ago.[1] They inevitably lead to the conclusion that the Buddha made a distinction between two ' selves ' : the empirical one, which is not, and the metaphysical one, which is our ' true being '.

Let us now see to what corrections the Buddha found it necessary to subject the two pillars of the Sāṃkhya dualism, the *puruṣa* and the *prakṛti*, and how certain teachings of his become more intelligible just by looking at them from this point of view.

If, as is evidently the case (note the *avyākatāni*), the Buddha avoided on principle speaking about the ' true being ' for the reason of its being the Unnameable which is beyond all categories of speech (*vādapatha* ; Sutta-Nipāta 1074, 1076), it cannot well have been for him, as it was for the Sāṃkhyas, *sacetana* or *cinmātra*, but must have been thought of by him (as later by the Mīmāṃsakas) as absolutely attributeless. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that in the Nikāyas the *mano* is classed with the senses (*indriya*), while *viññaṇaṃ*, besides appearing (but not perhaps from the first) as a synonym of *mano*, is reckoned as a primary element (*dhātu*)

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[1] See my paper ' On the problem of Nirvāṇa ' (in Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1905) and ' Die Fragen des Königs Menandros ', Berlin, 1905 (pp. 153–162). Of the passages drawn to light by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her post-war publications the most remarkable one is to my mind that in the Vinaya-Piṭaka (transl., pp. 116 fll.) where some young men looking for a certain woman are admonished rather to seek for the self (*attā*, i.e. *puruṣa* ' the man ' !).

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along with earth, water, fire, and air, and as the link connecting, in transmigration, one life with the next, i.e. as the 'soul', as we should say. The reason of this distinction is clearly this that in the latter case *viññāṇam* is the 'fundamental Element of pure, undifferentiated, so to speak empty consciousness', i.e. 'evidently nothing but the dethroned Soul of the Sāṃkhyas' (Stcherbatsky),[1] or, as I would rather put it: the *cetana* detached from the *puruṣa* and transferred as the individual soul to the world of change. And just as the Sāṃkhya view of the self (and the world) is condemned as 'eternalism' (*sassata-vāda*) in the Brahmajāla-Sutta (see above), so we may equally refer to the Sāṃkhya (and the Vedānta) the strong condemnation, in the 38th Sutta of the Majjhima-Nikāya and elsewhere, of the view of an immutable, persistent *viññāṇa*. We may, then, take it, I believe, that the Absolute, as thought of (rather than directly taught) by the Buddha, stands 'wholly aside from empirical determinations, as being without even the attribute of consciousness (*viññāṇa*) admitted in the Upaniṣads'[2] and the Sāṃkhya.

The correction on the side of 'Nature' is more evident still. The eternality of change was no matter to object to for the Buddha, but the more so was the 'eternality of the changing' (*pariṇāmi-nityatva*). For, this word (*pariṇāmin*) implies for the Sāṃkhya the idea of a substance the products of which are merely educts, i.e. existing in a supersensual condition both before and after their manifestation, and thus for ever. This so-called *satkārya-vāda* was, therefore, a constant allurement to believe in an individual and yet immutable *ātman*, or, at the best, in an all-embracing material entity (*mūla-prakṛti*) producing change within itself without essentially being subject to it. The Sāṃkhya, indeed, warned against such confusion, nay, as we have seen, declared liberation dependent on the perfect distinction between *puruṣa* and *prakṛti*. But to the Buddha this distinction, the difficulty of which was emphasized by the Sāṃkhya itself, must have appeared as an impossible task, because the things to be distinguished were wrongly defined, their definition being itself not free from the confusion which it was supposed to remove. For, either concept was, for the Buddha, contaminated by an attribute belonging in reality to the other: the *puruṣa* concept by consciousness, and that of the *prakṛti* by substantiality. It was his firm conviction that the world was perishable and substanceless (*anitya* and *anātman*) in every

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 876. Compare also what Mrs. Rhys Davids says, in *JRAS.*, 1932, p. 1019, on the early history of *viññāṇa* in Buddhism.

[2] Keith, Buddhist Philosophy, p. 65, following Schrader, Nirvāṇa.

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respect and that no salvation from it was possible except by the full realization of this fact. And since the Absolute is the Unknowable, he did not insist on a *viveka* which, after all, could be expected of the philosophically trained only, but considered it sufficient to instil with all possible emphasis the idea of an unstable and unsubstantial world and to particularly warn against the phantom of a substantial ego. That this warning has so often the appearance of a fight against the *ātman* (and not the individual *ātman* only) is due to the fact that the Buddha fights as a rule only against the *ātman* as popularly understood, i.e. a 'self' which is both ego and substance.

It is to this fight also that I attribute the origin of the curious doctrine of the skandhas. It was started with the intention to show that the mind was as little a 'self' as the body, but of the same composite nature, consisting of as many skandhas as the body has elements. This origin betrays itself by the often noticed artificialness of this division which shows that there had to be just four mental skandhas. And these are enumerated with the body as one skandha only just to reverse the popular opinion (4 elements plus 1 mind) and stigmatize the mind as even less worthy of being held to be a 'self' than the body; for, says the Saṃyutta (Vol. II, p. 95), the body may seem to be the same for a number of years, 'but what is called *mano* or *cittam* or *viññāṇam*, that springs up and vanishes day and night, ceaselessly changing'.

But the 'academic' reply of the Buddha to the *satkārya-vada* of the Sāṃkhya is his *paṭicca-samuppāda*. It does away with the contradictory idea of a changing substance and replaces it by a mere causal succession of impermanent energies, states, or appearances all of which are supposed to be a coming to pass and not a 'being' in any sense. There is, strictly speaking, not even causation (implying a producing) in this Dependent Origination, as it is called, but simply a succession brought about by the laws that are inherent in the links themselves of the chain.[1] The motive for this doctrine was opposition to the Sāṃkhya, and its aim was a twofold one, viz.: (1) to prove every phenomenon to be caused and thus impermanent, i.e. not-self; and (2) to show that the wheel of becoming can be brought to a standstill by removing even one only of its links (*avijjā* or *taṇhā*, resp.). These links present a rather queer medley of catchwords which, so far as logic is concerned, compares unfavourably with the causal series of the Sāṃkhya. Attempts to connect in detail the two causal chains have met with but scanty approval, and it seems unlikely, indeed, that a close correspondence

[1] Comp. Stcherbatsky, *loc. cit.*, pp. 887 fll.

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was ever intended, though the Buddhist chain may not have had from the beginning its present form and length. The two move on different plains. But that the Buddha's wheel of becoming arose in contrast to the Sāṃkhyan evolutional series may, I believe, be taken for certain. For, if the Sāṃkhya was there, there was its *pariṇāma-vāda*, and the Buddha had to oppose it. He did so by cancelling the very idea of the transmutation of a substance and was so 'eo ipso obliged to resort to the laws of causality, there being no other issue'.[1]

Both, then, Vedānta and Sāṃkhya, not only existed at the time of the Buddha but had also their share in the formation of his system. The influence of the Vedānta, however, was, so to speak, peripheric only, while that of the Sāṃkhya was central. For, the metaphysical dualism inherited from the latter has remained the very basement of Buddhism. But this dualism, as we have seen, in being taken over has undergone a radical change, and the question may well be asked whether a philosophical achievement like this transformation can be rightly attributed to a man who (according to the Nikāyas) lost no opportunity to warn against philosophy and would have probably taken it as an offence to be called a philosopher. I think, it can. For, firstly, a man who does not want to be a philosopher, may none the less be one ; and secondly, a philosophical achievement need not have been intended as such. If modern physics has renounced the idea of the substance, it is not philosophy but simply the bankruptcy of the old science of nature that has forced the physicist to take this step. And if the Buddha banished the substance from the world, he could have done so for a purely practical reason, viz. the conviction that liberation was impossible as long as a man had not completely freed himself from egotism by thoroughly grasping the impermanence of everything worldly ; or, as Aśvaghosa puts it : 'If there be a permanent ego, how can you think of abandoning egotism ?'[2] Yet I think that the Buddha, who must have known about *svarūpa* what in India every tyro in philosophy knows, had also a purely philosophical reason in declining the substantiality of the individual, viz. this that if the individual was, as such, an *ātman* (and thus permanent), it would of necessity

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[1] Stcherbatsky, *loc. cit.*, p. 877.

[2] *Ahaṃkāra-parityāgo yaś caiṣa parikalpyate/ saty ātmani parityāgo nāhaṃkārasya vidyate //* (Buddhacarita, XII, 74), with which it is interesting to compare Vivekacūḍāmani 55 : *Avidyākāmakarmādi-pāśa-bandhaṃ vimocitum / kaḥ śaknuyād vinātmānam kalpakoṭiśatair api //*. The contrast, as will be noticed, is but a seeming one, *vinātmanam* being in the next verse taken up again by *brahmātmaikatvabodhena*, while the *ātman* attacked in Aśvaghoṣa's śloka is shown by the context to be the supposed eternal ego of a pluralist soul theory.

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be for ever bound to the painful conditions of individual existence. And so, though it must seem hazardous to stamp the Buddha a great philosopher, as Prof. Stcherbatsky has done by ranking him with Descartes and Spinoza, there is certainly no sufficient ground for denying, with Oldenberg and others, his philosophical originality. Signs of the latter will easily be recognized, if only we do not forget that his interest was not on the metaphysical but on the ethical side. He did not want to teach philosophy and may have believed not to teach it, but his system proves that he was a philosopher.

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THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF THE MOTHER-LAND

By RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI

Country valued for its Culture.—The Hindu conception of the mother-country is more cultural than territorial. The spiritual enters more into that conception than the material. One may say that the Hindu's country is his culture and his culture his country, believing, as he does, more in the kingdom of the spirit than in that resting on matter, which is perishable and earthly.

Its deification in Sanskrit Texts.—Such a peculiar conception of the country naturally passes on to that of the country as the giver of all good, ultimately culminating in its deification. Alone among all the peoples of the world, it is the Hindu who can claim the credit of elevating patriotism into a religion. The spirit of patriotism in the West finds a typical utterance in the following famous lines of Walter Scott :—

> 'Breathes there the man, with soul so dead,
> Who never to himself hath said,
> This is my own, my native land !'

But the Hindu raises his patriotic utterance to a much higher level. A typical and most widespread utterance influencing the mass-mind in India is the following :—

> 'जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी'—
>
> 'The Mother and the Mother Country are greater than Heaven itself.'

Atharva-Veda.—But this utterance which comes from later Sanskrit literature owes its inspiration to the Vedas, the eternal fountain-head of Hindu Thought through the ages. For instance, the Prithivī-sūkta of the *Atharva-Veda* contains the Hindu's earliest hymns to the mother-land, each of whose features receives its due share of recognition for its contribution in the making of the country : 'The seas protecting the land ; the fertilizing rivers, hills and snows, forests and herbs ; its agriculture, flora, and fauna ; and, lastly, its peoples "of different speech, of diverse customs according to their regions" ; its roads, villages, and even assemblies [*sabhā* and *samiti*].'

The following prayer, again, is worth quoting :—

> 'Let the country make for us wide room ; let the country be spread out for us, be prosperous for us ;

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'On whom our forefathers formerly spread themselves, upon the brown, black, red, all-formed, fixed soil, the inhabitants of which stand, unharassed, unsmitten, and unwounded.'

Rig-Veda.—In a similar strain was uttered the following Rigvedic prayer in yet earlier, the earliest recorded times :—

'O ye Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Sarasvatī, Śatadru, and Parushṇī : receive ye my prayers ! O ye Marutbridhā joined by Asiknī, Vitastā, and Ārijikīyā joined by the Sushomā : hear ye my prayers !'

Mahābhārata.—This Rigvedic prayer culminated with necessary geographical modifications in the following Epic prayer which ranks as the national prayer of Hindu India to this day :—

गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति ।
नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरि जलेऽस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु ॥

This prayer of the epic is necessarily given in its local geographical setting, showing how the geographical horizon of Epic India was far more extensive than that of Rigvedic India which did not comprise the country south of the Sarasvatī and Śatadru (Satlej).

Manu and Purāṇas.—The spirit of these early prayers to the Mother-Goddess of the country receives even a fuller expression in later Sanskrit literature. Manusmṛiti finally describes the country as created by the gods—'देवनिर्मितं देशम् ।' And then the two most popular religious works, the Vishṇu-Purāṇam and Bhāgavat-Purāṇam, give themselves up more fully to the development of the same theme. The former frankly states that birth in the sacred Bhārata-bhūmi is earned by the spiritual merit of a thousand lives, as it leads to salvation, 'that greater blessing of final liberation' which is not attained even by the gods. Accordingly, the gods themselves desire to leave Heaven for purposes of birth in Bhāratavarsha, with its promise of infinite good. Similarly, the other Purāṇa also extols the place of birth as the supreme factor in man's emancipation.

Country extending with Culture.—Such a spiritual conception of the country cannot consistently confine it to fixed and narrow geographical limits. It is chiefly the country of the spirit, open to expansion. It is measured by its cultural expanse. Accordingly, we find that the home of the Hindu had been growing in size through the ages as reflected in the literary works of different periods.

Extensions of original Hindu Home.—The Hindu's original home is singled out as (1) *Brahmāvarta*, the holy land between the

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Sarasvatī and the Dṛishadvatī [Manu, II, 17]. It soon extends and expands into a wider country called (2) *Brahmarshi-deśa* comprising : (*a*) Kurukshetra, (*b*) the Country of the Matsyas, (*c*) Pañchālas, (*d*) Śūrasenakas. Then, as Hindu civilization spreads farther in India, the country also follows the civilization which determines its limits. Thus very soon the home of the Hindus evolves into a larger aggregate known as (3) *Madhyadeśa* of which the limits are defined to be the Himalayas in the north, the Vindhyas in the south, Prayāga in the east, and Vinaśana in the west [' the region where the Sarasvatī disappears in the sands ']. But the process of this evolution does not stop here. Madhyadeśa expands later into what is called (4) *Āryāvarta* defined as lying between those two mountains and extending as far as the eastern and western oceans [*Ib.*, 19, 21, 22].

But in all these stages of the physical expansion of the country, the cultural element in its conception is not lost sight of, but is always insisted on and emphasized. Each of these stages yields to the succeeding only in physical extent, in area, or size, but not in cultural importance or spiritual progress. As Sumantu reminds us :—

ब्रह्मावर्तः परो देश ऋषिदेशस्त्वनन्तरः ।

मध्यदेशस्ततो न्यूनः आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः ॥

> ' Brahmāvarta is the holy land proper ; next to it is Rishideśa (Brahmarshideśa) ; inferior to that is Madhyadeśa ; and last is Āryāvarta.'

The purity of the nucleus, the ideal country, is always singled out in all this process of the physical expansion of the country.

Cultural marks of the Country.—But the limits of the Hindu's country were always the limits of his culture. Hindu civilization was arrested in its course by the Vindhyas and remained confined within Āryāvarta for a long time. And so Āryāvarta and Hindu civilization are treated for long as synonymous terms in the Sanskrit texts. Āryāvarta is now distinguished as a cultural entity from the world of the *Mlechchhas* (non-Aryans) lying beyond it. The distinction is sought to be emphasized by an intense love of the country as the home of all that is best and highest in humanity. Patriotism fondly defines the country in romantic ways. One definition singles out Āryāvarta ' as the land where the black antelope finds its *natural* habitat ', the black antelope as the embodiment of beauty, innocence and energy ! Another definition adds the growth of *Kuśa* grass as the second requisite of the holy land. A third frankly defines *Āryāvarta* as *Yajñiya-deśa* and a fourth as *Dharma-deśa*, i.e. the

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country favouring the performance of sacrifices and practice of religion. A fifth definition distinguishes *Āryāvarta* as the land where life is regulated by the rules of the four castes and the four *Āśramas* as aids to self-realization or salvation. The relevant texts may be cited as follows :—

कृष्णसारस्तु चरति मृगो यत्र स्वभावतः ।
स ज्ञेयो यज्ञियो देशः म्लेच्छदेशस्ततः परः ॥ [Manu.]

चातुर्वर्ण्यव्यवस्थानं यस्मिन् देशे न विद्यते ।
स म्लेच्छदेशो विज्ञेय आर्यावर्तस्ततः परः ॥ [Vishṇu.]

कृष्णसारैर्य वै दर्भैश्चातुर्वर्ण्याश्रमैस्तथा ।
समृद्धो धर्मदेशस्स्यादाश्रयेरन्विपश्चितः ॥ [Ādi-Purāṇa.]

स्वभावाद्यत्र विचरेत्कृष्णसारस्सदा मृगः ।
धर्मदेशस्स विज्ञेयो द्विजानां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ [Saṁvarta.]

Thus the Hindu's holy land is marked by five features, viz. : (1) the black antelope ; (2) the *Kuśa* grass ; (3) Yajña ; (4) Dharma, and (5) the four castes and *Āśramas*. The exact significance of (1) is not clear, but all texts are at one in insisting on it. Yājñavalkya, a hard-headed law-giver, lends himself to the romantic outburst : 'That country is fit for the religious life where the antelope is black'. And another text adds that the black antelope must not be an imported and acclimatized animal in the holy land, but must be a growth of its soil, native to it from eternity—'स्वभावाद्यत्र विचरेत्कृष्णसारस्सदा मृगः—स्वभावादनादितः' [From Smṛiti-Chandrikā.] It is difficult to understand what inspiration comes to religious life from the sight of the roaming black buck.

Countries lacking those marks are condemned.—We also arrive at a corresponding conception of the country that is outside the holy land and called Mlechchha-deśa. The conception is more cultural than territorial. The Mlechchha-deśa is defined as that lacking the five features of the holy land as enumerated above. It is frankly dubbed as *adharma-deśa*, the country devoid of Vedic religion ; the country where 'no one should perform *śrāddha* nor make a journey to' [Vishṇu] : न म्लेच्छविषये श्राद्धं कुर्यान्न गच्छेत्तं विषयम् । [From Smṛiti-Chandrikā.]

'Even the performance of hundreds of sacrifices in such a god-forsaken country will not avail even a member of the twice-born classes for attaining to heaven.' So states the *Ādi-Purāṇam*.

अधर्मदेशमध्ये तु कृत्वा क्रतुशतान्यपि ।
न पश्यन्ति द्विजाश्श्रेयो यातुस्स्वर्गे महार्गलम् ॥ [Ādi-Purāṇa.]

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Countries are generally condemned on religious grounds. The country exists for religion which must be its supreme consideration. A country lacking the atmosphere and the conditions which are congenial to religious life and spiritual progress is not recognized as a fit place for habitation. On this basis, the following regions are condemned by the Śāstras. According to Manu, these are: (1) Śūdra-rājya, the kingdom of the Śūdras, (2) the country inhabited by people not following the Vedic religion, (3) the country dominated by heretics, and (4) the tracts inhabited by the Antyajas, i.e. the people of the lowest castes (generally seven in number, namely, washerman, currier, mimic, Varuḍa, fisherman, Meda or attendant on women, and mountaineer or forester). Vyāsa, similarly, wants the religious man (dhārmika) to avoid the following countries: those inhabited by (1) Śūdras, (2) Non-Vedic, irreligious peoples, and (3) Mlechchhas.

These not to be visited except for Pilgrimage.—A visit, however, to these condemned countries is permissible: (*a*) for pilgrimage, and (*b*) under parents' injunctions. A visit made on any other ground is treated as a sin calling for a purificatory ceremony—Aindava Yajña—for its expiation. For convenience of travellers, they are warned that if they are of the three twice-born classes (*dvijas*) and are natives of Āryāvarta, they must not overstep its limits which are mentioned as Narmadā in the south, Sindhu (Indus) in the west, Karatoyā in the east [*Ādi-Purāṇam*].

Patches of holy land in these unholy Countries.—There are, however, marked out certain bright spots, patches of holy land, even in these condemned regions. Some of these isolated islands of sacred land are named in the texts, viz.: Kurukshetra, Prabhāsa (Somnath), Pushkara (near Ajmer) Naimisha, and Amarakaṇṭaka.

But the great factor of purification is the river Gaṅgā, Jāhṇavī, or Tripathagā. The regions through which it flows,—'*deśa, janapada*, or *śaila* (hills)'—are deemed exceptionally sacred and helpful to religious life. Such regions are to be regarded as *Tapovanam*, places for meditation, or *Siddha Kshetram*, places for achieving salvation. Even in these regions, certain places are marked out as specially holy, viz.: Vārāṇasī, or Kāśī which one should choose as his last resting-place; Gaṅgādvāra (Hardwar), Prayāga, and the mouths of the Ganges where the river falls into the ocean (Gaṅgā-sāgara-saṅgama). Some of the relevant texts may be cited:—

शूद्रराज्येऽपि निवसेद्यत्र मध्ये तु जाह्नवी ।
सोऽतिपुण्यतमो देशो नरैरपि समाश्रितः ॥ [Pitāmaha.]

गङ्गाद्वारे प्रयागे च गङ्गासागरसङ्गमे ।
निवासो न विना पुण्यैर्नराणामिह जायते ॥ [Pitāmaha.]

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ते देशास्ते जनपदास्ते शैलास्ते तथाश्रमाः ।
पुण्या त्रिपथगा येषां मध्ये याति सरिद्वरा ॥ [Vyāsa.]
यत्र गङ्गासरिच्छ्रेष्ठा स देशस्तत्तपोवनम् ।
सिद्धक्षेत्रं च तज्ज्ञेयं गङ्गातीरसमाश्रितम् ॥ [Ādi-Purāṇa.]
प्रभासे पुष्करे काश्यां नैमिषेऽमरकण्टके ।
गङ्गायां सरयूतीरे निवसेद्धार्मिको जनः ॥ [Vishṇu-Dharmottara.]

The above texts also show that, next to Gaṅgā, the river Sarayū was also highly valued as a purifying influence on the regions through which it flows.

Those not caring for religion may settle anywhere.—It may be noted that since religious life was the prime consideration in the choice of settlements, those who do not care for the religious life need not care for these restrictions regarding settlements. Thus, according to Manu, the Śūdras were free to settle anywhere in pursuit of economic ends or livelihood [वृत्तिकर्शितः].

Lists of condemned countries in different Texts.—On the basis of the above general indications regarding the holy regions of India, lists are made of regions which are not recommended for religious life. Such regions are called by the technical name of *Nishiddhadeśa*. Probably these lists were called for in the days of Aryan expansion all over India, with Aryan settlements springing up in every part of the country.

Bodhāyana.—Thus Bodhāyana, author of the famous Dharma-sūtra, condemns the following regions: (1) Ānarta (Gujerat and Kathiawad), (2) Aṅga, (3) Magadha, (4) Saurāshṭra, (5) Sindhu-Sauvīra (Sindh), (6) Dākshiṇāpatha. These regions are condemned, because they are marked by intermixture of castes (संकीर्णयोनयः).

Vyāsa.—Vyāsa has the following list: (1) Aṅga, (2) Vaṅga, (3) Andhra country, and generally the regions inhabited by the Mlechchhas. But his criterion of condemnation is the absence of the usual black antelope in those regions.

Ādi-Purāṇa.—The *Ādi-Purāṇa*, however, gives a fuller list of condemned countries, comprising the following :—

(1) Kāñchī.
(2) Kosala.
(3) Surāshṭra.
(4) Deva-rāshṭra (or Veda-rāshṭra) (Maratha country).
(5) The two Kachchhas.
(6) Sauvīra.
(7) Koṅkaṇa (Konkan).
(8) Āraṭṭa, ' where flow five rivers all issuing from the hills ' (i.e. the Panjab).

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(9) Aṅga.
(10) Vaṅga.
(11) Kaliṅga.
(12) Vindhya.
(13) Mālava.
(14) Pauṇḍra.
(15) Chedi.
(16) Kerala.
(17) Magadha.
(18) Avanti.
(19) Dakshiṇāpatha.

The *Ādi-Purāṇa* further forbids journeys beyond the limits of Kāśī, Padma (Pushkara), Sindhu, and Narmadā, except for times spent on pilgrimage. It generally condemns the countries to the south of the Narmadā and to the north of the Sindhu.

Some regions (Nos. 3, 14–17) it condemns as unsuitable for the performance of sacrifices or ceremonies like marriage or Śrāddha. It applies the epithet *Pāpadeśa* to such regions, 'because they are inhabited by immoral people, contact with whom causes sin'. It further states that a *dvija* will be fallen, if he visits such countries of his own accord, and not for pilgrimage.

Penances for visiting Condemned Countries.—Bodhāyana, however, goes so far as to prescribe a penance for expiating the sin of visit to some of these countries. Among these he mentions Sindhu, Sauvīra, Saurāshṭra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga, and, generally, the peoples living on the frontiers. The ban against the *Antyas* or frontagers is due to the Śruti passage—तस्मान्न जघन्यान्नान्त्यान् [From Smriti-Chandrikā.]

The *Ādi-Purāṇa* is also at one with Bodhāyana in prescribing penance against visits to Saurāshṭra, Sindhu, and Sauvīra, to which it adds Avanti and Dakshiṇāpatha generally. It also prescribes penances for going beyond the limits of (1) Himavat (Himālaya), (2) Kauśika (river Kosi), (3) Vindhya, and (4) west of Padma (Pushkara). It also condemns प्रत्यन्तवास, i.e. dwelling on the frontiers.

Their list in Skanda Purāṇa.—The *Skanda-Purāṇa* has practically the same list of Nishiddhadeśas as Ādi-Purāṇa, except that it adds to it the hilly regions inhabited by the aborigines. It, however, tolerates the visit of a Dvija to such places only as an *Āpaddharma*, i.e. as a measure of emergency, provided that he comes away when the emergency is over.

Division of Countries by Customs.—It is also interesting to note that, as a consequence of the cultural conception of the country,

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countries are marked out in the Sanskrit texts more for their manners and customs than by their mere geographical boundaries or physical features. Thus there is a broad division recognized in the Dharmasūtras between Northern and Southern India on the basis of these manners and customs.

North Indian Customs according to Bodhāyana.—The customs peculiar to the north are stated by Bodhāyana to be the following :—

(1) Ūrṇā-vikraya (trade in wool connected with cattle-rearing and pasture not recommended for a Dvija).
(2) Sīdhupāna (drinking of spirits).
(3) Ubhayatodadbhir-vyavahāra (trade in animals possessing a double row of teeth, i.e. trade in horses, asses, and mules).
(4) Āyudhīyaka (profession of arms).
(5) Samudrayānam (sea-voyages).

South Indian Customs.—The customs peculiar to the south are stated to be :—

(1) Taking meals with wife or with those who are not initiated (Anupanīta) ;
(2) Paryushita-bhoiana (taking food cooked over night);
(3) Marrying the daughter of the maternal uncle or of father's sister.

Statement of Bṛihaspati.—Bṛihaspati also characterizes the different regions and quarters on the basis of manners and customs as stated below :—

(1) In the *Dākshinātya* (Deccan), the members of twice-born classes (dvija) marry the daughter of their maternal uncle. [उद्वाह्यते दाक्षिणात्यैर्मातुलस्य सुता द्विजैः]
(2) In *Madhyadeśa*, the people are artisans, industrialists and given to eating beef (gavāśinah).
(3) In the East, the people eat fish, while the women are lax in morals. [मत्स्यादा नराः पूर्वे व्यभिचाररतास्त्रियः]
(4) In the North, women drink wine, and are not untouchable in their menses to their husbands, while brothers marry the widows of their brothers. [भ्रातृभार्यामभर्तृकाम्]

Recognition of local customs in Hindu Law.—It will be seen from the above that there is a considerable diversity of customs and manners marking the different parts of India, and presenting a wide range of tastes or ideas of culture and refinement ; so much so, that certain customs which are repugnant to the South are quite approved in the North and *vice versa*. Yet this divergence of cultural ideals

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did not prove any bar to the growth of a catholicity and breadth of outlook making for the conception of an extended country for the Hindu, corresponding to every extension of his civilization. Thus all these regional differences in manners and customs were reconciled in a wider conception of the country, calling for appropriate principles of law in which these differences might find their place and recognition.

Opinion of Manu, and other law-givers.—Therefore, Manu has laid down the following comprehensive legal principle :—

जातिजानपदान्धर्मान् श्रेणीधर्मांश्च धर्मवित् ।
समीक्ष्य कुलधर्मांश्च स्वधर्मं प्रतिपादयेत् ॥

'The State or sovereign must ascertain the particular laws governing the *Kula* (family), *Jāti* (caste), regions (*janapada*) and *Śreṇī* (guilds) as principal factors in legislation.'

This position has been repeated by other law-givers like Gautama, Bodhāyana, Āpastamba, and Vasishṭha.

Views of Devala.—Devala records a fuller statement :—

येषु देशेषु ये देवाः येषु देशेषु ये द्विजाः ।
येषु देशेषु यत्तोयं या च यत्रैव मृत्तिका ॥
येषु स्थानेषु यच्छौचं धर्माचारश्च यादृशः ।
तत्र तान्नावमन्येत धर्मस्तत्रैव तादृशः ॥
यस्मिन्देशे पुरे ग्रामे त्रैविद्यनगरेऽपि वा ।
यो यत्र विहितो धर्मस्तं धर्मं न विचालयेत् ॥

'Every region has its own *devas* (deities for popular worship), its own *dvijas* (twice-born classes), its own waters, its peculiar soil—its own *Śaucha* (ideas of purity), its own *Dharma* and *Āchāra* (customs and manners). These vary from village to village, city to city and province to province, nay, even with centres of Vedic learning. That which is established as the Dharma of the locality should not be disturbed by the State.'

Limitations to authority of local Customs.—The scope that is thus given to local manners and customs and regional laws is no doubt in accord with sound principles of legislation and jurisprudence. It is the only method by which different communities can come together and be welded into a national state. But this method has its limits. It is easy to make too much of local laws and customs. This was known to the ancient law-givers who have, accordingly,

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given their warnings in the matter. They will not allow local customs to take precedence over the clearest injunctions of the Śāstras which are independent of localities and give expression to the established moral opinion of the community. Thus Gautama states that the laws obtaining in localities, castes or communities, cannot have any force against आम्नाय, i.e. the Vedas. In a word, the position is that such local laws, manners and customs as offend against morality, conscience, or justice cannot be upheld.

Examples from an old text.—It is interesting to note that an old text preserves a list of such objectionable manners and customs as given below :—

(1) Marrying maternal uncle's daughter, which is considered objectionable on the ground of 'relationship to mother'.

[विरुद्धास्तु प्रदृश्यन्ते दाक्षिणात्येषु सम्मति ।
स्वमातुलसुतोद्वाहो मातृबन्धु त्वदूषितः ॥]

(2) Marrying the brother's widow.

[अभर्तृकभ्रातृभार्याग्रहणं चातिदूषितम्]

(3) Marriage between persons of the same Gotra.

[कुले कन्या प्रदानं च देशेष्वन्येषु दृश्यते]

(4) Marriage between brother and sister, as seen in Persia.

[तथा भ्रातृविवाहोऽपि पारसीकेषु दृश्यते]

(5) Usury as illustrated in lending one maund of paddy in Spring to be returned as two maunds in Autumn (involving interest at the rate of 200% per annum).

[दत्वा धान्यं वसन्तेऽन्ये शरदि द्विगुणं पुनः]

(6) Transactions of mortgages whereby the creditor enters into the possession of the mortgaged property when the principal lent is doubled in amount, or even before it is doubled. This shows that the ancient texts did not approve of money-lenders dispossessing the indebted agriculturists of the lands they cultivated, as a means of redeeming the debt.

[गृह्णन्ति बन्धुक्षेत्रं च प्रविष्टे द्विगुणे धने ।
भुज्यतेऽन्यैरप्रविष्टे मूले तच्च विकथ्यते—स्मृतिचन्द्रिका] ॥

Respect for local customs makes for a wider country and its social diversity.—It was, however, this comprehensive principle of legislation, with its respect for local customs and usages, which had

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paved the way of a continuous expansion of the Hindu's Mother-Country, through the ages, from its smallest nucleus in *Brahmāvarta*, in extending circles, until it embraced the whole of India, and even countries outside its limits, making up a Greater India beyond the seas. Where the country is more a cultural, than a material, possession, it appeals less to the instinct of appropriation. It has a tendency towards expansion, resulting in a lack of homogeneity in its social composition. There is no narrowness, or a spirit of exclusiveness, but more of disinterested sharing, more of community of life and enjoyment. India, thus early in her history, attracted migrations, and became the happy home of many races, cults, and cultures, co-existing in concord, without seeking overlordship or mutual extermination. She became the chosen home of diversity and different social systems. Other national systems founded on different principles exclude the possibility of such radical diversities and they even break down in the attempt to unify them. They are comparatively homogeneous wholes. That is why India has been aptly called 'the epitome of the world'. It is a League of Nations in miniature. The problem of India is, indeed, the problem of the world.

The country widens into whole India conceived in different ways.—With the passage of time and the gradual extension of Hindu civilization, the sacred land of the Hindu came to comprehend the whole of India or Bhāratavarsha. The country followed the movement of culture, just as 'trade follows the flag' in Western civilization. The whole of Bhāratavarsha 'from Badarikā to Setu, Dvārakā to Purushottama (Puri)' came to be defined as the land of

(1) Seven 'great' mountains—Raivataka, Vindhya, Sahya, Kumāra, Malaya, Śrī-Parvata, and Pāriyātra;

(2) Seven 'great' rivers—Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Kālindī, Godāvarī, Kaverī, Tāmraparṇī, and Ghṛitamālā (Narmādā and Sindhu in other texts);

(3) Seven 'sacred' cities—Ayodhyā, Mathura, Māyā (Hardwar), Kāśī, Kāñchi, Avanti, and Dvārāvatī (Dwarka);

(4) Eighteen 'great' countries (*mahāvishayāḥ*)—Northern Lāṭa, Eastern Lāṭa, Kāśī, Pañchāla, Kekaya, Sṛiñjaya, Matsya, Magadha, Mālava, Śakunta (unknown), Kosala, Avanti, Saihya, Vidarbha, Videha, Kuru, Kāmboja, and Daśārna;

(5) Eighteen 'minor' countries (*upa-vishayāḥ*)—Āraṭṭa and Bāhlīka; Śaka and Surāshṭra; Aṅga, Vaṅga, and Kaliṅga; Kāśmīra, Hūṇa, Ambashṭha, and Sindh; Kirāta, Sauvīra, Chola, and Pāṇḍya; Yādava and Kāñchī. [Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra.]

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Patriotism expressed in Pilgrimage.—Indeed, in the heyday of Hinduism, in the spacious times of the Gupta emperors, a fervent patriotism transformed into a profound religious sentiment found its own means of expression in its own way. It invented its appropriate symbols and ceremonies, its own mode of worshipping the country. It conceived of the system of pilgrimage which is peculiar to Hinduism, and is a most potent instrument of instruction in geography by field-work. It educates the Indian popular mind, or mass-consciousness, in the realization of what constitutes the Mother-Country through the religious necessity imposed on the people to visit its different parts for the sacred places and shrines placed in them. The country as an abstraction is thus transformed into a vivid and visible reality, an Ideal is realized in terms of blood. The romance of patriotism has fondly woven a network of holy spots covering the whole country, so that all parts of it are equally sacred and the equal concern of religious devotees. Thus the number of places of pilgrimage in India is legion. It only shows the working of a religious imagination in its attempt at visualizing and worshipping the physical form of the Mother-Country, the *virāṭ-deha* of India as the Mother-Goddess. This religious imagination of the nation has, indeed, impressed in its service every spot of beauty in this vast country, which it has at once declared as holy and endowed with a temple, a shrine, or some religious symbol like a piece of hallowed stone, or even a tree. Here is Patriotism run riot! It finds its food even in the natural beauties of the country. Thus the Hindu's pilgrimage is to the eternal snows of the Himalayas, the depths of forests, the palm-clad sea-shores, the hidden sources of rivers, or their mouths and confluences. His treatment of natural beauty is also unique. His love of Nature is a religious emotion. A place of natural beauty in the West is associated with holiday-making, pleasure-trips, picnics, hotels, and cinemas. In India, it is marked by temples and pilgrims, hermitages and ascetics, so as to lead the mind from Nature up to Nature's god. The beauty of Nature in the one case is a stimulus to objectivity, to out-going activities. In the other case, it is an incentive to subjectivity, meditation, and renunciation.

Holy Places general and for Sects.—The various sects of Hinduism are at one in thus multiplying places of pilgrimage in the country as a mode of worshipping it. Each sect has its own list of pilgrimages which its devotee should visit as a means of salvation. Śaṅkara placed his principal holy places at the four extreme points of India so as to cover between them its entire territory. These are Śringeri-maṭha in the south, Śaradā-maṭha in the west (at Dvārakā), Govardhana-maṭha in the east (at Puri), and Jyoshi-maṭha in the

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north (at Badri-Kedar). Similarly, there are singled out four sacred places like Svetagaṅgā, Dhanustīrtha, Gomati-Kuṇḍa and Tapta-Kuṇḍa and four sacred tanks (*sarovara*), Vindu, Pampā, Nārāyaṇa, and Mānasa, in east, south, west, and north respectively. The principle of fixing these is the same : to lead the masses out of their homes, their villages, and provinces, on all-India tours of pilgrimage, so that they may know their country in all its parts and peoples. A spirit of nationalism will naturally spring from this root of a necessary geographical knowledge of the country.

Besides these general places of pilgrimage, there are special ones fixed for different sects. Thus the chief sacred places for a *Śaiva* are eight : Avimuktaka (Benares), Gaṅgā-dvāra, Śiva-Kshetra, Rāme-Yamunā (?), Śiva-sarasvatī, Mavya, Śārdūla- Gaja-Kshetras. Those for a *Vaishṇava* are the following eight: Badarikā, Sālagrāma, (on the Gandak), Purushottama (Puri), Dvārakā, Bilvāchala, Ananta, Siṁha, Śrīraṅga. The eight sacred places for a *Śākta* are : Ogghīṇa (Ujjain), Jāla, Pūrṇa, Kāma, Kolla, Śrī-śaila, Kāñchī, Mahendra. [Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra.] Lists of such holy places are differently given in other texts. One text mentions the Śaiva centres as the following : Somanātha (in Kathiawad) ; Śrī-śaila (Palni hills near Madura) for worship of Mallikārjjuna ; Mahākāla at Ujjayinī ; Oṁkāra at Amareshvara (Māhismatī) ; Kedar (Himālaya) ; Bhūmaśaṅkara (at Ḍākinī ?) ; Viśveśa (at Benares) ; Tryambaka (on Gautamī=Godāvarī) ; Baidyanath (also called Chitābhūmi) ; Nāgeśa (at Dvārakā) ; Rāmeśa (at Setubandha) ; Ghuśmeśa (at Śivālaya ?). Similarly, there is another text giving a long list of places dedicated to Vishṇu, covering the whole country from Badari in the north through Ayodhyā and Mathurā to Dvārakā, Jagannath, and Śrīraṅga. And, as regards the Śākta, the story of Satī tells how 52 *pīṭha-sthānas* arose at the places where fell the 52 fragments of her smitten body, places like Kālighat, Jvālāmukhī, or Benares (with Annapūrṇā's temple). Lists of such holy places are best given in the Vanaparva of the *Mahābhārata*, Bhīshma-parva [IV, 317–378], *Vishṇu-purāṇa* [II, 3], *Garuḍapurāṇa* (Ch. 66), and the like.

Pilgrimage inculcates love of country in the masses.—A comparative consideration of the various lists of *tīrthas* in different texts will show how fondly the Indian mind clings to the Mother-Country and considers every inch of its territory as sacred soil. It worships the *virāṭ-deha*, the great body, of the country, of which every part it holds to be holy. As a consequence, the Hindu has no holy place outside India, like a far-off Palestine or Mecca or Medina. As has been explained, his culture is synonymous with his country.

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The later texts locating the holy places on a generous scale all over India indicate how far they have travelled from the early days of Vedic civilization when the country or the holy land was confined to Āryāvarta. Now the country embraces the whole of India, as its civilization has penetrated into all its parts.

A final expression of this evolution of the idea of the Mother-Country is embodied in certain texts prescribing the places where one should seek his last resting-place, lay his bones, or have his funeral ceremonies performed. These places are, accordingly, to be considered as the most sacred of places by all Hindus in common, irrespective of provincial or religious differences, of sect or creed. In the contemplation of death they must sink these differences and realize the unity of their common Mother-land. Death completes what life leaves incomplete.

A list of places which Hindus of all sects and castes prefer in common for death and funeral ceremonies (*Śrāddha*) is thus given in the *Vishṇu-Smṛitī*: (1) Pushkara, (2) Gayā, (3) Akshaya-Vaṭa, (4) Amara-Kaṇṭaka (Vindhya), (5) Varāha hill (Sambalpur), (6) Banks of the Narmadā, (7) of the Yamunā, (8) of the Gaṅgā, (9) Kuśāvarta (at the source of Godāvarī), (10) Binduka (Deccan), (11) Nīla-Parvata, (12) Kanakhala, (13) Kubjāmra (Orissa), (14) Bhṛigu-tuṅga (Himālaya), (15) Kedāra (Himālaya), (16) Mahālaya mountain, (17) Nadantikā river, (18) Sugadhā river, (19) Śākambharī (Sambhar in Rajputāna), (20) Sacred place on the Phalgu, (21) Mahāgaṅgā (Alakānandā), (22) Trihalīkāgrāma (Sālagrāma), (23) Kumārādhāra (a lake in Kashmir), (24) Prabhāsa, (25) Banks of the Sarasvatī, (26) Hardwar, (27) Prayāga, (28) Mouths of the Gaṅgā, (29) Naimishāraṇya, and (30) Benares.

Under this peculiar religious system, the Southerner will feel as much longing for Benares as a Northerner for Setubandha-Rāmeśvaram, and both will have a common longing for Dvārakā, and Jagannath. North and south, east and west meet in the embrace of a religious life that transcends the narrow boundaries of place, sect, caste or creed. It is in this way that Hinduism has always fostered a sense of an all-Indian patriotism or nationalism by strengthening its foundations in a lively sense of the Mother-Country which can grasp the whole of it as a unit despite the vastness of its size and its continental variety.

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NOTES ON THE SINGHALESE TRADITION RELATING TO BUDDHA'S RELICS

By Louis Finot

One of the main features of the Singhalese religion is the pious worship of the Buddha's relics, which naturally involves a firm belief in the authenticity of these remains, with a precise knowledge of the time and circumstances—real or supposed—of their introduction into the island. The unity of creed being the basis of a religious community, one would expect to find in the two principal sources of the Singhalese tradition, the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvaṃsa*,[1] a symmetrical account of the facts, without any contradiction or uncertainty. This is true only to a certain extent, and the two chronicles show, from this point of view, several difficulties, which require a closer examination.

To begin with, let us take the legend concerning the first appearance of the Buddha's *saūradhātu's* in the island.

On this matter, Mv. has much to say (I, 24, 33–37) : we learn from it : (1) that Bhagavat, while staying on the bank of the Gaṅgā, after the banishing or the Yakkhas gave a handful of his hair to Mahā-Sumana, the deva of the Sumanakūṭa, who deposited it in a thūpa known afterwards under the name of Mahiyaṅgaṇa Thūpa [2] ; (2) that, after the cremation of the body of Bhagavat, the thera Sarabhū obtained, by his magical power, a collar-bone (*gīvaṭṭhi*), which he laid down in the same thūpa.

Now the writer of Dv. keeps silent on these facts. Are we to suppose that he was not aware of them ? This is hardly credible. Since he mentions the thūpa itself,[3] he cannot have ignored the relics which led to the erection of the thūpa. Moreover, he specifies further (XV, 15) that the relic enshrined in the Thūpārāma by Devānaṃpiya Tissa was the *right* collar-bone (*dakkhiṇakkhakaṃ*), a detail by which is apparently implied that the *left* one existed elsewhere, namely in the Mahiyaṅgaṇa Thūpa. The probable conclusion would be that the two chroniclers were both acquainted with the story of the relics at Mahiyaṅgaṇa, but that the author of

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[1] These works will be quoted below as Dv. and Mv.

[2] The Gaṅgā or Mahā-Gaṅgā is the Mahawæliganga ; the Samanakūṭa is the modern Adam's Peak. The Mahiyaṅgaṇa Thūpa is traditionally identified with the Bintenne Tope, about 29 miles east of Kandy.

[3] Dv. 1, 52 : *Gaṅgātīre Mahiyāsu pokkhalesu paṭiṭṭhite thūpaṭṭhāne Subhaṅgaṇe.*

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Dv., for some motive of his own (perhaps a rivalry of convents) did not choose to mention it.

The second arrival of relics took place in the reign of Devānaṃpiya Tissa, contemporary with Asoka. This king, at the request of the thera Mahinda, promised to build a great thūpa for enshrining the relics which the thera would provide for him. On the quest of relics, which ensued, the two Vaṃsas are in complete agreement, with the exception of one, but important, point which we shall see presently.

The account of Dv. runs briefly as follows (Ch. XV):

The sāmaṇera Sumana, son of the daughter of Asoka, Saṅghamittā, is sent to his grandfather by Mahinda, in order to get some relics for the contemplated thūpa. He repairs to Pāṭaliputta and delivers his message to the king. 'Having heard this speech, the king filled the alms bowl with relics .. The powerful, eloquent speaker then took the relics, rose into the air and repaired to Kosiya (Indra) ..... "Hear, great King, the message which my teacher sends you.[1] King Devānaṃpiya has been converted to the faith of Buddha; grant to him a most excellent relic; he is going to erect a splendid thūpa" ... Kosiya rejoicing gave him the right collar-bone ..'[2]

Oldenberg has rendered by 'filled the alms-bowl with relics' the pāli *dhātu pattaṃ apūresi* (v. 11), just as if the text were *dhātuhi pattaṃ apūresi*. This sounds rather odd. Besides, there is no example of a monk using his own alms-bowl as a recipient for relics. It seems preferable to take *dhātupattaṃ* as a compound word meaning simply 'a bowlful of relics'. At any rate, if this *patta* could, rigorously speaking, be the alms-bowl of Sumana, the *patta* of the Buddha is altogether out of the question. It is in the version of Mv. (XVII, 10–21) that the latter makes its appearance.

Here Sumana is sent on an embassy to Asoka and to Sakka. From the former he must demand 'relics of the Sage and the alms-bowl that the Master used.'

Munino dhātuyo dehi pattaṃ Chuttaṃ ca satthunā. One may well be surprised at such an unceremonious and hardly respectful way of claiming a so venerable and world-famed relic as the *patta*

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[1] The directions given by Mahinda to Sumana (XV, 6-7) do not mention this second mission to Indra.

[2] The narrator goes on relating how the dhātu's brought back by Sumana were received in great pomp by the king, placed on the front of an elephant and led to the site of the Thūpa. This elephant is represented on a stone in the Mathurā Museum, with this inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters: *Sastakhadhātu* (=Śāstrakṣa-dhātu), 'the collar-bone relic of the Master'. (Corpus inscriptionum indicarum, II, Pt. 1. Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, ed. by St. Konow, p. 49.)

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of the Buddha. But stranger yet is the sequel of the story (v. 18 sq., trad. Geiger, p. 117 sq.) : 'When he had delivered the thera's charge and had accepted the alms-bowl full of relics[1] received from the king, he went to the Himalaya. When, on the Himalaya, he had set down that most sacred bowl[2] with the relics, he went to the king of the gods and delivered the thera's charge. Sakka, the lord of gods, took from the Cūḷāmaṇi-cetiya the right collar-bone (of the Buddha) and gave it to the sāmaṇera. Thereupon the ascetic Sumana took the relic and the bowl with the relics likewise and returning to the Cetiya-mountain, he handed them to the thera. When the thera had put the vessel with the relics on the Cetiya-mountain, he took the collar-bone relic and went with his company of disciples to the appointed place.'

It is plain enough that this account did not mean primitively to convey the thought of three relics : the collar-bone, the (unspecified) *dhātu's* and the *patta*, but of two only : the collar-bone and the bowlful of dhātu's.

We are therefore led to believe that the inclusion of the *patta* of the Buddha among the relics obtained by Mahinda is nothing but a detail of secondary origin superadded by some overzealous monk, who did not trouble to remodel the context, to put it in harmony with his invention.

There are witnesses in support of this view. When Fa-hien sojourned in Ceylon in the first half of the 5th century, i.e. about the time when the *Dīpavaṃsa* was drawn up in writing,[3] he 'heard an Indian devotee, who was reciting a sūtra from the pulpit, saying : "Buddha's alms-bowl was at first in Vaiśālī and now it is in Gandhāra"[4].' If a personage of note, speaking in the very city where the Thūpārāma stood, dared publicly to assert that the Patta was in Gandhāra, it is evident that no such relic was an object of worship in Ceylon.[5] The only relics revered at the Thūpārāma

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[1] Pāli : *pattapūrā*, which, according to several MSS., ought to be read *pattapūraṃ*, ='full a bowl'.

[2] Pāli : *pattam uttamam*, the epithet being a common-place one, chosen preferably as a metric ending of the verse.

[3] Geiger, *Dīpavaṃsa und Mahāvaṃsa*, p. 76.

[4] Fa-hien, Ch. XXXIX.

[5] The presence of the Patta in the northern countries was a notorious fact : Fa-hien himself had seen it in Peshawar (Ch. XII). Before him, Kumārajīva had met it in Kashgar ; after him, Tche-mong (404-424) and Fa-yong (420-430) worshipped it in Kashmir ; Fa-wei (middle of the 5th century) found it in the land of the Ta Yue-tche. But, when Hiuan-tsang crossed this last country, he was told that the Bowl had been transferred to Persia (Mem., II, 179). Cf. Sylvain Lévi, *Notes chinoises sur. l. Inde*. BEFEO., V, p. 295, sq.

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were the dhātu's given by Asoka and the collar-bone granted by Indra.

This famous collar-bone recurs again in another passage of Mv. (XX, 17–19), which has given rise to much perplexity. It is an enumeration of the religious foundations of the King Devānaṃpiya Tissa. We are concerned only with the five, at the head of the list. Here is the text as edited by W. Geiger, with the translation and comments of the same scholar, to which we shall append our own conclusions.

17. Mahāvihāraṃ paṭhamaṃ dutiyaṃ Cetiyāvhayaṃ
Thūpārāmaṃ tu tatiyaṃ thūpapubbaṅgamaṃ subham.
18. catuttham tu Mahābodhipatiṭṭhāpanam eva ca
thūpaṭṭhānīyabhūtassa pañcamaṃ pana sādhukaṃ.
19. Mahācetiyathānamhi silā { thūpassa / yūpassa } cāruno
Saṃbuddhagīvadhātussa patiṭṭhāpanam eva ca.

'[17]. First the Mahāvihāra, then the (monastery) named Cetiya-vihāra ; third the beautiful Thūpārāma, which the stūpa itself preceded ; [18] fourth the planting of the great Bodhi-tree ; then fifth the (setting up) in seemly wise ; [19] (of the) beautiful stone pillar, which was intended to point to the place of the thūpa, on the place where the Great cetiya (afterwards) was, and also the enshrining of the Saṃbuddha's collar-bone relic . . . . .'

Of the two readings in v. 19, *thūpassa* and *yūpassa*, Geiger has chosen the latter after an accurate weighing of both (ed., p. xxix). Supposing the former were preferred, then, says he, 'the word *silāthūpassa* belongs to *thūpatthānīyabhūtassa* as well as to *saṃbuddhagīvadhātussa*, but, in connection with the former word, it has the more general meaning "stone monument". In its full extent, the sentence would run thus: *pañcamaṃ pana thūpaṭṭhānīyassa silāthūpassa Mahācetiyathānamhi sādhukaṃ patiṭṭhāpanaṃ Saṃbuddhagīvadhātussa cāruno silāthūpassa patiṭṭhāpanaṃ ca*'.

It would be needless to insist upon the improbability of such an explanation, which requires that one and the same word (*thūpa*) be invested with two successive meanings: (*a*) 'stone monument', this monument called *thūpa* being in fact a pillar ;[1] (*b*) 'stone thūpa', a strange appellation for a thūpa built of bricks,—to say nothing of the curious analysis of *Saṃbuddhagīvadhātussa* as a bahuvrīhisamāsa supposed to mean 'having, i.e. containing the

[1] Mv. XV, 173 : *idha bhūpati ussāpesi silāthambhaṃ taṃ pavattiṃ likhāpiya.*

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collar-bone of the Buddha'. Evidently the reading *thūpassa* is wrong and the learned editor was perfectly right in preferring *yūpassa*; but that does not remove all difficulty.

Says Geiger: 'If we accept the reading *silāyūpassa*, the two verses, 18 *c-d* and 19 *a-b*, are quite clear and the translation would be: "Fifthly: the erection (*patiṭṭhāpanaṃ*) of the beautiful stone pillar which served the purpose to fix the site of the (future) tope, at the site of the Mahācetiya". In 19 *c-d*, *patiṭṭhāpanaṃ* would have a slight different meaning and we should have to translate: "and the establishing (i.e. definite enshrining) of the Sambuddha's thorax (*sic.*) bone relic", the word *dhātu* being used here as elsewhere in the masculine gender . . . At all events it is surprising that in our passage two quite different actions are reckoned as one meritorious work'.

This last observation looks decisive against the proposed wording: one can hardly admit that the meritorious work numbered fifth would cover two distinct acts so unconnected with each other as the erection of a stone pillar on the site of the future Mahācetiya, and the enshrining of the collar-bone in the Thūpārāma, the building of which is recorded in two verses before.

Is there no way out of the dilemma? We believe that the best solution is to suppose that the trouble was caused by the blunder of a copyist, which would have resulted in disturbing the correspondence of the pādas. Observe that the lines 18 *a-b* and 19 *c-d* end by the same words: *patiṭṭhāpanaṃ eva ca*. It is not unlikely that the pāda preceding the *first* of these formulas was inadvertently put before the *second* one. This created a gap, which was filled up by the uneven pāda immediately following; this latter in its turn was replaced by the following one, and so on, each uneven pāda being thus put *before* the even pāda, *after* which it stood primitively. This process would result precisely in the text of the edition, as will easily be seen if one compares this latter, as given above, with the text restored below in its supposed original order (the arrows point out the displacing of the pāda's):

17 *c-d*. Thūpārāmaṃ tu tatiyaṃ thūpapubbaṅgamaṃ subhaṃ ‖
18. Saṃbuddhagīvadhātussa
catuttham tu Mahābodhi→patiṭṭhāpanam eva ca
19. thūpatthānīyabhūtassa→pañcamaṃ pana sādhukaṃ ‖
Mahācetiyathānamhi→silāyūpassa cāruno
[Saṃbuddhagīvadhātussa]→patiṭṭhāpanam eva ca ‖

We obtain thus a text perfectly clear and coherent: 'Thirdly, the Thūpārāma . . . and the enshrining [therein] of the Saṃbuddha's collar-bone relic. Fourthly, the Mahābodhi. Fifthly, the pious

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erection, on the site of the [future] Mahācetiya, of a beautiful stone pillar in the place of the thūpa '.

What came of the prediction inscribed on the *silāyūpa*? It was fulfilled in the reign of King Duṭṭhagāmaṇi (107–77 B.C.). When the relic-chamber in the Great Thūpa was completed, the bhikkhus charged a thera named Soṇuttara with the task of bringing the relics, which were kept in the palace of the Nāgas. Soṇuttara, plunging into the earth, appeared before the Nāga King and, despite his stout resistance, wrested from him, not a bowlful, but a bushelful of relics (*dhātū doṇamattā*, Mv., XVII, 51),[1] which were enshrined in the Great Cetiya. Thus was completed the equipment of Ceylon in relics until the time when the arrival of the famous Tooth gave rise to a new and more popular worship.

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[1] The enshrining of this *doṇa* of relics in the Mahācetiya or Hemamālika-cetiya (=the Ruvaṅwæli Dagaba), narrated in Mv., XXXI, had been predicted by the Buddha (*id.*, XVII, 46). The *doṇa*, according to P. Cordier (BEFEO., VI, 82)=23 kg. 884 corresponding to about ⅔ of a bushel.

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THE ṢŪFĪ MOVEMENT IN INDIA

III

(Period of Fusion—1350 A.D. downward)

By Md. Enamul Haq

By the middle of the fourteenth century the spread of Ṣūfiism in India was somewhat complete. This does not mean that it did not expand after that period ; but it took a different colour and adopted somewhat new course. It is certain that it did not cut off all its connections with the past, but it modified itself with so many accretions that it, in many cases, became quite amazingly new. We shall, afterwards, try to trace the course it adopted and point out some of the prominent colours it had worn.

In the history of Indian thought, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be characterized as the time, when two different sets of ideas and separate systems of thought—Indian as well as Islamic —were fused into one. The tendency to this fusion was visible from an early date. From the middle of the fourteenth century signs were not wanting which prognosticated an age of complete fusion within a very short time. It was, however, not completed until after the completion of the sixteenth century A.D.

India's capacity of absorption is ever wonderful ; from the beginning of her historical period up to the advent of the Muslims, she had been absorbing many nations, such as the Persians; the Sakas, the Huns, the Greeks and others, who had set foot on her soil. When the Turks armed with the strength of a new faith came to India with their Islāmic civilization and culture, India's unique capacity of absorption, though inactive for sometime, was not entirely deadened by the introduction of Islām into this land of the Aryan Hindus. One thing is wonderfully predominating in Islām and that is its strong character—its strength in thought and ideas, strength in ways and modes of life, strength in art and architecture and above all strength in the pure monotheistic belief in God. It was this strength which made Islām a religion of millions of humanity, including different races and colours, within a very short span of time. When in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D., the Muslims entered India, they undoubtedly possessed much of this strength which temporarily repressed the heart of India, that is her inherent capacity of absorption. But within a short time, after

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one or two centuries, India awoke from her temporary torpor and went on exerting her subsided influence as vigorously as before. At first Islām, however, in its own hauteur refused to be and could not be absorbed but later on an unconscious compromise came in. It is a true fact that Islām could not infuse the same strength to the Indian Muslims as it did in the case of the Arabs. Physical features and climatic conditions of this vast country, as well as the natural philosophic bent and the peculiar trend of Indian mind were the chief causes which stood on the way of true Islāmic influence on India. Hence, in course of time, Islām in India began to lose its former strength and identify herself in many respects with the culture, thoughts, and ideas of this country.

The closest spiritual bond of unity between India and Persia is another factor which led to the ultimate fusion of Islāmic and Indian thought. When Islām, the strong and austere religion of the Semites, extended itself towards the east, it first absorbed the Persian culture of the Aryans and thereby admitted a part of the Aryan culture within its fold. It was becoming the inheritor of the culture of the Greeks, another Aryan speaking race. When Islām entered India along with the advent of the Ṣūfīs, it was not the pristine strong and austere religion of the Semites. Accretions of Persian and Greek elements softened it to a great extent ; a healthy Aryan mind, brooding deeply over the Unseen, was manifestly peeping through the heart of Islām. This is one of the reasons why Islām of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not feel so uncongenial and unacceptable in the new Indian atmosphere as it did three centuries before. India too found in her new-comers friends not so unfamiliar and alien as before, and hence did not shun them as before. In this way, the mind of India and Islām was attracted to each other, ultimately resulting in a complete fusion of the two.

Who was the first man to declare bravely the message of this fusion ? This important question may be answered by the following words of Dr. J. N. Farquhar :—' It was through the teachings of Sūfīs that Islām found entrance to Hindu hearts. They fraternized with Hindu ascetics and gurus ; and each learned to respect the other's religious faith and life. But not until the last quarter of the fifteenth century did the movement show any notable force. Kabīr was the man through whom the leading ideas were popularized. From this time the condemnation of idolatry and polytheism became frequent.' (Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 284.)

In the history of fusion of Indian and Islāmic thought Kabīr's is an outstanding personality. His birth took place in the year 1398 A.D., and death in 1448 A.D. (B.M.Y.S.D., p. 63). Within the limits of this short period, the wonders, he wrought, were simply

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amazing to the whole of India. The minds of Islām and India, which were so long leaning towards each other, all at once found out a good meeting ground in Kabīr. The new ideas, that had so long been working in the realm of Indian thought, discovered a good mouthpiece in him. Indian Vedānta and Islāmic Taṣawwuf mingled in him in such a way that it sometime becomes simply difficult to distinguish one from the other. His latitudinarian views that can be gathered from his poems (*vide* K.P.) and sayings, clearly show that he belonged neither to the Muslims, nor to the Hindus,—rather he was the creation of the two. Such a man was he, with the birth of whom began a new era in the history of the movement of Indian thought. (H.P.L.L., part I, pp. 121–127; O.R.L.I., pp. 334–336; K.P.—Introduction.)

Kabīr was born of a Muhammadan weaver of Benares and from his early years, he showed the tendency of a recluse and a thoughtful man. This ultimately led him to be a mystic of immortal name. However, he was for some time under the instruction of Rāmānanda, a Hindu mystic of the Deccan (probable date 1400–1470 B.M.Y.S.D., p. 63) and of Shaykh Taqī Suhrawardī, a great Muslim saint of Suhrawardī order. None of these two saints and mystics of two opposite schools of thought could satisfy his spiritual yearnings which were aspiring for something newer and at the same time still more deeper. Neither the physical mortification, mental exclusiveness and subtle philosophy of the Hindu saint, nor the severe austerity, formal practices and mystic teachings of a Muslim saint, could inspire him with the realization of his new ideals. So he left both of them and found a third saint after his heart in the person of Shaykh Bhīkā Chishtī of Chishtī order. From this Muslim saint he obtained the ever-covetted spiritual successorship (Khirqah-i-Khilāfat) and within a short time founded a new order of saints, where he admitted not only the Muslims but many Hindus without being formally converted to Islām. His order is, as usual, known after his own name: It is called Kabīrpanthīs.[1] Whatever might have been the case, the two different sets of mystics, Hindus and Muslims, with whom Kabīr came in close contact, infused in him two separate nature of mystic yearnings which in course of time amalgamated into one. (Tadhkirah, part II, pp. 82-83; H.P.L.L., part I, pp. 121–127.)

Kabīr was but an influence, felt everywhere in India. During his lifetime he was a great popular leader of thought and even

[1] Note here the Indian word 'Panthī' meaning 'one belonging to path'. Hence, the term 'Kabīrpanthī' means one who belongs to the path (i.e. order) discovered by Kabīr. Kabīr was the first Indian Ṣūfī who employed the Indian word in the name of his own order.

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after his death, his influence did not wane. His message of indifference towards the world and of latitudinarianism worked in the minds of the masses and from among them there flourished many men like Nānak (1469–1539), Dādu, Chaitanya (1484–1533) and many others of minor importance, who preached the message of Kabīr in one form or other. What a tremendous influence Kabīr exerted on the popular mind is now difficult to ascertain, but the message, Kabīr gave to the people of India, vibrated through many succeeding generations and centuries. This is why the saints of Northern India used to say :—

'Bhakti Drāviḍ upajī, lāye Rāmānand ;
Pragaṭa Kiyo Kabīrnē saptadvīpanaukhaṇḍe.'

Bhakti originated in the Dravidian country and Rāmānanda brought it here ;
Kabīr preached it in the seven islands and nine countries (i.e. the world).

The fusion of Indian and Islāmic thought beginning from the rise of Kabīr, was going on from centuries together. It is still working and working on in the minds of the people and we cannot say when it will be completed. But so far as we see, it reached at its zenith during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries of the Christian era. These two centuries witnessed the rise of a number of liberal men amongst the Hindus as well as Muslims, who tried their level best to complete the fusion. But they were only partially successful in the realization of their great dream—the dream of the formation of an Indian nation, where no question of community, race, colour or religion would arise. Among the Hindus of India, we have mentioned above a few celebrated names who took up this cause as a sacred duty of their lives. Among the Muslims the revered names of Akbar (1556–1605) and that of his great grandson Dārā Shikūh (d. 1659) are very conspicuous. How far these two prophets of Hindu-Muslim fusion—a fusion in blood, thought, ideas, and culture,—fared in the realization of their ideal, we need not discuss here. The attitude, they took, is the necessary thing that is to be noted here. Their attitude was not that of a Muslim or of a Hindu, but it was an attitude that might be attributed to the product of the two. 'Tawḥīd-i-Ilāhī' or Divine monotheism of Akbar might have many shortcomings as an independent religion, or it might have been a heretical doctrine as many of the learned 'Ulamā' or doctors of Islām thought it to be so, but when we go to pass any remark on this creed, we, unfortunately do not look at the intention of the man who professed to be its founder, or to those who conceived this idea or nursed it at least for a few years.

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Akbar's pose as a founder of new religion, and his friends Abū-'l-Faḍl and Fayḍī's mental attitude were not for any temporal power of which they had enough. What they wanted was the realization of a great dream of universality. The method of propagating their liberal ideas under the garb of religion, was perhaps ill-conceived and hence a wrong one,—at least wrong in those days of middle ages. Had they adopted any other suitable method, they might have fared better. With all their shortcomings and defects, their intention was good and honest and their ideal was, though untimely, yet an excellent one. What Dārā Shikūh did for the realization of this great ideal? He applied himself heart and soul to the realization of his life-long dream of Hindu-Muslim fusion. He was a great prince having the bright prospect of succeeding to the Mughal throne; but the political supremacy over the country or the prospects of temporal power and glory could not detract him from the path, he had been following with all his earnestness. He did not try to conquer a people with physical force like his ambitious and orthodox brother Aurangzib; but he worked hard for the cultural conquest of a people. This ideal induced him to give up all his attempts at the attainment of temporal power and to devote himself in the study of Hindu and Muslim religious books. He translated some fifty Upaniṣads into Persian and wrote many original Persian works on Ṣūfiism or Taṣawwuf (Mujma—introduction). However, he paid very dearly for his liberal views: he was executed by his brother Aurangzib in the year 1659 A.D. on a flimsy pretext of hatching up of a plot against the State.

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GEOGRAPHICAL DATA OF THE DEKHAN AND SOUTH INDIA AS GATHERED FROM THE RĀMĀYAṆA

By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

Opinion is divided among scholars as to the date of the composition of the Rāmāyaṇa. Dates ranging from the fifth century B.C. to the second century A.D. have been assigned to it. But whatever may be the date, when the epic was reduced to writing in its present form, the fact of the matter is that the material it treats of belongs to a much earlier period and can be well utilized as authentic evidence of the culture and civilization of the pre-historic epoch.

According to this epic, all India, south of Prayāga (ALLAHABAD), was one penetrating forest stretching as far down as Cape Comorin. But the region between Prayāga and Śṛṅgaverapura, the capital of Guha, the king of the Niṣādas, was yet a clearing in the forest. Beyond was all jungle where aboriginal tribes lived with their peculiar culture and civilization. A critical examination of the topographical and geographical particulars demonstrates that in the main features central and southern India and Ceylon existed then as at present.[1]

Side by side with the aboriginal tribes, who were not, however, alien to the Aryan culture, if we are to believe the evidence of the epic, were seen hermitages of saints and sages who used the forests as places of retreat and wholly devoted their life to austere penance and prayer. There were a number of hermitages at some distances from one another. Rāma is said to have visited some of the important ones—among them, where lived sages of great renown, engaged in penance. To mention a few, he visited the āśramas of Vālmīki on the top of the Citrakūṭa hill, of Atri lying south of it, and of Śarabhaṅga still further south. Others were those of Sutīkṣṇa in the Blue Forest, of Agastya and of his brother at Pañcavaṭi, and of Mataṅga near the lake Pampā.

Kingdoms.—Janasthāna and Kiṣkindha were two forest kingdoms, the first belonging to the Rākṣasa king of Ceylon, and the second to the Vānara tribes whose kings were Vāli and Sugrīva. It is not possible to identify the country of Janasthāna with any accuracy. Its description in the epic shows that it was somewhere on the banks of the Godāvarī, perhaps on both banks and probably, as Pargiter surmises, the country around the junction of the Godāvarī with the

[1] See Pargiter, *Geography of Rāma's Exile*, J.R.A.S., 1894, pp. 231f.

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Pranhirta or Wainganga. This was perhaps the first inhabited country south of Śrṅgaverapura of the Niṣādas. Though it was in the possession of the Rākṣasas at the time of the composition of the epic, the original inhabitants were kinnaras and gandharvas [1] who continued to live in the caves, perhaps as subordinates to the Rākṣasa authority.

The other forest kingdom was Kiṣkindha, the capital of Vāli. A direct route lay from the hill Ṛṣyamukha to Kiṣkindha, by which Sugrīva led Rāma to the city.[2] The identification of this kingdom is equally difficult. It is said that the Prasravana hill [3] otherwise named Malyavati, is said to be the gate opening the door to Kiṣkindha.[4] This is to be located close to Hampi of Vijayanagara fame in the modern Bellary District. It may be noted that in these tracts have been discovered a number of neolithic and paleolithic remains. This State of Kiṣkindha was apparently a small one made up of many tiny villages and towns.[5]

The other kingdoms mentioned by name are those of the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Coḷas, Keraḷas, and Pāṇḍyas.[6] Unless we take this stanza to be an interpolation, the antiquity of the Dravidian kingdoms is established. It is not possible to treat this stanza as an interpolation for the simple reason that Vālmīki speaks of the great wealth of the Pāṇḍyan capital and also refers to the quondam capital of the Pāṇḍyas, Kavāṭapura, i.e. Koṛkai of Tamil literature. Taking into consideration the references and comparing them with the Janapadas mentioned in the Mahābhārata, there can be no doubt that these were ancient kingdoms, though we could not say how ancient they were.

Hills and Mountains.—First come the great Vindhyas which mark off the south from the north of India. This mountain marks the southern limit of Āryavarta according to Manu. Crossing the Yamunā Rāma is said to have reached the Citrakūṭa hill encircled by a belt of jungle, connecting it on the one side with the Nīla forest and on the other side the well-known Daṇḍaka woods.[7] This hill can be well identified with Citrakūṭa in the Central Provinces.[8] It is said to be rich in honey, fruits, and roots and to be inhabited by kinnaras and nāgas.[9]

The next hill of importance mentioned is the Ṛṣyamūkha hill on the Nizam's side of the narrowest of the gorges in the ancient

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1 *Āraṇ.*, 67. 7.
2 *Kiṣ.*, 13. 1 and 29.
3 *Ibid.*, 27. 1.
4 *Yud.*, 8, 24, and 25.
5 *Kiṣ.*, 26. 9.
6 *Kiṣ.*, 41. 12.
7 Ayod., LVI, 4, 11, and 15.
8 See Cunningham, *Ar. Sur. Reports*, Vol. XIII, 42–54.
9 *Rāmā*, II, 54. 38–40.

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river Pampā.[1] It is said that in one of its caves Sugrīva hid himself afraid of his brother Vāli. As has been already said there was a route from this hill to Kiṣkindha, the capital city.

Prasravana was the next important hill. It went also by the name of Mālyavat. It lay next to the capital of Vāli.[2] In one of its caves Rāma retired for rest after killing Vāli.[3] This hill is to be located somewhere in the modern Bellary District and close to Hampi.

If the evidence of the Rāmāyaṇa is to be pressed into service the Sahya hill lay by the side of the Prasravana mountain,[4] and the Malaya was either this Sahya hill itself, or a continuation of its chain. The text speaks of Ayomukha mountain,[5] which Govindarāja interprets Sahya. This finds support in the Rāmopākhyāna of the Mahābhārata. Instead of this the Rāmāyaṇa text speaks of the Vindhyas lying on the extremity of the southern ocean.[6] This is evidently a mistake of the redactor and stands for Sahyādri hill, though Pargiter thinks that the same name might have been given to this mountain.[7] A few scholars take the reference to be to the very Vindhya hills. This is clearly wrong. The party that left for the south in search of Sītā from Kiṣkindha could not have gone to the Vindhyas in the north.

If the Malaya hills[8] can be identified with the Travancore hills as is generally accepted, the Mahendra hill should be a little to the south of it penetrating well up to the sea, containing or connected with Velavana, the littoral forest tract difficult to be identified. This is a sacred hill with a number of peaks served by seers, yakṣas, siddhas, cāraṇas, apsaras, and last but not least by Indra himself.[9] As Hanumān is said to have crossed the sea to Laṅkā from the Mahendra hill and returned back to it,[10] it requires no sketch of imagination to say that the hill touched the fringe of the southern sea. Here it was, it may be noted, that Vibhīṣaṇa, a brother of Rāvaṇa, sought alliance with Rāma.

One more mountain remains unnoticed, and it is Dardura or Durdara. From the Yuddhakāṇḍa,[11] it was a hill between Velavana and the Malaya range. Dardura is possibly the Nilgris with the highest peak Dodabetta, perhaps a variant of Dardura.[12] The mention of Velavana and its identification with a hill in Tinnevelly is significant, for this region must have been a part of the ancient

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1 See *Bellary Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 261.
2 *Yud.*, 8, 24-25.
3 *Kish.*, 27.
4 *Kish.*, 41. 16 and 21
5 *Kish.*, 41. 13.
6 *Ibid.*, 60. 7.
7 *Op. cit.*, p. 259.
8 *Kis.*, 5. 1.
9 *Kis.*, 41. 21, 23.
10 *Ibid.*, Ch. 67.
11 *Yuddha*, CVIII, 23.
12 Pargiter, *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

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pre-historic Pāṇḍyan kingdom to which there is more than a passing reference in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The Rivers.—The Narmadā is prominently mentioned.[1] The river Mālyavati is said to flow in the vicinity of the Citrakūṭa hill. The next stream of importance was Mahājavā which Rāma is said to have crossed and reached the Nīla or Blue Forest.[2] It is not possible to identify this river.

The Godāvarī is then mentioned in the order. It is said to be rich in metallic ores.[3] On its banks was Janasthāna. Here Rāma defeated the 14,000 Rākṣasas stationed with their chief leaders, Khara, Dhūṣana, and Triśiras.[4] The Godāvarī is elsewhere said to be the best among streams.[5] It was from this place that Sītā was carried away by Rāvaṇa. The next stream was the Mandākinī, probably Mañjira, a southern tributary of the Godāvarī.[6] The rivers that lay to the south of the Godāvarī were the Kṛṣṇaveṇī, Mahānadī, and Varadā.[7]

Still further south the Prācīnavāhini is mentioned as taking its source in the Prasravana hill,[8] both banks studded with a number of different trees full of birds, and served by groups of sages and seers. The sandalwood trees are specially mentioned. Very near the charming region lay the forest kingdom of Kiṣkindha.

Next we have the river Kāverī as taking its source from the Malaya hills sacred again to Agastya. It is said to be a divine stream full of good and healthy waters.[9] Beyond was the Tāmraparṇī famous for its crocodiles and sandalwood trees, on which was located the Kavāṭapura which led to the southern ocean.[10] The Tāmraparṇī is said to be a mahānadī.

Lakes.—There are a number of lakes and ponds mentioned as existing in the Daṇḍaka forest and beyond. Prominence is given to two lakes the Pañcāpsaras and the Pampā lake. The Pañcāpsaras lay on the edge of the commencement of the forest Daṇḍaka at the northern side. Rāma and his party heard music of a high order there but they did not see any sign of human beings. The sage Dharmabhṛta who resided on the spot entertained them as to why the lake came to be so called. It was made in ancient times by a sage Mandakarṇi. Five apsarās who came to disturb his penance became his wives. Since then they were residing underneath the waters of the lake and continue to sing.[11] The lake

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1 *Kis.*, 41. 8.
2 *Āraṇ.*, Ch. 7 and 8.
3 *Āraṇ.*, 16.
4 *Āraṇ.*, Ch. 36.
5 *Ibid.*, Ch. 63. 13 ; Ch. 64.
6 *Āraṇ.*, Ch. 73.
7 *Kiṣ.*, 41. 9.
8 *Kis.*, 27. 16.
9 *Ibid.*, 41. 15.
10 *Ibid.*, 17.
11 *Rāmā.*, III. 11. 5ff.

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Pampā lay adjacent to the mount Ṛṣyamukha.[1] It was a famous lake at a distance of two days' walk from the hill. One can look for its identification in the name of a tank on the Hyderabad side of the Tungabhadra near Anegundi. The Puṣkaraṇi is said to be full of water-fowls like swans and others and full of varieties of excellent fishes, and encircled by fruits and flower gardens. It is remembered as the sacred place where the Śramanai Śabari got salvation at the hands of Rāma.[2] Its cool and sweet waters, it is said, were drunk by the wild elephants of the forest.

Forests.—The Dakṣiṇadeśa at the time of the Rāmāyaṇa was largely a forest tract with few inhabited regions here and there. The more reputed of all the forests was the Daṇḍaka forest which stretched out from the Citrakūṭa hill and comprised roughly the region between the modern Bundelkhand and the river Kṛṣṇā. Perhaps it stretched well up to the territory of the Tamil kingdoms. Agastya narrated to Rāma details of this forest which was once conquered by Daṇḍaka, an ancestor of Rāma and brought under the authority of the imperial power reigning from Ayodhyā. According to the sage the forest extended to 500 *yojanas* towards the south beginning from the Vindhyas.[3] It was given to him, Agastya, the resident of the Himalayan range to go over there and take up the clearing of the jungle by cutting river courses, lakes, ponds, and planting of Himalayan trees. When it was thus made inhabitable, a number of sages took up their residence here. Being neglected by the successors of Daṇḍaka, the Rākṣasas began to frequent those regions and disturb the peaceful seers there. On the sage's advice Rāma agreed to take up the forest under imperial protection.[4]

Though the whole region went by the common name of Daṇḍakāraṇya, different parts of it were known by different names. Between the river Mahājava and the Pañcāpsaras lake lay the Nīla forest, literally the Blue Forest.[5] It is said that there was a divine Nygrodha tree beyond the river Kālindī and at a distance of a Krośa from it lay the Nīla forest. It was noted for *palāśa, badari,* and bamboo trees. From this emerged a well-known route to Citrakūṭa.[6] The next forest was that of the Madhūkas. A part of this huge forest was Pañcavaṭi.[7] It was such a beautiful place that Rāma and his party resolved to spend a portion of the period of their exile in that region. Though it was a forest track it seems to have been

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1 *Āraṇ.*, Ch. 73. 10ff.
2 *Ibid.*, Ch. 74.
3 *Rāmā.*, III. 12, 57.
4 *Kiṣ.*, 41. 12.
5 *Rāmā.*, III, Ch. 7 and 8.
6 *Ibid.*, II, 55. 5-9.
7 *Ibid.*, III, Ch. 14ff.

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fit for habitation. This Pañcavaṭi has been now identified with the modern Nasik.

Krauñcālaya was the other forest of importance. The Velavana has been already mentioned. Perhaps the comparatively insignificant hill which to-day goes by the name of Valavanad at a distance of thirteen miles to the east of Tinnevelly may be said to be the remnant of ancient Velavana.

Towns and Cities.—In those days we do not hear of many towns. But it is certain that every Janapada had a capital city. Between the Vindhyas and Janasthāna, and again bordering on the Vindhyas themselves are the Janapadas of Mekhala, Utkala, Daśārna, and Avanti. Others mentioned are Vidarbha, Ṛṣika, and Māhiṣka.[1] The capital of these kingdoms went by the name of the Janapada itself. Passing on to the forest kingdoms we find two cities Janasthāna and Kiṣkindha. Vālmīki gives us a fine description of the latter city, its well-built houses all richly furnished, together with the high style of living indulged in especially by the Vānara women.

There was again the city of Vaijayanta in the forest tract of Daṇḍaka, now difficult to be identified. It was the capital of Timidvaja otherwise known as Śambara, the asura who attacked Indra and celestials. According to the account in the Rāmāyaṇa, Daśaratha went to the city to aid Indra accompanied by Kaikeyī and subjugated the region of Śambara.[2]

The next city mentioned is Kavāṭapuram and this seems to be the same referred to in the Kauṭalya Arthaśāstra. Both the authors agree that this place was famous for pearls of the finest quality. If we compare this with the description of Koṟkai, one of the ancient capitals of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom as given in the Śangam Classics, there will be no hesitation to identify the Kavāṭapuram with the ancient Koṟkai swallowed afterwards by the erosion of the sea.

The next town is Laṅkā, capital of Ceylon, which is said to be located in the Trikūṭa hill. It was an impregnable citadel, to be reached by crossing the sea. The sea was the southern ocean. Futile attempts have been made to identify this Laṅkā in other parts of India.[3] It is definitely stated that the party that left the Prasravana hill towards the south reached the northern part of the southern ocean and an adventurer among them saw Laṅkā on the other side of the shore and crossed it.[4] If this were not

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[1] *Kis.*, 41. 10ff. [2] *Rāmā.*, II, 9, 12–15.

[3] See *Proceedings of First Oriental Conference*, CXXVI, and also *Fourth Oriental Conf.*, p. 171.

[4] *Kis.*, 64. 4.

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granted, the portion of the Yuddha Kāṇḍa dealing with the march of Sugrīva's army to Laṅkā, the tradition of Darbhaśayanam of Rāma near the modern Rāmeśvaram and the equally well-known tradition of building a bridge through the engineering skill of Nīla, now called the Adam's Bridge, all would be meaningless. To place Laṅkā in Ceylon will be to stand on unassailable ground.

Islands.—Besides Ceylon, Vālmīki mentions islands and kingdoms of the Gandharvas beyond Ceylon and refers to āśramas of Agastya then and there. If these are not interpolated passages one has to believe that once the adventurer Agastya carried the torchlight of civilization to all the southern regions including greater India which led to the establishment of the Agastya cult as evidenced by the finds in the Archipelago.[1] The accurate geographical details show a close intimacy of the southern regions of India by the author of the Rāmāyaṇa. It appears certain that the old Dakṣiṇapada route, mentioned as early as in the Ṛg Veda Samhita, lay through the West Coast and it was not only a commercial route but a military route for invasion, of and from Peninsular India.[2] The papers concerning Mysore in the Mackenzie Collections point out that Rāma's route from Pañcavaṭi to Laṅkā lay across the tableland of Mysore.[3]

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[1] See my *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa.*
[2] See my *Mauryan Polity*, p. 65.
[3] Taylor, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, III, 693.

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PURĀṆAS IN THE HISTORY OF SMṚTI

By RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

From very ancient times the Purāṇas have been held in high esteem and called the fifth Veda which every one was allowed to hear for the true knowledge of 'Dharma'. Hence naturally the Purāṇas became more popular than the Vedas which were restricted only among the twice-born. At the time of the revival of Brahmanism in the new form of sectarian Hinduism in the first centuries of the Christian era these popular Purāṇas were taken up and recast for successful propagation of the cults; at least a comparison of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism of the pre-Christian era with those of the post-Christian era with their rites and rituals tends to create such an impression. Consequently many chapters concerning religion and the different cults and the glories of sectarian gods and their worship were inserted, while others dealt with the rules of Ācāra, Śrāddha, Prāyaścitta, etc. for the guidance of Hindu societies. This explains the abundance of chapters dealing with social rules, while the Vyavahāra sections are conspicuously rare. Perhaps from this time, the original five characteristics of the Purāṇas began to be added to by others, viz.:—Dāna, Pratiṣṭhā, etc. (cf. Matsya-Purāṇa, 2, 22–24*a*).

उत्पत्तिं प्रलयञ्चैव वंशान् मन्वन्तराणि च ।
वंशानुचरितञ्चैव भुवनस्य च विस्तरम् ॥
दानधर्मविधिञ्चैव श्राद्धकल्पञ्च शाश्वतम् ।
वर्णाश्रमविभागञ्च तथेष्टापूर्तसंज्ञितम् ॥
देवतानां प्रतिष्ठादि यच्चान्यद् विद्यते भुवि ॥

The earliest work in which quotations from the Purāṇas occur is the Āpastamba-Dharma-Sūtra. No other work dating earlier than the Gupta period contains any such quotations. The Āp. Dh.S. II, 24, 5-6 quotes the Bhaviṣyat-Purāṇa and Āp.Dh.S. II, 23, 3–5 quotes from a Purāṇa stanzas which describe the path of the Fathers. These quotations are not concerned with Smṛti. The Āp.Dh.S. I, 19–13[1] quotes from a Purāṇa two stanzas which

[1] अथ पुराणे श्लोकावुदाहरन्ति—
उद्यतामाहृतां भिक्षां पुरस्तादप्रवेदिताम् ।
भोज्यां मेने प्रजापतिरपि दुष्कृतकारिणः ॥
न तस्य पितरोऽश्नन्ति दशवर्षाणि पञ्च च ।
न च हव्यं वहत्यग्निर्यस्तामभ्यधिमन्यते ॥ इति ॥

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come within the description of 'Dharma', but are not traceable in any Purāṇa. They are, however, found in the Manu-Saṃhitā (IV, 248-9). The Śloka in Āp.Dh.S., I, 19, 14

चिकित्सकस्य मृगयोः शल्यकृन्तस्य पाशिनः ।

कुलटायाः षण्डकस्य च तेषामन्नमनाद्यम् ॥,

which follows the previous sūtra, is said by the commentator Haradatta Miśra to be also from a Purāṇa (cf. अयं तु पुराणश्लोक इत्यपौनरुक्त्यम्). The Āp.Dh.S. I, 19, 15 also seems from the occurrence of the word 'api' and the similarity of metre, to be a Purāṇa passage (cf. इतरत् पुराणश्लोके पठ्यमानेऽपि पठितम्—Haradatta). The Āp.Dh.S. I, 29, 8 (यो हिंसार्थमभिक्रान्तम्, etc.), though smacking of Dharma, seems more to be a general maxim. It is perhaps a summary of Baudh.Dh.S., I, 10, 12 and Vaś.Dh.S., III, 18. On the basis of these quoted passages only we should not, like Mr. Pargiter,[1] venture to infer that the authors of the Purāṇas had begun to introduce Smṛti-matter in the Purāṇas in Āpastamba's time. These quoted stanzas might have possibly been gāthās which were current among the people in ancient times and received admission, in course of time, into the Purāṇas like many others in connection with the Pitṛs. That at least some of the ancient gāthās were concerned with Smṛti-matter is evidenced not only by those found in the Purāṇas[2] and the Mahābhārata but also by the Manu-Saṃhitā, IX, 42, which refers to one sung by Vāyu

अत्र गाथा वायुगीताः कीर्तयन्ति पुराविदः । यथा बीजं न वप्तव्यं पुंसा परपरिग्रहे ॥

The fact that Manu incorporates the stanzas found in Āp.Dh.S. I, 19, 13 without calling them gāthās is not very important because in several other cases Manu is found to insert stanzas, not of his own composition, without naming the sources. For instance, Manu, II, 94 (न जातु कामः कामानाम्, etc.) occurs in the Purāṇas (cf. Matsya, 34, 10) as spoken by Yayāti who became tired of enjoyment, and Manu, III, 274*a* (अपि नः स कुले जायाद् यो नो दद्यात् त्रयोदशीम् ।) is found in some of the Purāṇas as a part of a gāthā sung by the Pitṛs (cf. Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Veṅkaṭ. ed., III, 19, 9*b*ff.).

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[1] Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 54.

[2] Cf. Mārk., pp. 29, 43ff.

गाथास्वात्र महाभाग स्वयमत्रिरगायत ।

ताः शृणुष्व महाभाग गृहस्थाश्रमसंस्थिताः ॥

देवान् पितॄंश्चातिथींश्च तद्वत् सम्पूज्य बान्धवान् ।

ज्ञातींस्तथा गुरूंश्चैव गृहस्थो विभवे सति ॥

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अत्र गाथाः पितृगीताः कीर्तयन्ति पुराविदः ।

तास्तेऽहं कीर्तयिष्यामि यथावत् सन्निबोध मे ।

अपि नः स कुले जायाद् यो नो दद्यात् त्रयोदशीम् ॥ etc. etc.

There are numerous references to Purāṇas in the works dating earlier than the Christian era, but nowhere there is any reference to their Smṛti contents. All these considered together tend to create the impression that in Āpastamba's time the Purāṇas did not contain any Smṛti-chapter.

On the other hand, from the Gupta period onward there are evidences to show that the Purāṇas began to incorporate Smṛti-topics not very long after Yājñavalkya's time. The earliest citations from Smṛti materials of the Purāṇas occur in the Gupta Inscriptions. F. E. Pargiter has shown that some verses relating to gifts of land cited in the Gupta Inscriptions dating between 475 and 511 A.D. are traceable in the Padma-Purāṇa, the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa, and the Brahma-Purāṇa but not in the Mahābhārata.[1] This shows that the Purāṇas contain sections on Smṛti-matter which can be taken as dating long before 475 A.D., for these passages became so highly popular that the people did not often know precisely the sources wherein these passages occurred but attributed them to Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Purāṇas and assigned them often to the Mahābhārata. Haraprasād Śāstrī discovered a MS. of the Skanda-Purāṇa written in Gupta script and assigned it to the Gupta period. It contains several sections on Naraka and one on Īśvarārcana-vidhi.[2] The Nārada-Smṛti quotes two ślokas [3] from a Purāṇa in Chap. IV, which deals with debts. These ślokas, though quoted in connection with debts, might not have occurred in the original in the same connection, because they smack more of common maxim than of anything else. Vijñāneśvara tells us of Hārīta's reference to the opinion of the Purāṇas in prescribing penance, in normal circumstances, to those who eat up the food dedicated to the Manes

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[1] Pargiter, *JRAS.*, 1912, pp. 248–255.

[2] H. P. Śāstrī, *Cat. of Palm-leaf and selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library*, Nepal, pp. 141ff.

[3] पुराणोक्तौ द्वौ श्लोकौ भवतः ।

यः परार्थे प्रहिणुयात् स्वां वाचं पुरुषाधमः ।

आत्मार्थे किं न कुर्य्यात् स पापो नरकनिर्भयः ॥

वाच्यर्था नियताः सर्वे वाङ्मूला वाग्विनिश्चिताः ।

यो हितां स्तेनयेद् वाचं स सर्वस्तेयकृन्नरः ॥

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(पित्राद्युद्देशेन त्यक्तान्नभोजने).[1] The date of the Hārīta-Smṛti used by Vijñāneśvara cannot be later than the sixth century A.D. (*vide* Kāne, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. 1, pp. 75 and 246). The Smṛti work, printed under the titles Hārīta-Saṃhitā in the Vaṅgavāsī edition of the Ūnaviṃśa-saṃhitā and Laghu-Hārīta-Smṛti in Jīvānanda's collection of Dharma-śāstras (Vol. I, pp. 177–193), says that the 'anadhyāya' days should be known from the Smṛti works as well as from the Purāṇas.

शिष्यानध्यापयेच्चापि अनध्याये विसर्जयेत् ।

स्मृत्युक्तानखिलांश्चापि पुराणोक्तानपि द्विजः ॥ IV, 70.

This shows that from before the time of composition of this Smṛti work, Purāṇas contained topics which treated of at least 'anadhyāya'. Important also is the evidence of Kumārilabhaṭṭa who looked upon the Purāṇas as authoritative works on Dharma and named them along with the Dharma-śāstras.[2] The Purāṇas he referred to are not the ancient ones on which the extant Purāṇas were modelled but his enumeration (cf. Tantravārtika, p. 79) of some of the topics of the Purāṇas (viz.:—the divisions of the earth, the lineage of royal and other families, the measures of time and distance and future history), his quotation of a verse (cf. Tantrav., p. 126) occurring both in the Viṣṇu-P. (Vaṅga. ed., 1, 5, 64) and the Mārkaṇḍeya-P. (Vaṅga. ed., 48, 44), his reference to the Itihāsa and the Purāṇas regarding the identification of Svarga with the top of Meru (cf. Tantrav., p. 255) and his mention of the Purāṇas as speaking of the Bauddhas and others who would have caused confusion of Dharma in the Kali age, clearly prove that he knew the extant Purāṇas and recognized their authority in the field of Dharma.[3] Kumārila's immediate successor Śaṅkara also, as Professor Deussen says, quotes the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa and calls it simply *smṛti*. He also repeatedly draws upon a Purāṇa. In the commentary of Asahāya on the Nārada-Smṛti, as revised by Kalyāṇa-bhaṭṭa, there is no quotation from any Purāṇa. But this is not important, for no quotation from any other work occurs therein. Viśvarūpācārya, in his commentary Bālakrīḍā on Yājñavalkya,

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[1] ....अनापदि तु— 'चान्द्रायणं नवश्राद्धे प्राजापत्यं तु मित्रके (another reading—'मासिके') ।
एकाहस्तु पुराणेषु प्राजापत्यं विधीयते ॥' इति हारीतोक्तं द्रष्टव्यम् ।
Vijñ. under Yāj., III, 289.

[2] 'पुराणमानवेतिहासव्यतिरिक्त-गौतम-वसिष्ठ-शङ्खलिखित-हारीतापस्तम्ब-बौधायनादिप्रणीतधर्मशास्त्राणां गृह्यग्रन्थानां च प्रातिशाख्यलक्षणवत् प्रतिचरणं पाठव्यवस्थोपलभ्यते ।'

[3] Cf. Kāne, *JBBRAS.*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 102. Tantravārtika, p. 179.

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quotes passages from both Sūtra and Saṃhitā works of numerous Smṛti-writers (viz. :—Aṅgiras, Atri, Āpastamba, Uśanas, Kātyāyana, Kāśyapa, Gārgya, Vṛddha-Gārgya, Gautama, Jātukarṇa, Dakṣa, Nārada, Pāraskara, Parāśara, Pitāmaha, Pulastya, Paiṭhīnasi, Bṛhaspati, Baudhāyana, Bharadvāja, Bhṛgu, Manu, Vṛddha-Manu, Yama, Yāj., Vṛddha-Yāj., Vaśiṣṭha, Vṛddha-Vaś., Viṣṇu, Vyāsa, Śaṅkha, Śātātapa Śaunaka, Sambarta, Sumantu, Svayambhū, i.e. Manu and Hārīta). He also refers to Asahāya under Yāj., III, 263-4. But nowhere there is a single quotation from any Purāṇa. The fallacies in the view of T. Gaṇapatiśāstrin that Viśvarūpācārya quoted only those works which were considered by him as preceding that of Yāj. (cf. Introduction, pp. IVff., to the Yāj.-Smṛti edited by T. Gaṇapatiśāstrin with the com. Bālakrīḍā of Viśvarūpa) have been rightly pointed out by Mr. Kāne (cf. P. V. Kāne, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 254). So the total absence of quotations from, or even a single reference to the Dharmaśāstra materials of the Purāṇas cannot be explained away so easily. It might be that Viśvarūpa, on account of his high regard for the Vedas, looked only upon the Smṛti works as authoritative in the field of 'Dharma' because these constituted a branch of the Vedic literature, and intentionally avoided quoting the Purāṇas. Medhātithi in his Bhāṣya on the Manu-Smṛti repeatedly quotes the Purāṇas without naming them. The majority of these quotations are concerned with non-Smṛti topics, viz. :—Creation, Philosophy, etc. (cf. Purāṇa quotations under Manu, I, 5; I, 7; I, 21; I, 55; I, 69; I, 74; I, 78; II, 244; III, 277; etc. etc.). There are also a few quotations which testify to the fact that at least some of the Purāṇas in Medhātithi's time contained chapters on Tīrtha, Śrāddha, etc. For example, under Manu, II, 24, the Bhāṣya has 'तत्र कल्प्याधिकारत्वे, यदि वा गङ्गादितीर्थस्नानवदेतद्देशनिवासविधिः पावनत्वेन कल्प्यते। यथैव काश्चिदापः पवित्रतरा एवं भूमिभागा अपि केचिदेव पवित्राः, यथोक्तं पुराणे।' Under Manu, III, 134, Medhātithi says 'According to this explanation, the persons whose feeding is prohibited are those that are outside the pale of the four "stages"; say the Paurāṇikas "the Śrāddha should not be offered to persons outside the pale of the four stages"'.[1] 'In a third place (under Manu, III, 272) the Bhāṣya has "says the Purāṇa—the red goat, the black one, serve for endless time".'[2] Under Manu, VIII, 179 Medhātithi explains the word 'dharmajña' as 'one who has become acquainted with the true meaning of Smṛtis,

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[1] Gaṅgānāth Jhā's translation of the Manusmṛti with the com. of Medhātithi, Vol. II, part 1, p. 159.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, part 1, p. 285.

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Purāṇas, and Itihāsas by repeatedly studying them '.[1] The Arabian traveller Alberuni (about 1030 A.D.) has referred to the Purāṇas several times in his Indica. He has not only given a list of the 18 Purāṇas, but also quoted the Āditya-, Vāyu-, Matsya-, and Viṣṇu-Purāṇas. In Indica, II, 191, he has awkwardly rendered the statements of the Viṣṇudharmottara, I, 60, 14*b*–16*a*.[2] The Viṣṇudharmottara, I, 60 deals with श्रवणद्वादशी-त्र्यहस्पृक्तिथि-महापूर्णमासीषूपवासादिफल and is a part of the Śaṅkara-gītā which contains several other sections on Dharma-matter. Alberuni's renderings of other passages, which have been traced by Bühler in the Viṣṇudharmottara and which are concerned mainly with astronomy, are not of much importance here. There are three other quotations in the Indica which are not traced in our Viṣṇudharmottara but are met with in another work called both Viṣṇudharma and Viṣṇudharmottara[3] and which has nothing to do with our well-known Viṣṇudharmottara. The first quotation from the Viṣṇudharma in the Indica, II, 175 resembles, as Bühler says, Viṣṇudharma, Chap. 10, stanzas 1–4, the second quotation (Indica, II, 174) has been taken from Viṣṇudharma, Chap. 13, and the third quotation (Indica, I, 77) can be traced in Viṣṇudharma, Chap. 1. It is to be noted that the Viṣṇudharma, Chap. 10 deals with Upavāsa, etc., Chap. 13 seems to deal, among other things, with Vrata, and Chap. 1 proposes to describe Vrata, Upavāsa, etc.

शौनक उवाच ।

यत् पृच्छसि महीपाल कृष्णस्याराधनं प्रति ।

व्रतोपवासजप्यादि तदिहैकमनाः शृणु ॥ Stanza 33.

The most important check on the Smṛti contents of the Purāṇas is given by the quotations made in the Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa of Bhavadeva (1050–1150 A.D.), the Mitākṣarā of Vijñāneśvara (1070–1100 A.D.), the Kāla-viveka of Jīmūtavāhana (1090–1130 A.D.), the Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana of Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana Bhāskara Miśra (before 1100 A.D.), the Yājñavalkya-ṭīkā of Aparārka (about 1125 A.D.), the Dāna-sāgara of Ballāla-sena (about 1150 A.D.), the Hāralatā of Aniruddhabhaṭṭa (about 1150 A.D.), the commentary on the Gautama-Dharma-Sūtra by Haradatta (1100–1300 A.D.), the Smṛti-candrikā of Devana-bhaṭṭa (1150–1225 A.D.), the commentary on the Manu-Smṛti by Kullūka-bhaṭṭa (1150–1300 A.D.), the Smṛty-artha-sāra of Śrīdhara (1150–1200 A.D.), the Caturvarga-cintāmaṇi

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, part 1, p. 229.

[2] Bühler in *Indian Antiquary*, XIX, 1890, p. 402.

[3] Cf. Weber's *Cat. of the Skt. and Pkt. MSS. of the Berlin State Library*, Vol. II, part 1, pp. 338ff., for a description of the work.

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of Hemādri (about 1270 A.D.), the Kṛtyakalpataru of Lakṣmīdhara (1100–1150),[1] etc. etc. These works quote from or refer to about forty Purāṇas, viz. :—Ādi-P. (quoted in Smṛti-candrikā, Hāra-latā, Dāna-sāgara, Kullūka, and Aparārka), Saura-P. (mentioned in the Smṛtyartha-sāra), Viṣṇudharmottara (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla-viveka, Dāna-sāgara, and Aparārka), Skanda-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Mitākṣarā, Dāna-s., and Apar.), Viṣṇu-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Hāra., Mit., Dāna-s., Kullūka, and Apar.), Brahmāṇḍa-P. quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Mit., and Apar. ; mentioned in Dāna-s.), Brahma-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Hāra., Dāna-s., Kul., Apar., and Haradatta), Kūrma-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Hāra., Dāna-s., Apar., and Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana), Padma-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Hāra., Dāna-s. and Apar.), Matsya-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa, Kāla., Hāra., Mit., Dāna-s., Kul., Apar., Trik., and Hāra.), Bhaviṣyat-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Prāyaś., Kāla., Mit., Dāna-s., Kul., and Apar.), Bhāgavata-P. (mentioned in the Dāna-s.), Devī-P. (quoted in Kala., Smṛtyar., and Apar. ; mentioned in the Dāna-s.), Bhagavatī-P. (quoted in Kāla.), Mahā-P. (quoted in Kāla.), Viṣṇu-dharma (quoted in Kāla., Dāna-s., and Apar.), Viṣṇudharmottarāmṛta (quoted in Kāla.), Bṛhad-Viṣṇudharma (quoted in Kāla.), Śāmba-P. (quoted in Kāla. and Dāna-s.), Saura-dharmottara (quoted in Kāla.), Śivarahasya (mentioned in Dāna-s.), Śiva-P. (quoted in Dāna-s.), Śivadharmottara (quoted in Apar.), Kālikā-P. (quoted in Dāna-s. and Apar.), Vāyu-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Dāna-s., Kul., and Apar.), Nṛsiṃha-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Dāna-s., and Apar.), Mārkaṇḍeya-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Hāra., Dāna-s., Kul., and Apar.), Āditya-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Dāna-s., and Apar.), Tvastṛ-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c.), Nāradīya-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla. ; mentioned in Dāna-s.), Vāmana-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Dāna-s., and Apar.), Liṅga-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Mit., Dāna-s., and Apar. ; mentioned in Smṛtyar.), Viṣṇu-rahasya (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., and Apar. ; mentioned in Dāna-s.), Bhaviṣyottara (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Apar. ; mentioned in Dāna-s.), Nandi-P. (quoted in Dāna-s. and Apar.), Varāha-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Kāla, Hāra., Dāna-s., Apar., and Trik.), Nandi-keśvara-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c.), Brahmavaivarta-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c.), Agni-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c., Dāna-s., and Trik.), and Garuḍa-P. (quoted in Smṛti-c. ; mentioned as Tārkṣya-Purāṇa in

[1] Lakṣmīdhara's Kṛtyakalpataru and Hemādri's Caturvargacintāmaṇi are full of Purāṇa passages. A part of the MS. of the former has been carefully preserved in the Library of the Mahārāṇā of Udaipur, and is not lent to any outsider. There is no second MS. of the work which consequently has not been utilized. Hemādri's encyclopædic work is being published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. For certain reasons the use of this work also is reserved for the future.

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Dāna-s.). There are also quotations in Smṛti-c., Kāla., Mit., Kul., Smṛtyar., Medhātithi-bhāṣya, Apar., and Hāra. under the titles Purāṇa and Purāṇāntara. The Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa have also been frequently drawn upon.

In the majority of cases the Purāṇa quotations are traceable in the extant Purāṇas. (*Vide Appendix I.*)

An additional number of quotations from the above-mentioned Purāṇas also occur in the Smṛti-candrikā, Kāla-viveka, etc. Some of them, though containing Smṛti matter, are either not found at all in the extant Purāṇas or are traceable in chapters not connected with Smṛti, while others deal with non-Smṛti matter. So these quotations have been left untraced even in cases where it was possible.

We should note here that quotations occur from a large number of Smṛti-chapters of the extant Purāṇas. For example, the Matsya-Purāṇa contains Smṛti-topics in chapters 16–22 and 141 (Śrāddha); 7, 54–57, 60–66, 68–81, and 95–101 (Vrata); 264–270 (Pratiṣṭhā); 67, 68, 102, and 115 (Snāna); 82–92, 187, 205–207, and 274–289 (Dāna); 7 (Strī-dharma); 11, 22, 103–112, 179, 180–184, 186, and 189–194 (Tīrtha); 23 (Naraka); 24 (Āśrama-dharma); 23 (conjugal life); 93, 94, 228–239 (Graha-yajña and Śānti); 103 and 215–243 (Rāja-dharma); 58 and 59 (Utsarga); 142, 144, 145, and 165 (Yuga-dharma); 227 (Vyavahāra); 227 (Prāyaścitta); 252–257 (Vāstu), and 258–262 (construction of images and their characteristics); and quotations have been made from chapters 7, 15–19, 22, 53, 58, 59, 61, 82–94, 101, 102, 184, 205–207, 227, 253, 265, 267, and 274–290. The Smṛti-chapters of the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa are the following: II, 6 and VI, 5 (Naraka); III, 8 and 9 (Varṇāśrama-dharma); III, 10 and 13 (Saṃskāra); III, 11-12 (Ācāra); III, 13 (Aśauca); III, 13–16 (Śrāddha); VI, 1 (Yuga-dharma); and VI, 2 (Karmavipāka); and quotations have been traced in the following chapters: II, 8; III, 6, 8, 10–15, and 18; and VI, 2, 7, and 10. In the case of the Matsya-Purāṇa, the number of chapters drawn upon appear rather small, but we should remember that the earlier Nibandha-writers, specially those whose works are available, tried to follow in their works the form of the Saṃhitās as far as practicable and consequently paid little attention to such topics as Vrata, Tīrtha, Pratiṣṭhā, etc., which constitute the greater number of the Smṛti-chapters in many of the Purāṇas. It is only the Smṛti-writers like Hemādri and Raghunandana who cared to deal with these topics at considerable length.

Numerous examples of coincidence may be given from the Liṅga, Padma, Varāha, Brahmavaivarta, Garuḍa, Śiva, Skanda,

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Bhaviṣyat, Viṣṇudharmottara, and other Purāṇas. It is only in the case of the Ādi (Veṅkaṭ. ed.), the Brahma (Ānandāśram ed.), and the Kālikā (Vaṅga. ed.) Purāṇa that none of the numerous quotations is traceable in the originals. The Ādi-Purāṇa, which is really an upa-Purāṇa, is devoted to the praise of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and contains no Smṛti-chapters. The Brahma-Purāṇa contains Smṛti matter in a good number of chapters.[1] But some of these (viz. the Gautamī-māhātmya and the chapters dealing with the worship of the sun in Orissa) are most probably of later origin, while others (viz. the chapters dealing with Ācāra, Śrāddha, etc.) are mainly borrowed from other Purāṇas, such as the Mārkaṇḍeya (cf. Br.-P., Chap. 220 and Mārk.-P., Chaps. 32 and 33, and so on) and the Matsya-P. (cf. the quotations from the Matsya-P. in the Kāla-viveka, pp. 304 and 391, which tally with Br., p. 220, 14 and 53*b*-54 respectively).

In the Vaṅga. ed. of the Kālikā-Purāṇa there is no chapter on 'dāna' from which Ballāla-sena and Aparārka quoted passages. Truly speaking, it contains no Smṛti-chapter and none of the quotations are traceable in it. The Bṛhan-nāradīya-Purāṇa (ed. by Pandit Hṛṣikeśa Śāstrī, Bibl. Ind.) is drawn upon by Devana-bhaṭṭa and Jīmūta-Vāhana, but except the quotation in Smṛti-candrikā, Vol. IV, p. 147, which tallies with Bṛh.-P., 27, 6, not a second one is traceable in the original. The MSS. of the Agni-Purāṇa, from which quotations were made in the Smṛti-candrikā, the Dāna-sāgara, and the Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana, differ considerably from the Ānandāśram and the Vaṅga. editions which are practically the same. The quotations on 'dāna' in the Dāna-s. show that in the MS. used by Ballāla-sena the 'dānas' were dealt with much more elaborately and that the different kinds of 'dāna', viz. Guḍa-dhenu-dāna (cf. foll. 96*a*-97*b*), Tila-dhenu-dāna (cf. foll. 99*a*-99*b*), Ghṛta-dhenu-dāna (cf. foll. 100*a*-100*b*), Alaṅkṛta-gavī-dāna (cf. foll. 113*b*-114*b*), etc. etc., formed distinctly separate sections, short or long. There are also numerous quotations on the merits of making these different kinds of gifts (cf. foll. 115*a*, 122*b*-123*a*, 123*b*, 129*b*, 131*a*, etc. etc.). For example, on foll. 253*a*-254*a* the sage explains, in a considerably long lecture, to the king how the gift of a single ox could be equal to that of ten cows.

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[1] The AnSS. and the Vaṅgavāsī editions of the Br.-P. do not show much difference. The Ānandāśram and the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press editions are also, almost word for word, the same, the main difference being that in the latter edition the chapters constituting the Guatamī-māhātmya are given at the end, and not in the middle as in the former one.

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In the Vaṅgavāsī ed. of the Agni-P. we find a quite different state of things. The topics on 'dāna' are dealt with very concisely in chapters 208–213. The author of these chapters does not deal with the different kinds of gifts at considerable length nor does he dilate upon the merits thereof. In chapter 210 the different kinds of Mahā-dānas and Dhenu-dānas are enumerated but are not all dealt with in details.

Such being the state of things, we should not be astonished to find that the great majority of the quotations, made especially in the Dāna-sāgara, are not traceable in the printed edition. Even in the few cases where the two agree, the readings and arrangement of stanzas differ disappointingly. For example, in the only long passage, quoted on foll. 96*a*-97*b* in relation to 'Guḍa-dhenu-dāna', which agrees approximately with the major portion of Agni-Purāṇa, Chap. 210, there are many lines which are not found in the printed edition. The printed edition also has, in its turn, many lines (viz. 16*a*–18, 22*a*, 23*b*-24*a*, and so on) which are omitted or replaced by others in the MS. The differences in readings are too numerous to be noted here. Sometimes the subject-matter of a good number of stanzas in the MS. are found pressed into a much lesser number of stanzas in the printed edition. The arrangements of stanzas also differ. For example, the enumeration of the ten kinds of 'Dhenu-dāna' which precedes the stanzas 15–28 in the printed edition is found to follow these stanzas in the MS. Another thing is to be noted in this connection. In the MS. of the Dāna-sāgara we find that it is the sage Vaśiṣṭha who narrates these dāna-topics to king Ambarīṣa

एतच्छ्रुत्वाम्बरीषोऽपि वशिष्ठं प्रत्यभाषत ।
कथं वृषे च धेनूनां दशानां फलमिष्यते ॥ Dāna-sāgara, fol. 253*a*

whereas in the printed edition of the Agni-Purāṇa Agni is the narrator and there is no mention of king Ambarīṣa.

The Smṛti-chapters of the Purāṇas very often exhibit the influence of Manu, Yāj., and others. Of all, the influence of Manu is the most remarkable. He is not only often referred to by name but lines from the Manu-Smṛti are to be found in almost every Purāṇa. There also occur in the Purāṇas lines, nay even chapters, from Yāj., Parāśara, and others. For example, almost all the chapters of the Mat.-P. (Vaṅga. ed.) are imbued with lines borrowed from Manu and Yāj. (*Vide Appendix II.*)

Mat.-P., Chap. 16 seems to be an enlarged form of the Śrāddha section in Manu, III. Manu has sometimes been mentioned by

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name or as Svāyambhuva.[1] Mat.-P., chapters 229–238, dealing with Adbhuta-śānti, are attributed to Vṛddha-garga, who is said to have declared these chapters to the sage Atri

मत्स्य उवाच ।

अत्र ते वर्णयिष्यामि यदुवाच महातपाः ।

अत्रये वृद्धगर्गस्तु सर्वधर्मभृतां वरः ॥

सरस्वत्यां सुखासीनं गर्गं स्रोतसि पार्थिव ।

पप्रच्छासौ महातेजा अत्रिर्मुनिजनप्रियम् ॥ Mat.-P., 229, 2-3.

The opening stanzas seem to claim Vṛddha-garga as the author of these chapters, but really these were not written by Vṛddha-garga himself. These are merely based on the Utpāta-śānti sections of a work (viz. Vṛddha-garga-saṃhitā ?) of the renowned astrologer, as is evidenced by the Adbhutasāgara[2] of Ballāla-sena which quotes in sections, viz. Ativṛṣṭyadbhutāvartta, Jalāśayādbhutāvartta, Agnyadbhutāvartta, Devapratimādbhutāvartta, Vṛkṣādyadbhutāvartta, Prasavādbhutāvartta, and Nānāmṛga-vihagādbhutāvartta, frequently from both the Matsya-P. and Vṛddha-garga. For example, on p. 416 of the Adbh.-s., Mat.-P., 231, 1—

अनग्निर्दीप्यते यत्र राष्ट्रे भूशमनिन्धनः ।

न दीप्यते वेन्धनवान् सराष्ट्रः पीड्यते नृपः ॥

is quoted as common to the Vṛddha-garga-saṃhitā, the Mat.-P., and the Viṣṇudharmottara. On p. 419 of the Adbh.-s. the stanza 'samidbhih kṣīra-vṛkṣāṇām, etc.' is quoted under the name of Vṛddha-garga. This stanza tallies, with some variations of reading, with Mat.-P., 231, 10. The stanzas 'Nagarād-apasarpanti, etc.', quoted from Vṛddha-garga on p. 410 of the Adbh.-s., have four lines in common with Mat.-P., 234, 1–3*a*. Mat.-P., 230, 1–5*a*, also can be compared with the extract from Vṛddha-garga quoted on p. 426 of the Adbh.-s. Sometimes only the substance of some stanzas of Vṛddha-garga is found in the Mat.-P., viz. the pith of the stanza

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[1] Cf. 'एवं ह्यविकलं श्राद्धं श्रद्धादत्तं मनुर्ब्रवीत् ॥' Mat.-P., 141, 76*a*.
'अथ चेतायुगस्यादौ मनुः सप्तर्षयश्च ये ।
श्रौतस्मार्त्तं ब्रुवन् धर्मं ब्रह्मणा तु प्रचोदिताः ॥ Mat.-P., 142, 40.
'परम्परागतं धर्मं स्मार्त्तन्त्वाचारलक्षणम् ।
वर्णाश्रमाचारयुतं मनुः स्वायम्भुवोऽब्रवीत् ॥ Mat.-P., 142, 42.
Also cf. Mat.-P., 142, 47*b*; 227, 28; 227, 33; and 227, 114*a*.

[2] Ed. by Mauralidhara Jhā and printed and published by Prabhākari & Co., Benares Cantonment.

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प्रासादादिषु चैत्येषु यदि धूमो विनाग्निना ।
भवन्ति वा विना धूमैरग्नयो वा भयाय ते ॥

of Vṛddha-garga, quoted on Adbh.-s., p. 418, is found in the Mat.-P., 231, 4*b*, धूमश्चानग्निजो यत्र तत्र विद्यान्महाभयम् । Many quotations from Vṛddha-garga on 'adbhuta' are not found in the chapters of the Mat.-P. Another thing to be noted here is that in Mat.-P., p. 229, 13, Atri is wrongly addressed as 'Rājendra' by Vṛddha-garga. Had Vṛddha-garga been the real author of these chapters, he could have no reason for calling the sage king. It is no doubt the unknown author of these chapters who, forgetting that he himself had attributed these chapters to Vṛddha-garga, wrongly inserted the word 'Rājendra' as if it was the Matsya that was speaking to Manu as in other chapters of the Mat.-P.

Other Purāṇas also, viz. the Viṣṇu-P.[1] (Vaṅga. ed., which is almost the same as the Veṅkaṭ. ed.), the Mārkaṇḍeya-P.[2] (Vaṅga. ed.), the Brahmāṇḍa-P.[3] (Veṅkaṭ. ed.), the Bṛhan-nāradīya-P.[4], etc., have drawn upon Manu and rarely upon Yāj., and referred to the opinion of the former.[5] The Kūrma-P. (Vaṅga. ed., which is the same as the Veṅkaṭ. ed. except in a few chapters wherein the readings and the numbers of stanzas slightly vary) is not only full of lines from Manu and in a few cases from Yāj. (viz. :—

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[1] Viṣṇu-P., III, 11, 17*a* = Manu, V, 136*a*.
III, 11, 102 (fourth pāda)=M., III, 121 (second pāda).
III, 13, 17 (first pāda)=M., V, 78 (first pāda).
III, 15, 1*b*=M. III, 185*a*.
III, 15, 6*b*=M., III, 156*a*.
III, 15, 38*a*=M., III, 206*b*.
III, 15, 38*b*=M., III, 207*a*.
III, 16, 19=M., III, 274.
Cf. III, 11, 68*b* with M., III, 118*a*.

[2] Mārk.-P., 29, 29*a*=Manu, III, 102*b*.
29, 33*a*=M., III, 82*a*.
31, 31*c*=M., III, 250*b*.
31, 64*a*=M., III, 235*a*.
Cf. 34, 24*a* with M., IV, 56*a*.

[3] Cf. Bḍ.-P., III, 10, 101*a* with Manu, III, 202*a*.
III, 10, 104*b*–105*a*=M., III, 203.
Cf. III, 15, 33 with M., III, 191*a* and 250*b*.
III, 15, 49*b*=M., III, 156*a*.

[4] Brh.-P., 23, 11*a*=Yāj., I, 14*a*.
23, 46*b*=Manu, II, 126*b*.
24, 16=M., III, 21.

[5] Cf. Bḍ.-P., III, 9, 15*b* and III, 10, 99; Brh.-P., 22, 6*b*. Also cf. Vāmana-P. (Vaṅga. ed., which is practically the same as the Veṅkaṭ. ed.), 12, 48; 14, 59*b*–60, and 14, 96.

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Kūrma-P., II, 12, 14*a*=Manu, II, 42*a*.
II, 12, 17 (first pāda)=Yāj., I, 25 (third pāda).
II, 12, 20-21=M., II, 125-126.
II, 12, 22=M., II, 72.
II, 12, 25=M., II, 127.
II, 12, 44=M., II, 128.
II, 12, 49=M., II, 136.
II, 12, 50=M., II, 137.
II, 12, 52*a*=M., II, 51*b*.
II, 12, 53-4=M., II, 49-50.
II, 12, 56-8=M., II, 183-5.
Cf. II, 12, 59*a* with M., II, 51*a*.
II, 12, 61=M., II, 54.
II, 12, 62=M., II, 57.
etc. etc.)

but also mentions Manu as the original Dharmaśāstrakāra whom others followed (cf. Kūrma-P., I, 12, 261ff.). It refers to the opinion of Manu in a few cases.[1] In I, 12, 262 and I, 12, 268,

एवं पैतामहं धर्म्मं मनुव्यासादयः परम् ।

स्थापयन्ति ममादेशाद् यावदाभूतसंप्लवम् ॥

it refers to more authors of Dharmaśāstra than Manu. In I, 2, 37, it says that at first Manu spoke out Dharma which was heard by Bhṛgu and others, and proclaimed.

It is important to note here that almost the whole of the Uśanas-smṛti (Vaṅgavāsī ed. of the Ūnaviṃśa-saṃhitā, pp. 226–271, and Jīvānanda's collection of Dharmaśāstras, part 1, pp. 501–554) is found in the Smṛti-chapters of the Kūrma-P.[2] This Uśanas-smṛti

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[1] 'सामासिकमिमं धर्मं चातुर्वर्ण्येऽब्रवीन्मनुः ॥' Kūrma-P., I, 2, 67.
'प्रोवाच भगवान् मनुः । Kūrma-P., II, 12, 42.
Also cf. Kūrma-P., II, 13, 29; II, 14, 24 and II, 19, 3.

[2]

	Uśanas-smṛti		*Kūrma-P.*
I.	I, 3*a*	=	II, 12, 3*b*.
	4–63	=	II, 12, 4–end.
	II, 1–45	=	II, 13, 1–31*a*; 32*b*–end.
	III, 1–85	=	II, 14, 1–21; 25*b*–56; 61*b*–91.
	86	=	II, 15, 1.
	87-88	=	14-15.
	89-90	=	21-22.
	91	=	42.
	93–97*a*	=	II, 19, 1–5*a*.
	98*b*–106*a*	=	5*b*–13*a*.
	106*b*	=	II, 20, 1*a*.
	107–110*a*	=	2–5*a*.
	110*b*–113	=	6–9*a*.
	114*a*	=	23*a*.
	114*b*-115	=	24-25*a*.
	126–133*a*	=	25*b*–32*a*.
	133*b*–end	=	36–end.
	IV, 1–6*a*	=	II, 21, 1–6*a*.
	6*b*	=	8*b*.
	7	=	10.
	8–16	=	14–22.
	17–32	=	24*b*–40*a*.
	IV, 33–35	=	II, 21, 41–43.
	36 (i.e. end)	=	47.
	V, 1–7*a*	=	II, 22, 1–7*a*.

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contains some verses which agree closely with the verses found in the Deccan College MSS. (No. 644 of Visrambag (i) and No. 191 of A 1881-1882) of the Uśanas-Dharmasūtra. For example, the verse 'दत्त्वा तु वेदानत्यर्थं.....' is the same as Uśanas-smṛti, IV, 21*b*-22*a*, and the verse 'निमन्त्रितस्तु यो विप्रो अध्वानं सम्प्रपद्यते' tallies with Uśanas-smṛti, V, 9. Sometimes there is a close resemblance between the prose passages of the sūtra work and the verses of the Smṛti, viz. the prose passages which describe the duration of satisfaction of the Manes by the offerings of flesh of different kinds of animals have their parallel in Uśanas-smṛti, III, 137ff. This resemblance tends to show that the Uśanas-smṛti must have been based on the Uśanas-Dharmasūtra. This supposition is further corroborated by the fact that among numerous verses quoted by Aparārka under the name of Uśanas some are found in the Uśanas-smṛti (e.g. 'कुर्य्यादहरहः श्राद्धं, etc.' quoted by Aparārka in his commentary on the Yāj.-smṛti, p. 418, is the same as Uśanas-smṛti, III, 123) while some others bear a striking resemblance to some verses of the Uśanas-smṛti, viz. the four verses quoted by Aparārka on p. 450 resemble Uś.-Sm., IV, 21ff.[1] Hence it is highly probable that the Kūrma-P. incorporated the Uśanas-smṛti and not the opposite. A comparison of the contents of the Uśanas-smṛti with the contents of those chapters of the Kūrma-P. which contain passages from the Smṛti creates the impression that the Kūrma-P. is on a more advanced footing than the Uśanas-smṛti. The former introduces many new topics not found in the latter, viz. Kūrma-P., II, 14, 57–61*a*, describe the method of Uddhāra of Gāyatrī much

Uśanas-smṛti	*Kūrma-P.*
7*b*–22	= 8–23.
23–28*a*	= 24*b*–30*a*.
28*b*–34	= 31–37*a*.
35–41	= 40–46*a*.
42–49	= 47–54*a*.
51–72	= 54*b*–75.
73*a*	= 77*a*.
74–97*a*	= 77*b*–99.
97*b*–end	= 100*b*–end.
VI (except 9*a* and 56*a*)	= II, 23 (except 18*b*–20, 40*b*-41, 47, 48, 53, 56*a* and 64*a*).
VII	= II, 23, 72–end (except 92).
VIII (except 11*a*)	= II, 30, 8–14; 18-19*a*, 20-21. II, 32, 1–23*a*.
IX, 1–108 (except 51-52, 70-71, and 100–104)	= II, 32, 24–end (except 26-27*a*, 30*b*–34*a*, 35–51*a*, 60*b*, and 61*b*). II, 33, 1–103 (except 3*b*-4, 8*b*-9, 29*b*–32, 36*b*, 45*a*, 56*b*-57*a*, 60-61, 65*b*–67*a*, 79*a*, 93*b*–97, 101-102).

[1] *Vide* Kāne, *Hist. of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, sec. 17.

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like that of Tantriks, Kūrma-P., II, 15, 2–13, deal with the rules regarding Brahmacarya, Vivāha, and Sahavāsa, and so on. The Kūrma-P. lengthens the chapters of the Uśanas-smṛti by repeated additions. The latter refers to the opinion of Bhṛgu (Uś.-Sm., I, 41), Uśanas (Uś.-Sm., II, 30 and III, 95), Muni (Uś.-Sm., III, 63), Bhṛgu-putra (Uś.-Sm., III, 126), Manu (Uś.-Sm., IV, 21), Manu-Prajāpati (Uś.-Sm., VI, 8), Deva-Prajāpati (Uś.-Sm., VI, 54), Bhagavān Aja (Uś.-Sm., IX, 6), and Deva Pitāmaha (Uś.-Sm., IX, 77). In the Kūrma-P. most of these names are replaced by that of Manu, no matter whether the opinions attributed to these authorities are traceable in the Manu-smṛti or not. A collation of the readings, which are too numerous to be noted here, shows the improvement, especially as regards the simplicity of diction, made by the Kūrma-P. over the Uś.-Sm.

The Agni-P. (Ānandāśram ed.) has appropriated the Vyavahāra section of the Yāj.-smṛti in chapters 253–258. Kāne has compared the text of these chapters with those used by the commentators Viśvarūpa (about 800–850 A.D.) and Vijñāneśvara (1070–1100 A.D.) and comes to the conclusion that the text of the Yāj.-smṛti preserved in the Agni-P. is intermediate between those of the commentators.[1] The first 31 verses, except the first half verse and verse 31, of chapter 253 of the Agni-P. are taken from the extant Nārada-smṛti. The Garuḍa-P. (Venkat. ed.), in chapters 93–106, appropriates a large number of sections from the 1st and 3rd Adhyāyas of the Yāj.-smṛti. The text of Yāj. preserved by the Garuḍa-P. is also, according to Kāne, intermediate between those used by Viśvarūpa and Vijñaneśvara. In Chap. 107 the Garuḍa-P. gives a summary of the Parāśara-smṛti in 39 verses which are made up of parts taken from the latter (cf. verses 2–4 in the Garuḍa-P., Chap. 107 with verses 20, 21, 23, 25, 27, and 39 of Parāśara-smṛti, Chap. 1). The sections on Dharma and Rājanīti of the 2nd Khaṇḍa of the Viṣṇudharmottara have numerous verses borrowed from the Manu-smṛti. This Purāṇa also contains verses from Parāśara (dated probably between 1st and 5th centuries A.D.). Chapters 57–61 of the Narasiṃha-P. (ed. by Gopalanarayan & Co., Bombay) which are attributed to Hārīta are found printed word for word under the title Hārīta-saṃhitā in the Ūnaviṃśa-saṃhitā (Vaṅga. ed.). It also appears as Laghu Hārīta-smṛti in Jīvānanda's collection of Dharmaśāstras (Vol. I, pp. 172ff.). It is doubtless that this Hārīta-saṃhitā originally belonged to the Narasiṃha-P. from which it was taken off in course of time and accepted as an independent

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[1] Kāne, *Hist. of Dh. Śāstra*, Vol. 1, pp. 170ff.

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Smṛti-work from the name of its expounder Hārīta. The Hārīta-saṃhitā begins as follows :—

"ये वर्णाश्रमधर्म्मस्थास्ते भक्ताः केशवं प्रति ।
इतिपूर्वं त्वया प्रोक्तं भूर्भुवःस्वर्द्विजोत्तमाः ॥
वर्णानामाश्रमानाञ्च धर्म्मान् नो ब्रूहि सत्तम ।
येन सन्तुष्यते देवो नारसिंहः सनातनः ॥

मार्कण्डेय उवाच ।
अत्राहं कथयिष्यामि पुरावृत्तमनुत्तमम् ।
ऋषिभिः सह संवादं हारीतस्य महात्मनः ॥"

The opening stanza shows that something has been said before of which these stanzas form a continuation and in fact the verse 1 points to the just preceding verses 2–7 of the Narasiṃha-P., Chap. 57, wherein Mārkaṇḍeya, being asked by the king Sahasrānīka, enumerates the characteristics of the devotees of Viṣṇu :

विष्णुभक्ता महोत्साहा विष्णवर्च्चनविधौ सदा ।
संयता धर्म्मसम्पन्नाः सर्वार्थान् साधयन्ति ते ॥
परोपकारनिरता गुरुशुश्रूषणे रताः ।
वर्णाश्रमाचारयुताः सर्वेषां सुप्रियंवदाः ॥

It is noteworthy that in the Hār.-Sm. it is Mārkaṇḍeya who acts as the reporter. Many of the sections of the Narasiṃha-P. are said to have been addressed by the sage Mārkaṇḍeya to the king Sahasrānīka. The occurrence of the words 'Rājendra'

(वर्णाश्चत्वारो राजेन्द्र चत्वारश्चापि चाश्रमाः ।

Hār.-Sm., VII, 18*a*) and 'Sahasrānīka-deveśa'

(अतः कुर्व्वन् निजं कर्म्म यथाकालमतन्द्रितः ।
सहस्रानीकदेवेशं नारसिंहञ्च सालयम् ॥

Hār.-Sm., VII, 20) shows that the Hār.-Sm. originally belonged to the Purāṇa, otherwise there could have occurred no chance of insertion of these epithets. The Narasiṃha-Purāṇa is a Purāṇa of the Narasiṃha sect glorifying the worship of Narasiṃha. This sectarian character is betrayed by the Hār.-Sm. also. In Hār.-Sm., 2 Mārkaṇḍeya is asked to declare that 'Dharma' which satisfies the God Narasiṃha

वर्णानामाश्रमानाञ्च धर्म्मान् नो ब्रूहि सत्तम ।
येन सन्तुष्यते देवो नारसिंहः सनातनः ॥.

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In II, 9 the worship of Narasiṃha is declared as one of the duties of Vaiśyas

(यज्ञाध्ययनदानानि कुर्य्यान्नित्यमतन्द्रितः ।

पितृकार्य्यपरश्चैव नारसिंहार्चनापरः ॥) ;

in IV, 75-76*a* householder, who is careful about his duties, is said to attain supreme knowledge through Narasiṃha's favour (Narasiṃha-prasādatah) and thereby salvation (mukti) ; and in VII, 19 the God Narasiṃha is said to be pleased not so much with other acts as with the performance of one's 'Svadharma'

(स्वधर्म्मेण यथा नृणां नारसिंहः प्रसीदति ।

न तुष्यति तथान्येन कर्म्मणा मधुसूदनः ॥).

None of the quotations made in their works by Aparārka, Aniruddha, Jīmūtavāhana, Bhavadeva, Viśvarūpa, and Devana-bhaṭṭa from Hārīta, Vṛddha-Hārīta, Laghu-Hārīta, Bṛhaddhārīta, and Svalpa-Hārīta is to be met with in our so-called Hārīta-saṃhitā. On the other hand, some of the quotations made by Aparārka from the Narasiṃha-Purāṇa are traceable in the Hār.-Sm. For example :—

The verse quoted from the Nar.-P. on Apar.,	p. 79	= Hār.-Sm.		III, 12 (partly).
.....	p. 125	= ,,	,,	IV, 18–20 (partly).
.....	p. 153	= ,,	,,	IV, 60-61 (fully).
.....	p. 189	= ,,	,,	IV, 71, 72*a*, and 73*a*.
.....	p. 965	= ,,	,,	VI, 11*a*–22.

The Hār.-Sm. seems to be based on the Hārita-Dharma-śāstra used by Devana-bhaṭṭa, for the verse :

'अनेन विधिना यो हि आश्रमानुपसेवते ।

स सर्व्वलोकान् निर्जित्य ब्रह्मलोकाय कल्पते ॥'

quoted from Hār.-Dh.-śāstra in the Smṛti-caṇdrikā, Vol. 1, p. 174, slightly resembles the Har.-Sm. III, 15 :

'इमं यो विधिमास्थाय त्यजेद् देहमतन्द्रितः ।

नेह भूयोऽपि जायेत ब्रह्मचारी दृढव्रतः ॥'

The remaining Purāṇas also exhibit the influence of Manu and others at every step but it is needless to multiply examples.

Sometimes the Purāṇas themselves refer to their own Smṛti-contents. In the Matsya-Purāṇa 93, 3*b* it is said

'ग्रहशान्तिं प्रवक्ष्यामि पुराणश्रुतिचोदिताम् ।'

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and in Mat. 93, 5*a* we have

'ग्रहयज्ञस्त्रिधा प्रोक्तः पुराणश्रुतिकोविदैः ।'

The Mat. 58, 50 has

'एवमेव पुराणेषु तडागविधिरुच्यते ।
कूपवापीषु सर्वासु तथा पुष्करिणीषु च ॥'

The great age of these chapters can be imagined from the fact that verses from chapter 93 are quoted in Aparārka (pp. 572 and 575) and Smṛti-candrikā (Vol. II, p. 419) and the whole of chapter 58 (except the first three verses) occurs in Aparārka, pp. 409–413. The Kūrma-P., II, 34, 2 runs as follows :—

'शृणुध्वं कथयिष्येऽहं तीर्थानि विविधानि च ।
कथितानि पुराणेषु मुनिभिर्ब्रह्मवादिभिः ॥'

Two verses[1] on Srāddha which refer to the opinions of those versed in the Purāṇas are quoted from the Vāyu-P. These show that from long before these chapters, in which the above verses occur, were written, the Purāṇas had begun to incorporate Smṛti matter so much so that to the authors of at least the above-mentioned chapters the Purāṇas became the traditional store-houses of Smṛti matter.

The contents of the Smṛti-chapters of the Purāṇas, when compared with those of the earlier Saṃhitās, often represent a stage of advancement over Manu, Yāj., Nārada, and even Parāśara. In the Manu-saṃhitā we find three broad divisions of the contents, viz. : (*a*) Ācāra, (*b*) Vyavahāra, and (*c*) Prāyaścitta. The Ācāra section includes the following topics :—Sources of the Law, sacraments, initiation, studentship, householder, marriage, daily rites, śrāddhas, mode of subsistence, rules of a Snātaka, Veda-study, lawful and forbidden food, impurity, purification, duties of women, hermits in the forest, and ascetics. The Vyavahāra section deals not only with law proper but also with matters (viz. : Rājadharma) which fall within the scope of Arthaśāstra. Yāj. retains the three divisions of Manu but makes certain improvements over his predecessor. In

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[1] 'दैवे ह्यनग्निकः कुर्याच्छ्रेयं पित्र्ये निवेदयेत् ।
न हि स्मृताः श्रेयभाजो विश्वेदेवाः पुराणगैः ॥'
'श्राद्धानि षोडशापाद्य विदधीत सपिण्डताम् ।
and
पितुः पुत्रो विधानज्ञ इति पौराणिका विदुः ॥'
The first verse is also quoted in the Smṛti-candrikā, Vol. IV, p. 335.

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the Ācāra section he introduces topics on Dāna, Gaṇapati-Kalpa, and Grahaśānti. Though he retains the section on Rājadharma like Manu, he makes various improvements in the section on Vyavahāra. Topics dealt with by Parāśara are :—the dharmas of the four yugas ; six daily duties including the worship of God ; duties of the householder ; impurity due to birth and death ; the conduct of women ; expiations in various cases ; etc. etc. The later Smṛti-saṃhitās refer to Tīrtha, Vrata, Snāna, Dāna, Pujā, etc. For example, the Saṅkha-saṃhitā (in the Vaṅga. ed. of the Ūnav.-Saṃ.), Chapter XIV, gives a list of the holy places where śrāddha should be performed. The sanctifying effect of 'tīrtha-snāna' is found expressed by the Atri-saṃhitā, verse 50 :—

'प्रतिकृतिं कुशमयीं तीर्थवारिषु मज्जयेत् ।
यमुद्दिश्य निमज्जेत अष्टभागं लभेत सः ॥

The results of making gifts of different kinds of things are described in Atri-saṃhitā 318ff. Bṛhaspati-Sm. 1ff. and Vyāsa-Sm., IV, 15ff. also deal with gifts. Saṅkha-Sm., chapters VIIIff., describe the method of taking bath. Kātyāyana-Sm., I, 11ff. tells us of the worship of Gaṇēsa and the fourteen Mātṛkās on white images, on pictures or on heaps of 'akṣata' at the beginning of all religious acts. Contributions of the Purāṇas to the variety of Smṛti-topics are remarkably numerous. Innumerable chapters are engaged in dealing with Ācāra, Āhṇika, Aśauca, Āśrama-dharmas, Bhakṣyā-bhakṣya, Dāna, Dīkṣā, Dravyaśuddhi, Gotra and Pravara, Graha-yajña, Homa, Kalisvarūpa, Kalivarjya, Karma-vipāka, Narakas, Nīti, Pātakas, Pratiṣṭhā, Prāyaścitta, Pūjā, Rājadharma, Saṁskāra, Sandhyā, Śānti, Snāna, Śrāddha, Strīdharma, Tīrtha, Tithi, Utsarga, Varṇadharma, Vivāha, Vrata, Vyavahāra, and Yugadharma. In the Saṃhitā works 'dāna' is merely referred to but in the Purāṇas it is divided into scores of varieties, viz. :—Tulāpuruṣamahādāna, Hiraṇyagarbhamahādāna, Brahmāṇḍamahādāna, etc. etc., all of which are dealt with in separate chapters. Dīkṣā, which has been overlooked in the Saṃhitās, is dealt with at length in the Purāṇas such as the Garuḍa, Varāha, Liṅga, etc. There are chapters dealing with the erection of temples and the consecration of images. The Purāṇas emphasize the importance of tithis for the performance of all kinds of religious acts and glorify the fast observed on the eleventh day of the fortnight. There are hundreds of vratas described in the Purāṇas with details about their performance. Numerous chapters have been engaged in dealing with tīrthas. Topics on snāna, sandhyā, etc. have also been dealt with in many chapters. The Purāṇas inculcate the worship of the tulasī plant

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and describe the method of painting the body with sectarian tilaka marks.

From what has been said above, we can reasonably suppose that the period of insertion of the majority of Smṛti-chapters falls roughly between Yāj. and the Nibandhas, i.e. between the 2nd century (if Yāj. be not placed earlier) and the 11th century A.D. After the time of Yāj. there were possibly two currents of Smṛti writing, viz.: (i) in the Saṃhitās, and (ii) in the Purāṇas. The more the Purāṇas grew in importance for sectarian causes the less became the zeal of the people in producing original Saṃhitās. The great majority of the later Saṃhitās are merely abridgments of the earlier ones, adapted roughly to the need of the respective ages. On the other hand, from long before the 11th century A.D., not only the mahā-Purāṇas began to grow in bulk due to the addition of Smṛti-chapters but a good number of upa-Purāṇas replete with Smṛti material were written.

There are, of course, a certain number of chapters in the mahā-Purāṇas which must be dated later than the 11th century A.D. For example, those chapters in the Brahma-P. which deal with the worship of the sun in Orissa are taken by scholars, for the mention of the sun-temple of Konarka, to have been written later than the 13th century A.D.; the Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa contains chapters dealing with certain vratas which bear the stamp of later ages; and so on. But these later additions cannot lower the position of the Purāṇas in the history of Smṛti.[1]

Appendix I

Quotations from the Matsya-P. in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā* (pub. by the Govt. of Mysore).	*Matsya-P.* (Vaṅga. ed.)
I, 46	= 7, 37*b*-38*a*; 40*b*; 44*b*-45*a*; 46-47.
157	= 17, 6–8.
180	= 18, 30.
II, 296	= 102, 13.
322	= 101, 37.
419	= 93, 111.
486	= 102, 2–8.
487	= 102, 9*b*-10*a*.
517	= 102, 14–21 and 23*b*.
III, ii, 481	= 227, 146*a*. (The other line differs.)
IV, 28	= 17, 4-5*a*.
29	= 17, 6–8.
82	= 22, 84.
83 (twice)	= 16, 21; 22, 85.
84 (twice)	= 22, 88; 22, 83.
121	= 22, 88.
156 (twice)	= 16, 8*b*–10*a*. (The other quoted stanza is not found.)
191	= 16, 19*a*.
194-5	= 16, 19*b*-20.

[1] These investigations were undertaken at the instance of Professor Dr. S. K. De to whom the author makes his grateful acknowledgement.

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215 = 15, 39*a*. (The first line is not found.)
255 = 17, 30.
265 = 15, 37*b*-38*a*.
270-271 = 16, 27*b*-28*a*.
271 = 16, 28*b*-29*a*.
272 = 19, 4*a*.
290-291 = 17, 14*b*-15*a*.
291 = 17, 23.
298 = 19, 4–11*a* (except 4*b* and 5*a*).
340 = 17, 28*b*.
358 = 17, 40*b*-41.
375 = 17, 47*b*.
388 = 17, 49*b*.
389 (twice) = 16, 47*a* and 17, 53*a*–55 (except one line after stanza 54).
406 = 17, 61*b*.
409 = 17, 62.
412 = 16, 56-57*a*.
438-439 = 17, 68.

(2) *Prāyaścitta-prakaraṇa* (ed. by the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat, Calcutta).

p. 5 = 227, 118*b*–120*a*.

(3) *Kāla-viveka* (ed. by P. N. Tarkabhūṣaṇa and published by the A.S.B.).

p. 101 = 17, 9.
292 = 61, 49*a* (the other line is not found).
321 = 274, 19*b*–22*a*.
369 = 22, 83.
370 = 22, 88.
400 = 17, 4*a* (the other line is not found).
418 = 17, 9.
520 = 17, 5*b*–8.

(4) *Hāra-latā* (published by the A.S.B.).

p. 98 = 18, 30.
162 = 18, 5–7.
198 = 18, 12*b*–14*a*.

(5) *Mitākṣarā*

Under Yāj. I,
297-8*a* = Chap. 94.

(6) *Dāna-sāgara* (MS. in India Office, London).

Fol. 15*b*-16*a* = 22, 27*b*-28; 30*b*–36; 49–55*a*; 57–59; 68; 73*b*–75*a* and 71*a*.
27*a*–31*b* = Chap. 274.
39*b*–41*a* = Chap. 275.
42*b*–44*a* = Chap. 276.
45*b*-46*b* = Chap. 277.
48*b*–50*a* = Chap. 278.
52*a*-53*a* = Chap. 27*a*.
[For 'गुरुणोक्तमन्त्रैः' in Mat.-P. 279, 10, the Dāna-sāgara reads 'गुडधेनुमन्त्रैः' and supports this reading by saying 'बहुतरमत्स्यपुराण—पुस्तकेषु गुडधेनुमन्त्रैरिति पाठदर्शनात्॥ f. 52*b*.]
54*a*-55*a* = Chap. 280.
56*a*-57*a* = Chap. 281.
58*b*-59*b* = Chap. 282.
61*a*-62*a* = Chap. 283.
63*b*-64*b* = Chap. 284.
66*a*-67*b* = Chap. 285.
69*a*-70*a* = Chap. 286.
71*a*-72*a* = Chap. 287.
73*a*-74*a* = Chap. 288.
77*a*-77*b* = Chap. 289.
79*a*–81*b* = Chap. 83.
87*a*-87*b* = Chap. 84.
88*a* = Chap. 85.
88*b*-89*a* = Chap. 86.
89*a*-89*b* = Chap. 87.
89*b*-90*a* = Chap. 88 (except the first line).
90*a*-90*b* = Chap. 89.
91*a*-91*b* = Chap. 90.
92*a*-92*b* = Chap. 91.
93*a*-93*b* = Chap. 92 (except stanzas 17–33).

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94*a*-95*a* = Chap. 82 (except stanzas 1, 20*a*, 23*a*, 24 and 26–31).
115*a*-115*b* = Chap. 205 (except stanza 1).
117*a*-117*b* = 207, 10–12.
191*b*–193*b* = 53, 3-4 and 11–56.
203*a*-203*b* = 290, 2–19.
214*a*-215*b* = Chap. 206 (except the last stanza).

(7) *Kullūka's Com. on the Manu-Smṛti.*

Under Manu
,, III, 265 = 17, 61.
Under Manu
,, V, 60 = 18, 30.

(8) *Aparārka's Com. on Yāj.* (Ānandāśram ed.). *Mat.-P.*

Part I—
p. 16 = 265, 1*b*–5.
145 = 16, 5.
301 = Chap. 205 (except stanza 1).
303–305 = 82, 2–25 (except stanzas 12 and 24).
313–319 = Chap. 274 (except the lines 3*a*, 13*b* and 28*b*).
320–323 = Chap. 275 (except the last stanza); and Chap. 276 (except the last stanza). In the second series of quotations, there is a stanza (after stanza 7) which is not found in Chap. 276.
324–326 = Chap. 277 (except the last stanza).
328–354 = Chap. 278 (except the last stanza); 279, 280 (except the last two stanzas); 281–289; 83–87; 88 (except stanza 1); 89–91; 92 (except the last stanza).
354–356 = Chap. 206 (except the first and the last stanzas).
382-383 = 253, 19*b*–32.
392–396 = Chap. 53 (except stanzas 1, 2, 5–10, 21, 25*b*-26*a* and 56*b* to end).
403-404 = Chap. 290 (except stanzas 1, 13–17 and 20 to end).
409–413 = Chap. 58 (except stanzas 1–3).
414-415 Chap. 59 (except stanzas 1 and 19).
441 = 16, 11*b*-12*a*. (The other stanza is not traceable.)
443 = 16, 8*b*–10*a*.
456 = 16, 19-20.
466-467 = 22, 88.
475 (twice) = 15, 34*a* and 35*b*-36*a*. 16, 26–29 (except 26*b*).
485 = 17, 26-27*a*.
491 = 15, 32*b*–33*a*.
507 = 18, 30.
511 (twice) = 17, 52*b*–55 and 59.
512 = 17, 60-61.
514 = 16, 56-57*a*.
515 = 17, 65*b*-66.
523 = 18, 8-9*a*.
550 (twice) = 16, 52*b*–54*a*. The first quotation is not traceable in the Mat.-P.
554 = 17, 36.
557-558 — One line tallies with Mat. 17, 4*a*; the substance of another quoted stanza is found in Mat. 17, 2*a*.
564 = 267, 12*b*-13.
569 = Chap. 94. (The quoted passage has two stanzas more than Chap. 94.)
572 = 93, 7*b*–9*a* and 11-12.
575 = 93, 59–63*a*.

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Part II—

p. 880 = 227, 6.
835 = 227, 8.
856 = 227, 120*b*-121*a* and 126*b*-127*a*.
889 = 18, 5-6.
890 = 18, 7.
954 = 184, 21*b*–23*a*.
1043 = 227, 118*b*–120*a*.

(9) *Trikāṇḍa-maṇḍana* (ed. by A.S.B.).

p. 238 = 93, 111.

(10) *Haradatta's Com. on the Gautama Dh. S.*

Under Gautama
II, 5, 12 = 18, 30.

Quotations from the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā.* || *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* (Vaṅga. ed.)

I, 28 = VI, 2, 15.
52 = III, 10, 8*a*.
157 = III, 14, 12.
193 = III, 10, 23-24.
201 = III, 10, 18*b*–23*a*.
214 = III, 10, 16*a*.
II, 242 = III, 11, 15-16.
255 = III, 11, 19.
300 = III, 12, 20.
333-334 = III, 11, 24-25.
366 (twice) = III, 11, 101. The other quotation is not traceable.
367 = III, 11, 98.
510-511 = III, 11, 26–28.
525 = III, 11, 31–35.
528 = III, 11, 38-39.
582-583 = III, 11, 49–54.
588 = III, 11, 56.
594 = III, 11, 105.
596 = III, 11, 69.
608 = III, 11, 84-85.
611-612 = III, 11, 88–95.
613 = III, 11, 74*b* and 82*b*.
630 = III, 11, 109.
IV, 8-9 = III, 13, 30–38*a*.
22 = III, 14, 15.
28 = III, 14, 12 and 15*b*-*c*.
35-36 = III, 14, 7–9 and 16–18.
317 = III, 15, 24. The first quotation is not traceable.
348 = III, 15, 32–34.
433 = III, 10, 4.
436 = III, 10, 5*a*.

(2) *Kāla-viveka.* ||

p. 14 = II, 8, 64-65.
17 = II, 8, 28–30.
20 = III, 14, 16.
389 = II, 8, 72-73. (Many of the quoted lines are not found.)

(3) *Hāra-latā.* ||

p. 156 = III, 13, 10.
159 = III, 13, 16 and 11-12*a*.

(4) *Dāna-sāgara.* ||

Fol. 21*a* = III, 12, 20.

(5) *Kullūka-bhaṭṭa's Com. on Manu.*

Under Manu
,, II, 32 = III, 10, 9.
,, II, 94 = IV, 10, 10.
,, III, 105 = III, 11, 105.
,, III, 280 = II, 8, 57.
,, IV, 151 = III, 11, 8*b*.

(6) *Aparārka's Com. on Yāj.*

Part I—

p. 6 = III, 6, 28-29.
20-21 = III, 8, 11*b*. (The other quotation is not found.)
50 = III, 11, 98.
79 = III, 10, 13–15*a*.
126 = III, 11, 21.

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151	= III, 11, 88–95. The last three lines of the quoted passage are not found.
172	= III, 18, 97–102.
173	= III, 12, 2.
174	= III, 13, 38-39.
227	= III, 12, 22.
420-421	= III, 14, 26 to end.
425	= III, 14, 12-13 and 15.
433-434	= III, 13, 30–38 (except 34*b* and 35*a*).
502	= III, 15, 28*b*–34.
514	= III, 15, 10.
515	= III, 13, 5-6 and III, 10, 5*a*.
530	= III, 13, 29.
Part II—	
p. 892	= III, 11, 98.
986	= VI, 7, 31.
1022	= VI, 7, 40.
1025	= VI, 7, 43-44.
1026 (twice)	= VI, 7, 45 and 89.

Quotations from the Kūrma-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā.*	*Kūrma-P.* (Vaṅga. ed.)
I, 42	= II, 15, 11*a*.
II, 234	= II, 18, 3.
261	= II, 13, 4-5*a* and 6*b*-7*a*.
265	= II, 12, 64 and II, 13, 2-3.
273	= II, 16, 77*a*.
274-275	= II, 13, 31-32.
278	= II, 18, 19.
291	= II, 18, 18.
350	= II, 18, 11.
356	= II, 18, 26–28*a*.
357	= II, 18, 9.
363-364	= II, 18, 23*b*–28*a* and 33-34.
365	= II, 18, 30.
366	= II, 18, 31.
368	= II, 18, 28*b*.
397	= II, 18, 82.
417	= II, 27, 7 and 10.
432-433	= I, 3, 14–18 and 27.
448	= II, 18, 55*b*-56.
454	= II, 25, 7-8.
455	= II, 25, 2, 10*a* and 11-12.
470	= II, 25, 2*c*-3*a*.
471	= II, 25, 4.
482	= II, 18, 58*a*.
485	= II, 18, 62.
488-489	= II, 18, 73.
495-496	= II, 18, 58–77*a* (except stanzas 59-60, 63*a*, 68 and 71-74).
505	= II, 18, 104.
510	= II, 18, 104.
511	— One of the quoted lines occurs after II, 18, 113. The other line missing as is evidenced by the fact that II, 18, 114 consists of three lines.
516	= II, 18, 88*a*-*b*.
519	= II, 18, 87.
534-535	= II, 18, 94–99 (except 96 and 99*a*).
539	= II, 18, 121.
563	= II, 18, 111.
565	= II, 18, 112.
566 (twice)	= II, 18, 106 and 108.
568	= II, 18, 114.
569	= II, 18, 118*a*.
571	= II, 18, 107.
603	= II, 19, 3.
621	= II, 19, 15-16. (Note reading.)
631	= II, 19, 30–32.
IV, 27	= II, 20, 6-7*a*.
V, 177	= II, 23, 80*b*–82.

(2) *Hāra-latā.*	*Kūrma-P.*
p. 8	= II, 23, 1-2.
9	= II, 23, 27.
12	= II, 23, 3-4.
15	= II, 23, 9.
18	= II, 23, 5.
31	= II, 23, 75-76.
32	= II, 23, 25-26.

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38 = II, 23, 13.
39 = II, 23, 12.
44 = II, 23, 14–17.
50 = II, 23, 33*b*.
53 (twice) = II, 23, 28-29 and 30.
56 = II, 23, 39–41.
57 = II, 23, 42–45.
63 = II, 23, 22-23*a*.
66 = II, 23, 23*b*-24.
72 = II, 23, 19–21.
78 = II, 23, 31–33*a*.
83 (twice) = II, 23, 46–48*a* and 59.
84 (twice) = II, 23, 58 and 60.
86 = II, 23, 53-54.
87 = II, 23, 51.
89 = II, 23, 48*b*–50.
90 = II, 23, 52.
93 = II, 23, 55–57.
98 = II, 23, 63-64.
114 = II, 23, 66–74.
131 = II, 23, 77.

(3) *Dāna-sāgara.* ||

Fol. 9*b* = II, 26, 57 (cf. reading).
22*a* = II, 18, 53.
25*a* = II, 18, 81-82.
137*a* = II, 26, 13.
149*b* = II, 26, 18.
154*a* = II, 26, 17.
195*a* = II, 44, 123 and 125–127.
242*b*-243*a* = II, 26, 30-31.
246*a* = II, 26, 25-26.
252*b*-253*a* = II, 26, 23.
285*a* = II, 26, 35.

Quotations from the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā.* || *Mārk.-P.* (Vaṅga. ed.)

II, 263 = 34, 67*b*-68*a* and 70*b*-71.
297 = 34, 52.
310 = 35, 36-37.
564 = 29, 33.
567 = 29, 29.
582 = 29, 22*b*-23*a*.
588 = 29, 24*b*-25*a*.
589 (twice) = 29, 26*b*-27 and 28.
592 = 29, 46.
593 = 29, 31.
596 = 29, 39.
614 = 34, 59.
IV, 2 = 31, 3–15 (except stanzas 5 and 14).
3 = 31, 16.
8 = 30, 19-20 and 22-23.
21-22 = 33, 1–8*a* (except 6*a*).
27 = 31, 21-22.
97 = 33, 4*b*-5*a*.
213 = 32, 10.
V, 78 (twice) = 35, 39 and 40-41*a*.

(2) *Aparārka's Com. on Yāj.* ||

Part I—
p. 39 = 34, 109.
146 = 29, 33.
153 = 29, 35-36.
173 = 34, 53*b*-54.
279 = 34, 63.
434 = 30, 19 and 22-23.
541 = 30, 17.
554 = 32, 10.
Part II—
923 = 35, 36–38*a*.

Quotations from the Vāyu-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā.* || *Vāyu-P.* (An.SS. ed.)

II, 589 = 79, 18.
IV, 25 = 80, 45.
203-204 — (These stanzas tally with Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa, Chap. 14, 14*b*-15, 16*b* and 17*b*–20.)
208 (twice) = 78, 31*b*-32*a* and 40.
331 = 75, 54*b*-55*a*.
366 = 75, 43.
370-371 = 75, 21.
392-393 = 80, 2.

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393 = 59, 49.

(2) *Dāna-sāgara.*

Fol. 187*a* = 80, 59.

(3) *Kullūka's Com. on Manu.*

Under Manu—

III, 267 — (Cf. Bḍ.-P. III, 14, 11*b*.)

IV, 49 = 78, 60.

(4) *Aparārka's Com. on Yāj.*

Part I—

p. 258 (twice) = 78, 51*b*-52*a* and 52*b*–54 (except 53*a*).

387 = 77, 27.

448 = 79, 67.

454-455 = 79, 68 and 78–80. (Three lines, viz.: अनाश्रमी तपस्तेपे, etc. are not found.)

473 — Of the four lines quoted only one tallies with Vāyu-P. 78, 31*b*; the other three are not found.

475 = 74, 4.

487-488 = 80, 39-40, 4, 37, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 16 and 19–21, 74, 1-2. (Stanzas 'श्राद्धेषूपानहौ दद्यात् etc.', 'तूलपूर्णे तु यो दद्यात् etc.' and 'व्यजनं तालवृन्तं च etc.' are found in Bḍ.-P. III, 16, 8–10.)

490 = 75, 54*b*-55*a*.

493 = 78, 48*b*-49*a*.

502-503 = 74, 20*b*–25*a* and 26–28. (The lines 'स्वर्गापवर्गसोपानं etc.' and 'भ्रातरः सर्वभूतानां etc.' are not found.)

506 = 75, 43.

551 = 76, 31–33*a* and 34*b*-*c*.

553 — Of the 21 lines quoted, only the first three tally with Vāyu 78, 10*b*. (These 21 lines are found in Bḍ.-P. III, 14, 8*b*-9, 10*b*–12 and 14*b*–20.)

554 = 80, 42*b*–45*a* and 47-48.

559 = 81, 18.

560 = 82, 2*a*.

Part II—

924 = 79, 24*b*-25.

Quotations from the Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā.*	*Brahmāṇḍa-P.* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.)
II, 237	= III, 14, 70.
243 (twice)	= III, 14, 72; III, 14, 65*b* and III, 14, 93*b*.
262	= III, 14, 102*b*-103*a*.
270	= III, 14, 94*b*-95*a*.
287	= III, 11, 75*b*-76*a*. The stanza 'छिन्नमूला गृहितव्याः etc.' is not found.
IV, 157	= III, 15, 64*a*.
157-158	= III, 9, 73.
159	= III, 15, 63*a*.
205	= III, 14, 58*b*-59*a*.
208 (twice)	= III, 14, 34 and III, 14, 35*b*-36*a*.
263	= III, 11, 69*b*-70*a*.
264	= III, 11, 70*b*-71*a*.
270	= III, 14, 97*b*. (The line 'उच्चावचाश्राद्ध etc.' is not found.)
281	= III, 11, 17*b*-18. 20*b* and 19*b*.
353	= III, 11, 80*b*-*c*. (The stanza 'न चाम्रु etc.' is found in Vāyu 83, 77.)
365 (twice)	= III, 11, 52 and 56. (The line 'वन्येष वा

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कुशैर्वापि etc.' is not found.)
372 = III, 11, 61*b*.
377 = III, 11, 62*b*-63*a*.

(2) *Kāla-Viveka.*

p. 99 = II, 24, 56*b*-57.
347 = II, 28, 41.
351 = II, 28, 41.
354 (twice) = II, 28, 47 and 48.
366 = III, 19, 48*b*-49*a*.
390 = II, 21, 144*a* and 147.

(3) *Aparārka's Com. on Yāj.*

Part I—
p. 42 = III, 14, 94*b*-95*a*.
123 = III, 14, 70.
279 = III, 14, 101–103*a*.
416 = III, 19, 14*c*–19.
440-441 = III, 15, 63*a* and 64*a*.
III, 15, 7*b*–10*a*, 19, 21, 28–30*a*.
III, 19, 22*b*–26*a*.
III, 9, 73.
The stanza 'प्रत्यासन्नमधीयानं etc.' is not found.
459 = III, 14, 26.
462 = III, 14, 97*b*-98*a*.
472 = III, 14, 32-33.
The stanza 'गोगजश्वादिपृष्ठेषु etc.' is not found.
473 = III, 14, 34, 35*b*-36*a* and 43*b*-44*a*.
478 = III, 11, 81-82*a*.
The stanza 'तत्र सिद्धार्थकान् etc.' is not found.
486 = III, 11, 69*b*–71*a*.
489-490 = III, 11, 91*a*, 93–95, 99-100, 108*b*–111, 113*b*–115*a*, 115*b*-116*a*.
III, 12, 37.
The stanza 'निवासश्चैव कीटानां etc.' is not found.
506 = III, 11, 52 and 56.
507 (twice) = III, 11, 68*a*.
III, 11, 55 and 65*b*-66*a*.
The line 'बिल्वपात्रेण दातव्यं etc.' is not found.
510 = III, 16, 2.
III, 11, 2.
The line 'दरिद्रोऽपि यथाशक्ति etc.' is not found.

Quotations from the Vāmana-Purāṇa in—

(1) *Smṛti-candrikā.* || *Vāmana-P.* (Vaṅga. ed.)

II, 327 = 14, 49*b*–51*a*.
Two lines, viz.: 'तैलाभ्यङ्गो etc.' and पर्वस्वष्टम्यां etc.' are not found.
343 = 34, 6*b*-7*a*.
446 = 14, 35*b*–37.

Appendix II

Mat.-P.		*Manu-S.*
Cf. 15, 31*a*	with	III, 202*a*.
15, 40*b*-41*a*	=	III, 203 (reading varies).
16, 2*a*	=	III, 124*a*.
16, 4	=	III, 82.
16, 7*b*	=	III, 185*a* (with slight variation).
Cf. 16, 10*b*-11*a*	with	III, 148.
Cf. 16, 12*b*	with	III, 185*b*-186*a*.
Cf. 16, 17*b*	with	III, 187*a*.
16, 18	=	III, 189.
16, 20*a*	=	III, 192*a*.
16, 21	=	III, 122.
Cf. 16, 29*b*-30*a*	with	III, 208.

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Mat.-P.		*Manu-S.*
16, 30*b*-31*a*	=	III, 125.
Cf. 16, 32*a*	with	III, 210*b*.
16, 33*a*	=	III, 211*a*.
16, 38*b*	=	III, 216*b*.
16, 42	=	III, 219.
16, 44	=	III, 223.
16, 48*b*–50*a*	=	III, 258-259.
Cf. 16, 52*b*	with	III, 260.
Cf. 16, 53*b*-54*a*	with	III, 262.
16, 54*b*	=	III, 265*a*.
17, 13*b*-14*a*	=	III, 125.
17, 21*b*-22*a*	=	III, 202.
17, 31	=	III, 268.
17, 32	=	III, 269 (with some variations).
17, 33	=	III, 270.
17, 34*a* and 35*a*	=	III, 271.
Cf. 17, 35*b*-36	with	III, 272-3.
Cf. 17, 37*a*	with	III, 232.
17, 41	=	III, 244.
17, 44	=	III, 245.
Cf. 17, 54*b*	with	III, 259*a*.
17, 57	=	III, 246.
18, 2*a*	=	V, 59*a*. (Mat. reads ब्राह्मणेषु for Manu's सपिण्डेषु).
Cf. 18, 4*a*	with	V, 61*b*.
215, 3	=	VII, 55 (reading varies).

Mat.-P.		*Manu-S.*
Cf. 215, 50*a*	with	VII, 37*a*.
215, 51*a*	=	VII, 38*a*.
215, 51*b*	=	VII, 39*a*.
215, 52*b*-*c*	=	VII, 40.
215, 53-54	=	VII, 43-44.
215, 55	=	VII, 79.
215, 56	=	VII, 80.
215, 57	=	VII, 82.
215, 58	=	VII, 83 (some variance).
215, 59-60	=	VII, 87-88.
215, 66	=	VII, 105.
215, 68*b*-69*a*	=	VII, 106 (reading varies).

etc. etc.

Mat.-P.		*Yāj.*
Cf. 17, 15*b*	with	I, 230*b*.
Cf. 17, 59*b*	with	I, 247*b*.
93, 2	=	I, 295.
Cf. 93, 10	with	I, 296.
93, 18*a*	=	I, 298*b* (reading varies).
Cf. 93, 19-20	with	I, 304-305*a*.
93, 27	=	I, 302.
93, 28	=	I, 303.
93, 32*b*	=	I, 299*b*.

93, 33*b*–37 seem to be an expansion of Yāj., I, 300-301.

93, 60–62 also seem to be an expansion of Yāj., I, 306.

etc. etc.

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CULTURAL CHANGE IN PRIMITIVE AND HIGHER STAGES

By PANCHANAN MITRA

The mind of primitive man according to Anthropologists cannot be said to differ in potentiality or thinking processes from modern man. Yet there is no denying that there is a considerable difference in social behaviour. To say that it is due to different cultural patterns answers the question but partly. The problem is shifted to the geographical and historical factors as causing different responses to be evoked by different stimuli. But the main question remains why is it that there has been a different history for different peoples if the responding mechanism has been everywhere the same? The German Anthropo-geographers would have rested content with merely pointing out the different environmental needs and the different types of supply at hand. The Eskimos alone could build snow-houses and this cultural trait could not have been possible in tropical climates. But why did not the Tierra-del Fuegians ever come to the invention of proper shelter or discovery of adequate clothing? They are survivals from cultures previous to the use of skin and fur clothing known to be already prevalent in Magdalenian Europe 40 to 50,000 years ago some would say. They are too far away from the centre of diffusion of new cultural traits would be pointed out by another. Thus they were shut off from learning by imitation nor did they develop by maturation into the higher forms shelter known to the Eskimos. On the other hand the Eskimos, who by the trial and error method probably had arrived at the ingenious methods of building his snow-house, never could domesticate the reindeer otherwise as primitive coming in contact with the riding tribes of Central Asia, took to reindeer riding and possession of herds of reindeer which profoundly modified their economic outlook and social structure. The whole question of domestication of animals is very important and instructive. With all the vaunted rationality of the civilized man he has not been able to add a single animal to the series of domesticated animals handed down to him by primitive man. Yet we know that there was a time when mankind nowhere did possess any domesticated animal. How did this happen at first by maturation, insight or trial and error discovery or chance bye-product of totemic or animistic beliefs and social behaviour or intuitive flash of some culture-hero of the myth-making peoples? The study of the various uses of

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animals by different primitive tribes often lead us to think that in purposive activity and reasoned-out motivation to utilize the animals and the right stimulation of the proper type of the supply by the environment had very little to do with it perhaps. In the Lake Dwellings of Switzerland we have the domesticated cattle yet it did not belong to the European type of wild cattle of the neighbourhood but was of the Asiatic variety. 'Primitive man began to keep animals not with an eye to profit but for the uneconomic though quite human reason that he jolly well liked to have them about as companions and for entertainment . . . In East Africa the Wahuna disdain chicken flesh, are nauseated by the eggs (which they quaintly conceive to be excrements) and scorn neighbours who fail to share their queasiness. Notwithstanding all this nicety they raise poultry. Why? In order to dissect them and foretell them future from their entrails. And that comes very close to the original idea. For in Burma, where the bird was first domesticated, the natives used it for divination as the Chinese chroniclers reported 2,000 years ago. The diviner thrust a bamboo splinter into the perforations of the cock's thigh bone, and the angle at which it projected served as a good or bad omen. Here, too, sport entered. Rival villages settled their claims by cock-fights, which thus at the bottom were ordeals . . . . . Dogs were domesticated by 8000 B.C. or a little earlier; cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs probably by 6000 B.C. On a slate relief from Egypt dating back to about 3000 B.C. a scribe is shown reporting 760 donkeys as his master's property. The initiation of the ass as a pack animal must then go back a good way further, for so large a herd would hardly come at the very start. Our earliest record of the horse is for Babylonia in about 3000 B.C.; however characteristically it was not the civilized part of the population but the wilder tribes that introduced the beast. Thus the brunt of the task was literally borne by the ruder cultures in the case of the all-important species of live-stock.'[1] That the elementary idea did not come from the environment would be brought out fully in the two following cases in Lowie's interesting study of material culture traits: 'In 1492, most American tribes had dogs. The New World had also various wild members of the dog family, such as wolves, coyotes, and foxes. A naive observer—one not specially warned against the geographer's fallacy—might guess that the Indians must have got their domestic animals by taming the related wild forms. No such thing. Every breed of dog from Alaska to Tierra-del Fuego is descended from a wolf native to Asia. The ancient Indians brought it with them when they crossed Bering Strait . . . . So with the

[1] R. H. Lowie—Are We Civilized? New York, 1929, pp. 59-60.

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wild banana. The family to which it belongs has wild members in Asia, Oceania, and Africa. In Uganda alone there are some dozen cultivated varieties of plantain as well as a wild species. Hence it might seem that the Negro found the plantain which nature offered, saw that it was good and began to grow it. But this is botanically absurd. Every cultivated banana in the world is a seedless and must be grown from side-shoots. But the native African form has no side-shoots. Hence it cannot be the ancestor of the varieties intentionally planted in Uganda. These must have come from Asia where bananas naturally produce side-shoots. Africa's relations with Asia—a part of her *history* then—explain why the plantain is a staple crop in Uganda. The environment merely allowed it to thrive after it was introduced.' [1]

Thus we have been able to differentiate the determinant of change in social behaviour bringing in a social heritage which Ogburn uses interchangeably with the terms superorganic or culture—from the environmental stimuli of the geographical factors alone. 'The social heritage is different in different localities, with different peoples in different eras.' [2] The difference in the developmental response to the environmental stimuli then might have been due to the diversity of the hereditary nature of the individuals or the groups concerned. McDougall in his Group-Mind and popular writers like Madison Grant have carried out the Nordic-superiority idea which became a craze in Europe in the early part of the present century as a reaction from the 'Noble Savage' concepts and the early Aryan and Mediterranean races being the torch-bearers of all light and civilization in detail workings in the field of social psychology. The influence of the evolutionary biologists through Spencer in finding the apex of civilization in present institutions and tendencies and working backwards to an opposite type as the starting type gave us Morgan's theory of promiscuity and Levy-Bruhl's a-logical mentality of the savages. Everywhere the difference in the biological heritage is implicitly taken for granted. While the work of Psychologists like Myers, Rivers, and Woodworth has tended to question the Anthropologists like Boas are firm in denying in the make-up of the primitive mind any fundamental differentia.

Yet the question arises how was the first step taken wherever, whenever and by whomsoever the inner subjective recognition of the new possibilities of new uses of tools or animals or plants might have occurred? Was there not a biological factor of evolution

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[1] Op. cit., pp. 63-64.

[2] W. F. Ogburn—Social Change with respect to culture and original nature. New York, 1922, p. 6.

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involved considering mankind as a whole, the growth of correlation centres which according to Boule was still not so complete in Neanderthal man which would lead to the maturation of the field of consciousness with more than one centre of attention which enabled him to have tool-consciousness. 'The reason why animals do not use tools is that they are capable of holding in consciousness only one centre of attention. Speaking in terms of their nervous systems, we may say that the paths through the central nervous system of an animal are so direct that there is no possibility of including in a single performance two or more centres of excitation. The animal is wholly occupied in responding to single impression. If an animal is offered a tool and gives any attention to it consciousness is temporarily drawn away first centre of attention and turns for the time being exclusively to the new object.'

But what exactly were the processes that made some groups of men lag behind and some to find out new modes of adjustment after the first tools were made? Why do we find the earlier stages of culture longer in duration than the later phases? What has caused man to speed up in the later phases of culture? It seems as it were that the idea-conglomerates which started rolling in human brains have steadily increased in size as they have rolled forwards and like snowballs of greater and greater size have increased in momentum too. If as Prehistory tells us the dawn of the Eolithic age has to be traced way back in Tertiary times about a million or more years ago when the first tool-using creature—Homo Faber as Bergson would like to call him rather than Homo Sapiens—were shaping rostro-carinates on the Norfolk chalk beds, why did not the tool-consciousness develop faster? Why did it take several hundred thousand years to shape only coup-de-poings sharpened bits of heavy stone with a heavy butt in the Chellean and Acheullean beds of France? Why again the Mousterian culture which succeeded and dominated Western Europe under the Neanderthal races for a lesser period but still a very long epoch shows a regression in material culture rather than an advancement judging by the stone-implements? Why again did not the Cro-Magnons who have left the marvellous realistic productions of cave-art in the Dordogne and the Pyrenees 40 to 50,000 years ago and whose brain capacities apparently equalled to that of the most advanced of modern races develop a still higher culture and why had Europe to wait for other races from the East to bring in pottery and agriculture and the Neolithic civilization? Why once the tool-consciousness started the broadening of the field of attention in a certain people why could they not normally develop in the later phases? Why at each succeeding phase in Palæolithic times with the change in the environ-

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mental specially climatic conditions we find always a new set of peoples in Europe ushering the newer type of culture ? The Palæolithic conditions are comparatively simple and their succession has been recovered geologically with a great amount of accuracy in France and England. It is worth while trying to recover the conditions that led to the changes in culture in that early phase of primitive life of mankind. Ethnology helps us in filling up the picture but it often misleads us for the conditions of primitive man in Europe might not have been the same for the conditions of primitive life elsewhere. It makes the problem simple to dispose of primitive tribes of to-day as instances of survivals of earlier phases but it is being found as detailed study is proceeding that there is hardly any primitive tribe to-day which shows an entirely static condition of culture. Lord Avebury indeed tried to illustrate by the lives of primitive peoples the conditions of prehistoric times. Sollas has tried it recently. But take one example—the Australians have been equated with the Neanderthal race even they have been pointed out as the most primitive peoples as they lacked the idea of biological paternity and quite a body of sociological doctrines have been deduced therefrom. Yet Anthropologists find that the so-called physical similarities with the extinct Neanderthals cannot be substantiated and not they lacked the notion of biological paternity but they gave their sociological ideas current amongst them to the travellers. They have changed it seems quite to a great extent by contacts with later primitive cultures so their lives cannot be taken as illustrations of any pure hypothetical social stage but are the products of complex historical influences in prehistoric or rather pre-European times. On the other hand it is doubtful whether the Pithecanthropus or the newly discovered Sinanthropus ever possessed power of speech and even if so they had their frontal lobes considerably less developed. Thus it cannot be denied that at some time in human history the biological factor was a great determinant, though so far as existing primitive races are concerned any physiological differences in brain-construction or development can hardly be found.

There are some biological causes as the correlation between sex ratio and the decline in numbers as brought out by Pitt-Rivers in his study of Melanesian peoples which leads to the change in the size of the community and starts other social changes along with it. A hunting community would be widely spread and would have very little density. In the tract now occupied by the United States the population as estimated by Mooney in Pre-Columbian times hardly reached a million. In agricultural communities the density is far greater yet in England the population in the 16th century was about

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7 million. So though there is correlation between the density of a population and the status of its culture the pressure of population is not sufficient to explain the fact of a cultural change. Rather the change of culture has brought about the increased density of population often. Increased struggle for existence might naturally have expected to stir social groups in search of new methods of sustenance and led to a higher status in culture. But observing primitive tribes one finds the population reaching a saturation point in relation to the condition of existence and cultural inertia setting in. 'The persistence of cultural at times appears so strong that it seems as though culture actually resists change . . . . Culture once in existence persists because it has utility. Forces that produce changes are the discovery of new cultural elements that have superior utility, in which case the old utilities tend to be replaced by the new. The slowness of culture to change lies in the difficulties of creating and adopting new ideas . . . An examination of some of the more frequently cited types of survival and cultural inertia does not indicate any other new principle of cultural stability, such as a peculiar resisting quality in culture to change . . . Some of the more conspicuous psychological resistances to change are seen in the phenomena of habit the social pressure for conformity, and the process of forgetting the unpleasant which results in a distorted view and admiration of the part. The material culture-changes force also changes in other parts of culture such as social organization and custom, but these latter parts of culture do not change as quickly.' [1]

So the first step is taken somewhere with a new invention which is the creation of a genuinely new cultural trait. This is conditioned by the social structure and need of the group where it arises as much as it is due to the native ability and insight of any extraordinarily gifted individual. 'The time and the place of an invention are determined by the cultural conditions rather than by the personality or ability of the inventive persons. A. Robert Fulton living in Central Australia might have become the most skilful man of his tribe, he might have become a great magician, or a great leader but he never would have invented the steamboat . . . In order to have an invention you must have felt a need, secondly the proper cultural base, thirdly your culture must be free from certain obstacles which might hinder the invention. Illustrating respectively these propositions, it is submitted that household machinery is not so likely to be invented where domestic service

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[1] W. F. Ogburn, Social Change with respect to culture and original nature (New York, 1922), pp. 193–196.

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is cheap and plentiful as where housewives have to do their own work. That, secondly no matter how great the need, an electric washing machine could never have been invented until the principle of the electric dynamo had already been discovered. That, in the third place, the Chinese, as widely claimed, have been slow to invent a simplified system of writing not because of any lack of need or lack of cultural base, but because their social traditions and sentiments were obstacles to any such innovation.'[1]

Inventions in primitive tribes and prehistoric times show how the set pattern was built upon. Pressure flaking is far more difficult than grinding of stone yet we find the former in use in Europe in Solutrean times with great artistic skill while the grinding of stones a much simpler process of Neolithic times came tens of thousand years later. Iron-smelting is known amongst the Negro tribes of Africa and the primitive tribes in South India yet the smiths like the weavers and potters in India have a lower social position. It is a strange anomaly while to modern mind the promotion of discovery is accentuated with the greatest social incentives the primitive peoples would react in the opposite way.

While man is born in a universal culture pattern, culture grows through a process of cumulative effect and adhesion of related thought building the whole into an idea-system. It is as it were an adhesion of linked traits in a cultural plane comparable as the Indian thinker Satyasrayee compares the association of ideas in the mental plane to law of gravitation in the physical plane. As days are rolling by the quantitative output of types of thought-systems is becoming greater and these thoughts tend to be associated in lumps vastly influencing behaviour of groups. The process of growth at work has been studied best by American Anthropologists through diffusion over a culture-area which becomes as it were the space-body of the idea-system proceeding from a centre of diffusion the central nervous system of the social corpus in a given time as it were.

The discovery of the food properties of milk so obvious to us was curiously shut out from the Chinese or the Mongoloid or Pre-Dravidian tribes of Chota Nagpur in India who nonetheless use cattle for agriculture. It seemed to have a limited distribution in ancient times in Asia amongst the Hamitic Egyptians, Semites, and Aryans and might have been due to socio-religious rites and concepts of the worship of the cow in ancient Egypt as Elliot Smith thinks. So it might have been from the pleasant emotions and preponent reflexes in the sensitive zones of the social order that might have

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[1] J. K. Folsom—Culture and Social Progress (New York, 1928), p. 47.

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seen the rise of many discoveries and inventions. It was as much the result of the reactivity of a specially gifted leader to the group as of the activity of the whole group and was the bye-product of institutionalized socio-religious linked traits. There is no group-mind but it has been nicely suggested there are mind-groups which might apparently behave like individuals instinctively avoiding pain or seeking pleasure. But the instinctive or emotional behaviour patterns of escape from repellent stimuli or desire of continuity of attractive pleasant stimuli would themselves be conditioned socially by the *mores* of the particular group and the habits acquired in the institutions in which the particular groups have been brought up. Spitting which is a sign of blessing among the Jagga Negroes would be sought for there as a source of pleasure and gratification and would evoke the pugnacious spirit in the modern world. It is the contact of differently adjusted social groups that would lead to a questioning of the stabilized learning processes and would gradually emphasize individual differences in a group due to different individuals beginning to react favourably to different sets of social ideals brought before them. Montaigne who was one of the first to start the myth of the Noble Savage had not only read descriptions of the American Indians from Villegagnon but actually saw some Iroquois brought to France. So the discovery of the American Indian might have had a direct influence on the European thought of social contact theories as Voltaire repeatedly refers to the Hurons, etc. of North America. Then again conflict or imitation could not have started unless there was a latent recognition of the superiority or inferiority of the innate culture pattern was already there. Thus whether it is suggestion-imitation or mere imitation, association or consciousness of kind conflict or coercion a change of a violent or slow nature is sure to take place when two lumps of idea-systems come in contact with each other. The 'psychic resonance of an adventitious culture could be harmoniously caught on by a static culture in the range of contact if the instruments are tuned to the same pitch—otherwise one of the instruments would have its chords snapped. Pitt-Rivers in his illuminating study of the 'Clash of cultures and conflict of races' has clearly shown that even the adoption of the sanitary conditions of life by the Melanesians hastened the dying out of the primitive peoples in Oceania. In Polynesia the breaking of the irksome tabus instead of leading the gifted adventurous voyagers of the Pacific to a higher adjustment completely shattered the whole fabric of their culture. While in Japan the orderly well-directed adjustments of social intelligence enabled it to make one of the most marvellous transformations in history, the drink-evil of the crowd introduced by the Western

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traders has been adduced by many writers as one of the chief causes of the undoing of the gallant American Indians.

Would want of contact or isolation bring about a complete static condition of culture ? Would there not then be any possibility of new inventions without the chance of learning or imitation of other group-behaviours ? How could the Peruvians and Mayas develop independently such beautiful textile fabrics cut off from the centre of diffusion in the Old World ? As in the Tertiary times Sir Ray Lancaster observed a sudden increase in the brain weights of all mammals and reptiles proportionately are their growth-periods when different groups mature though of course in their own way according to their set culture-patterns ? These are speculative merely for it is hardly possible to get the dates of changes of cultural patterns in primitive tribes without any writing. But it seems as time is going on whether by the snowball-avalanche effect of cumulative culture of preceding groups of men or maturation of thought processes the intensity and the duration of succeeding cultural changes have varied in inverse proportions. The later cultures have been more intense and more extensive in area than the early primitive culture-patterns which always tended to be exhausted in spreading over smaller contiguous areas or took an inordinately long time to spread as a thin veneer over a vast zone—whereas the later dominant cultures have not only increased in intensity but also in speed of power of extension. To state that it is due to increased facilities of transport and methods of mental contact by printing, newspaper, telegraph and radio is true but the method of transport is also a part of the definite culture pattern of a given time and place. It is the method of locomotion of the associated body of ideas that are more strongly bound up together than a body of polyps though only in a highly figurative sense we can configurate such a combination as an organism. We can do it if we remember that as a body of solid molecules has greater cohesion than a body of liquids and those latter are still more loosely knit than a molecule of gaseous atoms and in the electronic state there is still greater fluidity of the ions though certain polarization is always there in a state of flux resulting in the different elements so in the mental places the ideas are still more loosely associated than in ions only the tendency to certain polarization of ideas and their adhesion in groups is what is being recognized by the Anthropologists when they speak of culture. As physicists have gradually been able to tackle the problem of the finer and still finer states of matter gradually through earlier knowledge of mechanical properties of solids and liquids and the changes brought about by heat into gaseous elements and then alone they could get an insight into electrical or ionic state so we

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are but just beginning to understand the mechanism of single ideations and the inter-ideational relations and at the same time we are getting the phenomena of the cultural adhesion of a bunch of ideations tending to be polarized in a finer plane of group-consciousness. Anthropologists have so long studied the effects and were inclined to start physical or biological analogies as ready-made explanations but the real processes at work in the group are still far from being solved and we have to look forward to the further development of individual psychology to bring about the unravelling of the mysteries of the thought-processes that tend to be drawn together in a single field of mental polarization of a given group at a given time resulting in the phenomenon of culture. So the study of cultural change under simpler conditions in primitive life promises to be a fruitful field as soon as experimental methods may be applied to group-behaviours under different conditions and with different histories. Mere observation of parallelisms would lead us into Spencerian fallacies of recognition of the Superorganic and yet importing wholesale biological laws into phenomena of a different level.

Anthropologists again are yet far from recovering the 'Elementargedanken' of Bastian and while psychology is finding out the mechanism of the formation of ideas, idea-abstractions as entities in themselves divorced from concrete situations as working through the brain merely as a medium of perception and growing with the evolution of the medium of perception would be considered mere wild hypothecations in the days of Titchenerians and Behaviourists so group-psychology has still to wait for its personality-chemistry to be able to deal with a sufficient surety and grasp of the physical processes of the inter-personal and inter-group reactivities. In short, we have got now pretty well the laws of the mechanism of the medium of the mind rather than of mind itself and we are fast getting conscious of it and it is on the formulation of the laws of mind as divorced from or independent of the mechanistic media of different types that is to give us the key-stone of inter-group structures. Cultural studies are so far important that they are bringing forward to us the end-products of such phenomena. The Birsa rebellion amongst the primitive tribes of Chota Nagpur, the Ghost-dance religion of the American Indians, the Seventh Day Adventist movement or the phenomena of any revivalist cult show how a set of ideas of a quite distant past can be drawn to a new group of people and get a new lease of life. Certain localities and the very name of certain associations seem to have adhesive functions for a group of good or bad ideas of a gang and seem to work independently of the personnel—as if the ideas are like a set of mental bees roving about in space and seem to have in those human

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brains which seem to offer access to them and are congenial to their growth. A book, a faint tradition, a place seem by suggestion or association to offer the ingress to the bunch of roving thoughts swarming and seeming to make the place fit for all of their type that had been generated in the past.

Here again we must disabuse our mind of anything supernatural happening. The preceding mental tradition in order to be potent must act through human brains on other human brains. It would certainly start with some culture-hero of primitive lore or inventive genius in modern life who have become aware of a problem and the solution first reached him before it could be institutionalized by the social group whose type-problem he was embodying. No primitive society would be absolutely static for then there would be no problem and no change and no new invention. We find to-day how much it is true as Walter Lippmann points out 'It is by the private labours of individuals that life is enhanced. I set no great store on what can be done by public opinion and action of masses'. (The Phantom Public, New York, 1925, p. 199.) So also in primitive life the rôle of the individual was very great. Says Ratzel 'The discovery how to make fire by friction was an act of the intellect which in its own degree demanded as much thinking power as the invention of the steam-engine. The inventor of the bow or harpoon must have been a genius, whether his contemporaries thought him one or not. And then as now whatever intellectual gains were due to natural suggestions must have grown in the individual intellect in order when circumstances were favourable, to make its way to several or many persons. Only suggestions of a lower less developed kind, such as we may quite generally call tones of mind, appear like epidemics in many simultaneously, and are capable as it were of giving their tone to the mental physiognomy of the race . . . . .

But what is the relationship of the different types of the transcendental super-minds to each other? Is there some correlation between the levels of spiritual truth arrived at by a group of peoples and its attainments in the realms of intellectuality and materiality? Does the greater depths of fathoming the innermost secrets of the physical universe through correspondingly greater scientific geniuses bear a ratio of increasing intensity to each other though the degree of their transcendence of the contemporary social mind-levels might have been the same? Is such a transcendence perceptible in all the fields, i.e. is a spiritual super-mind, incarnation, Son of God, Adept Avatar, prophet, shaman, medicine-man first necessary to clear the field in finer realms of relationship of this visible world with the whole scheme of things and then philosophers work out the implications intellectually and then the finer mentality possible

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through this mental discipline objectively is able to apply it to the solution of material problems standing in the way of the material progress of the mind-groups. The culture-hero of primitive peoples makes or steals fire or teaches maize cultivation or fishes out islands for the habitation of their fellow-men (by discovering them in Polynesia) whereas in a Jewry oppressed with a hard secular rule comes the longing for a political kingdom of God where the sect of Zealots formed by Judas of Galilee (A.D. 6 or 7) had already been bringing forward a political Christ executed by Rome ('Galileans whose blood Pilate had mingled with their sacrifices—Luke 6 : 15') where Messianic claimants were constantly rising against whom Jesus had constantly to warn his followers ('And they shall say unto you, Lo, there! Lo here! go not away, nor follow after them—Luke 17 : 23) [1] as a response to which could come a transcendental mind with a completely new set of doctrines and concepts of the kingdom of God which Christendom has not yet by no means exhausted the possibilities of. In the rolling stream of Judaic consciousness, the earlier precipitates in Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had some relationship of an increasing complexity and intensity in Moses (see Jesus' answer to Sadducees about resurrection—Mark 12 : 18–27) as Moses and Elijah had some relation to Jesus at least in the subjective experiences of the disciples of the latter (see transfiguration of Jesus, Mark 9 : 2–9). Dealing with religious phenomena in India the thinker Satyasrayee (the evolution of super-men, etc.) tried to bring out clearly how the social mind had to be in a certain degree of preparedness before the transcendental genius of super-man was born and in India one could discern a gradual growth in depth and intensity of the central type-men invoked by the type-societies of the different ages, the earlier one like Parasuram born in a cruder age with cruder problems was transcended by Rama of later epoch and the latter was transcended again by the later type-super-man Krishna who flourished long before Buddha. Similarly the growth of problems in diversity and intricacy in the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D. brought into being deeper far-reaching synthesis in religions which has been always the acutest problem in India through corresponding seer-teachers. And all these through the succession of ages have been related to each other in the stream of social mind in which they have been born in increasingly fuller parts in volume and intensity.

Summarizing we find the different problems arising out of the study of cultural change. Is there one stream of human social

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[1] *Vide* Henry Burton Sharman, Ph.D.—The Teaching of Jesus about the Future (Chicago University Press, 1909), pp. 110–128.

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consciousness and the changes wherever happening and in whatever different shape have some relationship with each other? What is the relationship of the transcendental genius to the part of the stream where he comes to the surface? Is the passage of time evolving higher types and bringing about more fundamental changes more intensely and more rapidly than in primitive times? Is comparative study of primitive and later cultural changes going to yield us clues to this process of change and incidentally recover to us the scientific knowledge of mind as experimental psychology is revealing the mechanism of individual mind? [1]

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[1] Thanks are due for this article to late Herbert Banestrong Davidson of Middleton, Nova Scotia, and Prof. Robinson of Yale University.

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A SCENE FROM THE MUGHAL COURT OF OUDH

By BASANTA KUMAR BASU

The last great feat of the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah's [1] life was the subjugation of the Rohillas in April 1774. Flushed with his victory, the Nawab turned his thought entirely towards incorporating the newly-conquered countries with his hereditary dominions. He had now raised his influence and power to the highest pitch, had provided himself with every object of enjoyment and had resolved to play henceforth the rôle of the by-gone magnificent Mughal Emperors of Delhi. But man proposes and God disposes and there is a Divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will! While Shuja-ud-Daulah was thinking to enjoy the sweets of life to his heart's content, 'the Providence from afar', says *Seir Mutakharin*, 'had appointed the time which was not to be foregone for a moment'. Shortly after his Rohilla victory, a sore of a venereal kind made its appearance somewhere in his abdomen and was of a species called by the vulgar a 'khyar' (small cucumber). Soon after, it broke open and commenced suppurating abundantly. As such a cuticular eruption had never been known to be of so serious a nature as to endanger a man's life, he made no great account of it. Nevertheless, the wound increased and as it seemed to baffle all the power of physic, a suspicion arose amongst his friends and courtiers about the nature of his wound that yielded to no remedy. Shuja-ud-Daulah himself, astonished at the state of his health, resolved to start for the palace which he had finished at Faizabad.[2] He mounted on a *palki* and set out for that desired spot leaving his second son Mirza Saadat Ali as his Deputy in the recently acquired Rohilla countries. Arriving at Faizabad he expected a benefit from the change of air, but his wound becoming worse and worse and having by this time considerably affected his health, it was discovered that it had degenerated into a malignant cancer. He now called to his assistance some English surgeons whom he joined to his ancient and trusty ones and they spared no care or

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[1] His full name was Asaf Jah Shuja-ul-Mulk Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah Abul Mansur Safdar Jang Bahadur.

[2] Faizabad rose to a height of unparalleled prosperity under Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah and almost rivalled Delhi in magnificence. It was full of merchants from Persia, China and Europe, and money flowed like water. After his death the city fell into a rapid decay. (Faizabad Gazetteer, by H. R. Nevill.)

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attention but all to no purpose. Matters now wore a gloomy aspect and the attending surgeons left off all hopes of his recovery.

Towards the last week of January 1775, the state of his health became so critical that it gave rise to serious alarm. The following letter[1] from Captain Antony Polier to the Governor-General, Warren Hastings, dated Faizabad the 24th January, 1775, graphically describes the situation :—

'I am sorry to be under the disagreeable necessity of informing you that His Excellency's (Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah) disorders so far from being got under are increasing daily fast even so much as to be in the opinion of the specialist experienced (*sic*) beyond the power of medicine. He had applied a few days ago to Doctor Campbell and Captain Stuart for their assistance and seemed at first to be much relieved from their prescriptions, though already extremely, reduced when he put himself under their management. However, he yesterday at the solicitation of his Begam and brothers in having returned again to his own physicians, who have administered so effectually, he has been at the last gasp ever since. He is so emaciated and weak that it is hardly possible that he should be able to support his miseries a day longer.

In the apartment of his Begam surrounded constantly by a crowd of women lamenting and bewailing, it is no wonder if rest is a stranger to him. Indeed, notwithstanding the opiates which have been for several days past prescribed for him in order to compose him, the blindness of those near him is such, that in spite of all can be said, the moment they see him in a dose, they are for awaking him to see if he is alive. In short, it is hardly credible to what a degree they carry their folly or attachment if it can bear that name. The Nawab himself seems sensible of his danger and of the inability (records torn here) has not sufficient resolution left to stand their entreaties and solicitations and in all likelihood he will die a martyr to his weakness.

I thought it absolutely necessary to give you this information which I delayed till now from my hopes that his situation will mend. I have the honour to be with great respects etc.'

For two days more the great Nawab hovered between life and death. At the early dawn of the 26th January, 1775, Captain Polier hurriedly wrote the following letter[2] to Warren Hastings from Faizabad :—

'I did myself the honour of addressing you the day before yesterday. Since that time the Vizier has been hourly growing

[1] Secret O.C., 6th February, 1775, No. 2.
[2] Secret O.C., 6th February, 1775, No. 3.

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worse and for these last 20 hours almost insensible and unable to take anything. In short, no hopes are left and his dissolution is at hand.

It is difficult to find words to express the sorrow and grief of almost all his attendants and in general of every inhabitant of this place at this event which makes in my opinion no bad apology of a prince who with many faults and foibles must yet be acknowledged to have been not only the first and greatest man in Hindusthan but also endowed with many good and worthy qualities.' At half past seven P.M. on the same day Captain Polier wrote another letter [1] to the Governor-General with which he enclosed a letter from the Nawab Shuja-ud-Daulah written by the Nawab on that morning. The following is the letter of Captain Polier :—

'I had despatched my letter of this day when the enclosed was delivered to me to be immediately forwarded to you. It contains the last request of a prince who recommends his family to your protection. My heart is too full to say anything further on this subject, but he is no more. The letter was wrote (*sic*) this morning in one of his intervals. I have the honour to be etc.'

The letter of the dying Nawab which Captain Polier forwarded to Warren Hastings with his above letter shews clearly, how for the first time in his life Shuja-ud-Daula realized the transitoriness and vanity of the earthly pleasures and the certainty of death. It also shows how keenly he thought of the welfare of his son, Asaf-ud-Daulah, born of his beloved and faithful consort Bahu Begam, who stood by him like a firm rock during his dark days after his Buxar and Jajmau disasters in 1764, when all his so-called friends and relatives proved false to him. The English translation of the letter [2] from the Nawab runs thus :—

'How shall I express to you the violence of the sufferings I undergo from my disorder. Blessed be the name of the Almighty on all occasions. In other respects every thing goes well. As we are inseparably connected and I depend wholly on your friendship, I shall write you the following particulars. It is evident that the world is not eternal and that it is the lot of everyone who is born into it to quit it again. If by the goodness of God I should recover I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again ; but if on the contrary my days are near to a conclusion, God's will be done. I depend on your friendship that after my decease, considering my dear son Asaf-ud-Daulah in my place you will afford him your assistance and

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[1] Secret O.C., 6th February, 1775, No. 4.
[2] Secret O.C., 6th February, 1775, No. 5.

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on every occasion act for his benefits and advantage. I have no dependence but on the Almighty and the English Chiefs. It is well known to you and to them all, that from the day that a friendship was established between us to this time, my authority and interest have been supported wholly by them. I therefore have no doubt of their friendship on all future occasions. If your conduct on this occasion is upright it will redound to your eternal honour and it will be transmitted to posterity that the English Chiefs acted in this upright manner in consideration of their friendship. As you, my friend, are a just man, I depend on your generosity that you will on every occasion protect and assist him, and my dear son Asaf-ud-Daulah will pay the same attentive regard to your friendship as I have always done and will in the same manner always act conformably to your advice and will remain in alliance with you.' This letter was received by Warren Hastings on the 5th February, 1775.

The early morning of the 26th January, 1775 (Thursday), brought an awful calamity to the residents of Faizabad. It was the month of Zilqada 1188 A.H., which was one month before the beginning of the year 1189 A.H. At 6 o'clock in the morning of this day the greatest Nawab Vazir of Oudh calmly expired after solemnly pronouncing his professions of religious faith [1] to his family.

One hour later, i.e. at 7 A.M., Col. P. Gailliez communicated this sorrowful news to the Board at Calcutta from Faizabad. This was perhaps the first authentic official intimation to the Board regarding Nawab's death. The letter of Gailliez was received by them on the night of the 5th February, 1775 and was immediately sent in circulation to the members on the next morning. The letter [2] runs as follows :—

'Hon'ble Sir and Sirs,—It is with utmost concern I inform you of the death of the Vazir who departed this life an hour ago. Mr. Campbell and Capt. Stuart attended and dressed him till he died, but for two days past he took no medicine inwardly from them. The mother and the rest of the family about him in their too great anxiety would not admit of anything but from themselves to be administered to him.

His eldest son and presumptive successor the Nabob Mirza Ammany (Asaf-ud-Daulah) has applied to me for your support in his just rights, and my assistance with the troops if necessary,

[1] For the Muhammadans this profession of faith is quite plain and short. It is this : 'I believe that there is no God, but God, and also that Muhammad is His Messenger. I believe in God, in His Angels, His Prophets, His Books, and in the Resurrection and also that evil and good come from God'.

[2] Secret O.C., 6th February, 1775, No. 1.

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which I have assured him of until I am honoured with your commands and instructions for my guidance on this occasion. I shall therefore remain here and give him every assistance and protection to the family in my power.

At present all are in the utmost tranquillity in the town; and I flatter myself that my presence here will be the means of preventing much disturbance from arising. I have etc.'

The royal body was interred at Gulab-bagh with due solemnity. In this connection an account of the death of his royal consort Bahu Begam who outlived him by 41 years may, in fitness of things, be recorded here. This account has been taken from Hoey's Translation of the *Tarikh Farahbakhsh* by Muhammad Faiz Bakhsh:—

'About the year 1816 A.D. this venerable lady reached the age of 88 years. She had declined in strength very gradually. She used to go each year to her nephew's house in the first ten days of Muharram to see the "tazia" of Imam Husain and return when she had recited the Fatiha. This year she prepared to go as usual but Darab Ali Khan, her eunuch minister, tried to prevent her on account of the fear of a chill in the cold weather; but she was not desirous of breaking her early custom. She went, but caught a cold when returning home and a slight fever ensued, which increased daily, for "the Lord of Death with icy breath had entered in to kill". The day before she died she said that the great Nawab (meaning Shuja-ud-Daulah, her husband) had come to take her. She repeated these words before Darab Ali Khan who was near her and passed away calmly amidst the tears and cries of her aged and sorrowing servants.'

'Darab Ali Khan [1] who enjoyed her perfect confidence carried her venerated corpse to the river and washed it. She was borne with great respect and ceremony to the Jawahir Bagh on the shoulders of the nobles of Faizabad; around her bier walked servants scattering silver and gold for the repose of her soul with a lavish hand that enriched the needy and relieved the poor. Darab Ali Khan opened the earth in the "baradari" at the very spot where she used to sit, spread below her some sacred dust which had been brought from Karbala by pilgrims and laid her on it to rest; a thousand men sat all night reading the sacred texts of the Quran till the day dawned and the shadows fled.'

Perhaps there is now few in this generation who take any interest in these historical tombs.

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[1] In this connection it may be mentioned that Darab Ali Khan was a natural eunuch. He was a native of Rasulabad. He was bought by Bahu Begum while an infant.

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MR. K. P. JAYASWAL ON THE BHĀRAŚIVAS[1] (I)

By (Miss) Karuna Kana Gupta, M.A.

'The history of India, 150 A.D.–350 A.D.' by Mr. Jayaswal appeared first as a paper in the J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIX, pts. I–III. It has afterwards been published as a book by the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depôt.

As its name indicates, this article deals with a period hitherto known as one of the darkest ages of Indian History. Mr. Jayaswal has tried to throw much light on it by suggesting numerous new solutions of old problems and quite a number of new theories. Though his work falls into four parts: (1) the Bhāraśivas, (2) the Vākāṭakas, (3) the Guptas, and (4) Southern India during 150–350 A.D., it is the first, the Bhāraśivas, that constitute the central theme of his paper, and his best emphasis is laid on their history. We shall in this paper proceed to examine in what directions he has increased the existing knowledge about them. We say 'existing', because although Mr. Jayaswal declares that he has not seen a line about the Bhāraśivas in any text-book (p. 4), there is an admirable summary-account of them in Dr. Raychaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, p. 328 (3rd edition),[2] which contains all the information that we had possessed about the Bhāraśivas before the publication of Mr. Jayaswal's article.

Dr. Raychaudhuri's account of the Bhāraśivas runs as follows:—

'. . . . . several Vākāṭaka records mention Bhavanāga, King of the Bhāraśivas, whose grandson's grandson Rudrasena II was a contemporary of Chandragupta II, and who accordingly, must have flourished long before the rise of the Gupta Empire. Some idea of the great power of Bhavanāga's dynasty and the territory over which they ruled may be gathered from the fact that they performed ten Aśvamêdha sacrifices and were "besprinkled on the forehead with the pure water of (the river) Bhāgirathī that had been obtained by their valour". The performance of ten Aśvamêdha sacrifices indicates that they were *not* a feudatory family owing allegiance to the Kushāṇas.'

Now Mr. Jayaswal's main theses about the Bhāraśivas may be summarized as follows:—

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[1] The pages referred to in this paper indicate, unless otherwise stated, the pages of Mr. Jayaswal's paper published in the J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIX.

[2] This has already been pointed out by Mr. Atul Krishna Sur, in Vol. I of *Indian Culture*, p. 114.

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(1) The Bhāraśivas were the leaders of Indian National War of Independence against the Kushāṇas (p. 50). Almost the whole of Northern India as well as large tracts of Southern India (up to Andhradêsa, p. 176) were included within their empire (pp. 55, 176, 181). After them this vast dominion passed over to the Vākāṭakas through a marriage alliance. Samudragupta in his turn, inherited it from the latter when he conquered Rudradêva (mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription) who was no other than the Vākāṭaka King Rudrasêna I (p. 32). The most characteristic feature of this period is therefore this continuity of the imperial tradition (pp. 3–5). And the most important fact to be noted in this connection is, that the history of Hindu revival dates not with the rise of the Guptas, nor even with the Vākāṭakas, but with the Bhāraśivas, c. 150 A.D. (p. 4).

(2) Since the Bhāraśivas were so powerful and important a dynasty, it is impossible that the Purāṇas should contain no reference to them. The Purāṇas do indeed mention them, though not as Bhāraśivas. Since they are identical with the Nāgas, they are mentioned first as the Vidiśā Nāgas and then as the Navanāgas of Mathura, Kantipuri and Padmāvatī (pp. 8–15).

(3) A careful analysis of the hitherto unassigned coins of Northern India noted in Sec. X of Smith's Catalogue of Coins, Indian Museum, pp. 205-206, show that they were issued by the Nāga, i.e. Bhāraśiva kings. It is possible to decipher the names of six kings on these coins (pp. 24–28). Besides, the symbols on the coins of Vīrasêna of Mathura prove that he, too, was a Nāga, i.e. a Bhāraśiva king (pp. 19–22). Thus we have the names of seven more Bhāraśiva kings besides Bhavanāga, who is mentioned in the Vākāṭaka records.

(4) The principle governing the Bhāraśiva empire was an entirely new one, not to be met with either before or after them. It was based on a democratic principle including within it even a number of republics. These and the other subordinate States were allowed to maintain their own individuality even to the extent of striking their own coins (pp. 51–55).

(5) The power and the noble principle of the Bhāraśivas brought the whole of India under the Bhāraśiva-Nāga influence. The Vākāṭakas, the Pallavas and even the Guptas were first the feudatories or generals of the Bhāraśivas. They carved out their principalities only after the decadence of the latter (pp. 55, 176, 181, 189).

Thus we see that the whole of Mr. Jayaswal's paper centres round two main propositions, viz.: (1) that the Bhāraśivas were great emperors, and (2) that they were identical with the Nāgas. We shall therefore, at the very outset, discuss them one by one.

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The author gives three reasons for taking the Bhāraśivas as a great imperial power:

(1) Their performance of ten Aśvamêdhas,
(2) their identity with the Nāgas, and
(3) their successful fight against the Kushāṇas.

Now as to (1), the question arises: does the performance of ten or more Aśvamêdhas constitute by itself the assumption of imperial power? Dr. Bhandarkar and Mr. Atul Sur have already pointed out that it does not (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 114–118).[1] In fact it appears that the period 4th–6th centuries A.D. saw an important change in the significance of this great ceremony. Whatever may be the actual fact, traditions, as recorded in later inscriptions, refer a large number of Aśvamêdha sacrifices to this period. The most interesting point to be noted is, that with the exception of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta, the only kings who have left definite proofs of having an empire, none of the other Aśvamêdhin kings seem to have performed less than ten.[2] The Viṣṇukuṇḍin king Mādhavavarmaṇ is credited with having performed eleven, and the Bhāraśivas ten. But Mayūravarman, the Kadamba king, surpassed them all, since he is known in later ages as the performer of eighteen Aśvamêdhas! (*E.C.*, VIII, Sk. 178.)

Now no one would dream of taking any of these kings as supreme imperial rulers. Why should we then give more importance to the Bhāraśiva ceremonies? Does it not seem more probable that in these ages attempt was made to multiply the number of ceremonies to make up for the loss in real significance and importance? As Dr. Bhandarkar has pointed out, the task would be very easy, if no 'digvijaya' accompanied the ceremony, and all that the king had to do was to multiply ten or eleven times the usual *dakṣiṇā* given to the Brāhmaṇas.

Besides, there is one more point to be noted here. We do not even know for certain whether the Bhāraśivas really performed ten Aśvamêdhas or not. The only source of our information is,

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[1] In *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, Oct., 1934, pp. 311–313, Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sarkar has tried to show by quoting several passages from the Brāhmaṇas and other scriptures, that the Aśvamêdha was such an important ceremony even in the earliest times, that its performance would always prove a King to be really imperial. We do not think that the passages he quotes make our contention invalid. The Aśvamêdha certainly *had* a great imperial significance in the old days. But in the period under review it must have lost that importance. Otherwise it would not have been repeated so often.

[2] Even Samudragupta, who is known simply as 'the restorer of the Aśvamêdha' in his son's inscriptions, is called *Anêkāśvamêdhayājin* in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā. (Bhandarkar's *List of North. Inscr.*, No. 1703.)

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unfortunately, the Vākāṭaka records, which were at least about a century later than Bhavanāga. Is it not possible that the actual fact was much exaggerated by them? The tradition recorded in inscriptions, as regards the Aśvamêdhas of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin and Kadamba kings, noted above, makes the probability very great.

Thus two alternative solutions are open before us: (1) Either the sacrifice had lost so much significance in this period, as to make its repetition very easy; (2) or the tradition about the numerous sacrifices represents a very great exaggeration of actual facts. In neither case is it probable to infer that the Bhāraśivas were imperial rulers.

2. In his discussion about the empire of the Bhāraśivas, Mr. Jayaswal has proceeded on the assumption that the Bhāraśivas were identical with the Nāgas. Now, (1) can this identification be accepted as certain, and even if so, (2) have we proof enough to show that the Nāgas themselves were really imperial? We shall see that none of these questions can be answered in the affirmative. The fact that the name of the ONE Bhāraśiva King whom we know from the Vākāṭaka inscriptions ends in Nāga, does not necessarily prove that the Bhāraśivas were Nāgas. Often enough we see such a name occurring in a dynastic list, even when the names of the remaining kings have no connection with the Nāgas. (Cf. for instance No. 85 of Bhandarkar's *List*.)

Secondly, even if we accept the Bhāraśivas to have been Nāgas, there is nothing to prove that they were identical with the Nāgas mentioned in the Purāṇas and famous in tradition. The names of the Sômavaṁśī Kings of Cuttack and of the early Kings of Nepal who are said to have belonged to the Gôpāla dynasty, all end in Guptas. But no one would be justified in inferring from this, that they all belonged to the Imperial Gupta dynasty. In fact, the name Nāga seems to have denoted a great tribal stock from which arose a large number of dynasties, rather than one single royal line. They are known as early as 5th or 6th centuries before Christ[1] and continue to rule in scattered kingdoms as late as the 11th century A.D.[2] The Bhāraśivas, if they were Nāgas, might only have been one of such dynasties. Nor can we accept the two other reasons given by Mr. Jayaswal to support this part of his argument. He takes the name-ending 'Nandi' of the Vidiśā Nāgas and the adjective *Vṛṣa* given to them in the Vāyu Purāṇa to be an indication of their Śaiva faith. And since the Bhāraśivas were Śaivas too, he accepts this identity of religion as a further proof of their

[1] Cf. the dynastic name Śiśunāga, and the individual names such as Nāga Darśaka, etc.

[2] Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Ins.*, No. 1089.

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identity with the Vidiśā Nāgas. Thirdly, Mr. Jayaswal finds an allusion to the Bhāraśiva-Vākāṭaka alliance in the Purānic passage which refers to the rule of Śiśuka, the daughter's son of one of the Vidiśā Kings, in Purikāñcanakā. He is further strengthened in his belief by the fact that Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra, generally identified with Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasêna of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, are mentioned immediately after this episode. But *Vṛṣa* used as an adjective may well mean 'powerful like a *Vṛṣa*', instead of 'an adherent of Śaivism'. Nor would the termination *Nandi* prove conclusively that the holders of these names were Śaivas. As for the remaining suggestion, it certainly does look tempting, but the most important objection to the theory is, that Śiśuka, according to the Purāṇas, is only the SIXTH King after the 'end of the family of Śuṅgas'. Now it is very difficult to realize what the Purāṇas actually mean by the end of the family of the Śuṅgas. But tentatively, we may take it to mean, as Mr. Jayaswal has done (p. 10) the period of Andhra conquest of Magadha, when as the Purāṇas say elsewhere (Pargiter, p. 71), the Kāṇvas were wiped out together with all that was left of the Śuṅgas, i.e. c. 27 B.C. The Sixth King after 27 B.C. would reign in the last part of the 1st c. A.D. But Rudrasêna II, the grandson of the Bhāraśiva king, must be referred to the 4th century A.D.!

Mr. Jayaswal tries to meet this difficulty by interpreting the phrase *tê trayas-tu vai* (Pargiter, Dynasties of Kali Age, p. 49, l. 9) as three LINES of Kings, instead of three kings, as Mr. Pargiter has done (op. cit., p. 73). But this is far from being conclusive.

Of course it may be said that the Śuṅgas might have continued to rule in Vidiśā long after the Andhra conquest of Magadha. If this were definitely proved, the force of our objection would, of course, disappear. But since we have no ground for believing this at present, we must not proceed to argue anything on its strength.

Besides, there is another problem. Why should the Purāṇas refer to the Bhāraśivas under a different name than what was used by themselves and others in contemporary inscriptions? It is absolutely certain from the Vākāṭaka records that at the time of the marriage-alliance at least, the dynasty of Bhavanāga was famous as the Bhāraśivas!

Secondly, even if it were possible to prove that the Bhāraśivas and the Vidiśā Nāgas were the same, this would not prove their identity with the Nava Nāgas, who appear to be quite a different line. Mr. Jayaswal takes the Vidiśa Nāgas, the Bhāraśivas, the Nava Nāgas of Champāvatī and the seven Nāgas of Kāntipurī-Mathurá (or Kāntipurī and Mathura) to be one and the same. But that the Purāṇas meant the last two as entirely distinct lines,

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is apparent from the fact that they distinguish between the two by speaking of the first as a dynasty of 9 kings, and of the second as of 7.

The main fallacy in Mr. Jayaswal's argument lies in the fact, that he takes all the Nāgas as coming under one and the same dynasty. This is his main reason for believing in the imperialism of the Bhāraśivas and the Nāgas, as well as in the democratic principle governing the Bhāraśiva-Nāga empire. This, again, is his ground for taking the Bhāraśivas as the leaders of the Indian revolt against the Kushāṇas. The fact, however, is, that we know with certainty only of a number of Nāga kings in different parts of India just after the downfall of the Kushāṇas. Dr. Raychaudhuri noted it and wrote: 'The prevalence of Nāga rule over a considerable portion of Northern and Central India in the 3rd and 4th century A.D. is amply attested by epigraphic evidence' (p. 328, *Pol. Hist. An. Ind.*, 3rd ed.) .... The Yue-chi Kingdom of Tien-tchou (i.e. India proper) probably disappeared in the 4th century, being conquered by the Nāgas (*Ibid.*, p. 327). Mr. Jayaswal also notes the same fact, but instead of being content with the simple and general conclusion of Dr. Raychaudhuri, derives from it his manifold views about Nāga imperialism.

His views about the extent and the liberal principles governing the Bhāraśiva empire are specially worth noting. He takes, as we have mentioned above, all the Nāga kingdoms as parts of the Bhāraśiva empire. Next he points out that all the intervening territory, between these several places where the coins and inscriptions of the several Nāga kings have been found, must have belonged to the Bhāraśivas also. This enables him to declare that the predecessors of the Imperial Guptas, as well as the Vākāṭakas and the Pallavas, were originally feudatories of the Bhāraśiva (pp. 55, 181, 176, 189). But this method of reasoning cannot be regarded as convincing. What is more important, during this period many of these different states issue coins in their own names and their inscriptions contain no reference to any suzerain power. Mr. Jayaswal himself speaks of the Mālavas, the Yaudhêyas and the Kuṇindas as re-striking their coins in this period (p. 54). According to Mr. Jayaswal 'the peculiar tree-symbol ..... of the Bhāraśiva coins is met with on several republican coins of this period' (p. 54 n. 1) and this 'connection' between their coins and those of the Nāgas, is to him evidence enough to prove that the former were really feudatories of the Nāgas. But even an exact copy of a coin-type by contemporary kings would by no means prove that they were subordinate to the issuer of the original type.[1] Thus we cannot

[1] Cf. *Camb. Anc. Hist. of India*, p. 457, the coins of Timarchus are an 'unblushing imitation' of the coins of Eukratides.

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accept Mr. Jayaswal's theory that the Mālavas, Yaudhêyas, etc. were included within the Bhāraśiva empire and were generously allowed by the latter to issue their own coins, etc.

Thus a careful analysis of the known data about the Bhāraśivas and the Nāgas shows that there is no definite proof about the existence of the empire either of the Bhāraśivas, or of the Nāgas—nor of the identity of these two dynasties. There certainly was a Nāga period of Indian History roughly coinciding with the period 2nd to 4th centuries A.D., in the sense that during this age, many of the kingdoms of Northern and Central India were ruled by Nāga princes, and some of the southern lines had Nāga connections. A Nāga tribal wave seems to have deluged most parts of India about this period. But there is nothing to show that any of these Nāga dynasties exercised an imperial rule over large parts of India from a common centre. The Nava Nāgas might have been influential rulers, traditionally famous as they are. But they, too, were far from being emperors in any sense of the word. Similarly, beyond the simple fact that the Bhāraśivas were important and powerful kings (which has already been noted by Dr. Raychaudhuri) it is impossible, with the evidence available at present, to say anything more about them, specially as regards their imperialism.

There is one more point that we should like to note in Mr. Jayaswal's history of the Bhāraśivas. He has prepared a list of Bhāraśiva kings, consisting of Vīrasêna of Mathura and six other names which, he declares, he has been able to read on some of the unassigned coins, Sec. X, *C.I.M.*, I. The author includes Vīrasêna in the list because he proposes to have discovered a Nāga symbol on some of Vīrasêna's coins. We have examined the coins referred to by Mr. Jayaswal (pp. 20-21), but unfortunately, cannot agree with him. For example, in coin No. 1,[1] what he takes to be a Nāga symbol, may well be a tree-stem, as pointed out by other numismatists who have dealt with the coin. It is unwise to derive important conclusions from such a flimsy ground.

Besides, as we have pointed out above, even if Vīrasêna were a Nāga, this would by no means prove him to be a Bhāraśiva.

Similarly, we are obliged to reject his entire list, firstly because his decipherment of the other six names are far from being definite; and secondly, there is nothing to indicate that the 'tree in railing'-symbol was a special mark of the Bhāraśiva mints as Mr. Jayaswal believes. Mr. Jayaswal does so, because he reads the Dêvasa coins (C.I.M., I, p. 206) as belonging to one Nava (p. 18) and which he says bear the same Kausambi symbols. According to him, this Nava

[1] Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, Pl. VIII, Fig. 18.

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was the founder of the Nava Nāga dynasty, which was so called after him, and not because it contained 9 kings, as is generally believed (p. 19). But the successive mention by the Purāṇas of the 9 Nāgas and the 7 Nāgas almost certainly indicates that in these cases, the words *nava* and *sapta* were intended as numeral adjectives.

Besides, it is well known that coin-symbols in India often denoted special localities instead of individual lines, and were used by kings of entirely different dynasties as they came to rule over, the locality by conquest, or otherwise.[1] The Bactro-Greek coins afford ample examples of this fact. How then can it be possible to infer that kings using the palm-tree symbol belonged to the Nāga dynasty only because such a symbol occurs on the coins of a king who might have been a Nāga ?

We see, therefore, that firstly, it is impossible to accept the data of Mr. Jayaswal, and secondly, even if it were accepted, it would be impossible to agree with his conclusions. Thus we are bound to reject his list and take Bhavanāga as the only Bhāraśiva king whose name is definitely known to us.

As to the later history of the Bhāraśivas, Mr. Jayaswal believes that through the marriage-alliance they passed under the rule of the Vākāṭakas. According to him, this fact is absolutely certain, since in the Bālāghāṭ plates, Rudrasêna I, the grandson of Pravarasêna I through the Bhāraśiva princess is 'expressly called the Bhāraśiva-Mahārāja' (p. 17). The text of the plates does indeed appear to give the epithet to Rudrasêna I. But Mr. Jayaswal has quietly overlooked Kielhorn's evidently correct suggestion that the epithet Bhāraśivānām-Mahārāja refers in reality not to Rudrasêna but to Bhavanāga, and that here the phrases containing the reference to the latter have been left out through mistake (*E.I.*, IX, p. 270). A glance at the other Vākāṭaka records reveals the truth of this suggestion. The fact that the Bālāghāṭ Plates contain no royal grant but are plates merely ready for such use, add to the force of the probability.

Mr. Jayaswal's views as regards the Guptas and the Vākāṭakas we reserve for consideration in a future paper.

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[1] The palm-tree, or 'tree-in-railing' symbol was regarded as the symbol of Kausambi by former numismatists.

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AN IMPORTANT HISTORICAL FEATURE IN THE ANGUTTARA-NIKĀYA

By Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids

So far as I know, Dr. Law's brief assay at a valuation of the Fourth Nikāya, in his *History of Pali Literature* (i, p. 190), deserves to be called a pioneer statement. I say this none the less gladly for this further remark, that I disagree with most of what he has there said. For instance, for me, the Anguttara-Nikāya never was 'a breaking up of the longer discourses in the two first Nikāyas', nor was its positive purpose that of emphasis, gained 'by repeatedly dinning' the fragments 'into the ears of the hearers'. My own conclusion is, that the first two Nikāyas were more likely compiled from much that survives in the Fourth, so frequent in the two are patched-in intrusions. And for the dinning by repetition I substitute the inclusion, at a season of far-summoned revision (such as we read of), of the variant versions of Sayings (brought from different *āvāsa's*, or settlements of the Order), in cases where it was only the form of exposition that varied, but where the doctrinal teaching passed muster. I drew attention to this prominent feature in the Anguttara, in introducing the Pali Text Society's translation of the Nikāya, Vols. II (1933) and III (1934). And I wrote: 'For me these variants are a lively reminder of (*a*) the long-lived oral nature of the teaching, (*b*) the tether long permitted to the exponent to *make his own exposition* of a text, (*c*) the various and mutually isolated conditions of place under which the teaching went on, (*d*) the felt need of revision to which such conditions would eventually give rise'.

Again, I cannot agree that 'a definite scheme of its own' —beyond that of its progressively numbered groups (*nipāta's*), somewhat artificially prolonged, and petering out as eleven (instead of the 'lucky' ten)—is 'worked out' in the Nikāya. Were there, as is suggested, a definite twofold Vinaya, or disciplinary system, monk and lay, we should have had the Suttas in all the *nipāta's* grouped under one or the other head. The opposite is the case. Many Suttas teach what is equally good for both monk and layman. And in each Vagga Suttas about laymen and laywomen are mixed with Suttas about members of the Order. None the less it remains to Dr. Law's credit, that his is the initial attempt to discuss the work as a whole. Let it be my privilege, in this Journal, to go a step further.

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The main thing that starts to the eye in the Anguttara is, not that it presents doctrines in arithmetic progression—this is to a small extent practised in all five Nikāyas[1] except the Third—but that the *entire work* is so compiled. And it is fairly evident, that the compilers intended the groups to include everything that was of doctrinal importance *at the time when* they were engaged now on one *nipāta*, then on the next. There is, so far as I can find, nothing in the Commentaries declaring, that the compilers had restricted the numbered contents to matters of secondary importance, or selected among such as were of first importance.

Hence we should confidently expect to find, in this and that *nipāta*, certain formulas, associated with certain numbers, which Pali Buddhism, that is, so called Hīnayāna Buddhism, has held and holds to belong to the very teachings of the Founder, or Founders, and which it acclaims as the most central, the most fundamental doctrines. Do we find these expectations borne out? We do not.

To which doctrines do I refer? To the following:—

Threes: the three refuges, later called gems (*ratana*), the three 'marks' (*lakkhaṇa*): *anicca, dukkha, anattā*.
Fours: the four ariyan 'truths' (or realities, *sacca*).
Fives: the five aggregates (*khandhā*).
Eights: the way as eightfold.

Of these, the aggregates may not be claimed as central, but they are emphatically held to have been the founder's teaching. Certain other numbered doctrines, claimed to be original if not central, I will take later. I have not included any term for the *summum bonum* under the Ones, since a place in the Fours might be no less looked for in this connection. I will deal with it under the latter head.

Now of all the numbered, so-called fundamental formulas tabulated above, not one occurs as a number-bearing item in the corresponding *nipāta's* of the Anguttara! This is a strange thing, and surely needs some effort of explanation. If it leads Buddhists to become better acquainted with the contents of the Anguttara-nikāya than they at present seem to be, so much the better. If they cannot read Pali, the whole work can be read in German, in the Rev. Nyanatiloka's translation, and all but the last two Nipātas can be read in English, in the Pali Text Society's edition, called *The Book of the Gradual Sayings*, i–v.[2] And if, in seeking to verify this 'strange thing', they find I have erred, it is I who will appre-

[1] E.g. *Dīgha-Nikāya*, last 2 nos.; *Majjhima-Nikāya*, Nos. 59, 102, 112, 115, 117 (Chachakka).

[2] The last two will be published a year hence.

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ciate the correction. The same holds of course in my being put wise by any one not a Buddhist.

Let us consider the items more closely.

The Threes: The triad: Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha, does occur in the Tika-nipāta, but not anywhere as an item entitling to a Sutta. Thus it occurs in the delightful talk with, or rather to, Visākhā.[1] Here the titular Three is the three kinds of feast—or fast-day (*uposatha*), elsewhere and elsewise considered under the Eights. This inclusion here certainly implies, that *when the Visākhā-talk took its standardized form*, probably at the Patna Revision, 3rd century B.C., it was customary to refer to that triad, as triad of a fixed order: B., Dh. and S. But had the triad then assumed the all-importance betrayed in it elsewhere, especially in the Commentaries, where every one begins with a dedication to it, we should surely have found it at the head of the Threes, and not halfway through its 163 Suttas.

Next: the 'marks' triad, so dinned into us at the present day, especially the third, does occur in the Threes, but not till Sutta 134. Nor is it then listed, as are most of the Suttas, with 'There are these three —', nor under any such distinctive title as 'marks', which would not be recognized as descriptive. The English translator has discovered a title which he renders 'Appearance', probably from *uppāda, uppatti*.[1] This throws emphasis on to quite another matter, viz. the appearance of a man with a mandate as not being the creator of a new truth, when he is but the bearer of it. The phraseology is quite exceptional, and occurs, if I am right, only in the Sutta 'Paccaya' of the *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (Nidāna-saṃyutta). And I suggest that the Fourth Nikāya borrowed it from the Third, or the reverse. It seems to betray the way in which some exponent of original mind had worded now this doctrine, now that, his wording becoming the vogue in his day and place, and that his forcible method of expounding such lived on, his name not 'living for evermore'. Had the teaching of the *anicca, dukkha, anattā* the importance now given to it—an importance largely deriving from the tradition of the Saṃyutta-bhāṇakas—the triad would certainly have been listed as number two in the Tika-nipāta and under its present title.

Shall we now inquire whether, in the other numbered lists of the Nikāyas, the treatment is similar? I refer to the last two *Dīgha* Suttantas: Sangīti and Dasuttara, and the 'Boy-questions'

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[1] Léon Feer omitted the *uddāna's* (titles) from his text. Rev. Nyanatiloka has 'Die drei Merkmale des Daseins', but this is probably his own appropriation of the current ecclesiastical name for the formula.

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of the *Khuddakapāṭha* in the Fifth Nikāya. The answer is soon stated: In not one of the Threes in these lists does either of the triads: the Refuges, the Marks, occur! Here, from the standpoint of Buddhists and writers on Buddhism, is surely a strange thing.

We come to the Fours: in the Anguttara's Catukka-nipāta the 'four ariyan truths' tetrad does not occur as one among the Fours, either in substance, or under the name *saccāni*. Incidentally (Sutta 186 out of the 271) the Four occur once as illustrating the meaning of 'a learned, wise man', but without the term *saccāni*. This omission recurs four times in other incidental references to the Four: in the Eights and Nines. In both the Sangīti and Dasuttara the tetrad occurs once, and that in an interesting way. In the former, the four are inserted, not as 'truths' but as 'knowledges' (*ñāṇāni*), as variants or doubles of four quite different knowledges. In the latter, the tetrad is placed, not first, but as penultimate, the last item being the four 'fruits' of the four 'ways'. What does this suggest? In the Khuddakapāṭha, the fourth question is answered by 'Cattāri ariyasaccāni'. But in the Tens of the Anguttara we find the teacher, the Kajangalan nun, explaining these as the Four Stations of Mindfulness. The Commentary refers to this as the answer 'at some place' (*katthaci*), to 'the four nutriments (*āhāra*) as the answer (taught) at' some (other) place, but votes that 'here' (*idha*), whatever that may imply, the four ariyan truths are meant. We are left wondering whether any of the three was in the original catechism. But there can be no doubt which of the three had won, when the Commentary was by Buddhaghosa recast into Pali.

I have said above, that the goal, end, or *summum bonum* of Buddhism might be expected to occur as a Four, no less than as a One. I mean, that in the First or 'Benares' Utterance (*Dhamma-cakkappavattana-sutta*) we find the unitary term: *attha*, pushed out. Two side-issues have been defined as 'not belonging to *attha*'. The alternative choice called 'middle way' implicitly does belong to *attha*. But explicitly we are told, it conduces, not to *attha*, but to four things: enlightenment (*sambodhi*), supernormal knowledge (*abhiññā*), quietude (*upasamā*), waning out (*nibbāna*). As I have said elsewhere, this editing reveals (*a*) the changed, the more literary value that had come over the word *attha*, resulting in ambiguity and a religious worsening of the term, (*b*) the evidence in the substitutes, taken in pairs, of (1) the grown vogue of mental or intellectual terms, (2) the grown vogue of monasticism. We get the positive term 'belonging to *attha*' repeatedly in the Eka-nipāta, as well as the negative. And we get once there the term *nibbāna*. But to neither *attha* nor *nibbāna* is given the title and attention of a separate Sutta.

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Neither, so far as I can see, are the four substitutes of *attha* given the title of a Sutta in the Fours. I find *sambodhi* and *nibbāna* referred to as ultimate end, but not as linked together, or with the other two. I only find them so linked, not as a Four, but under a Sutta in the Ones. And then they have become not four but seven ! The three additions are revulsion (*nibbidā*) passionlessness (*virāga*), stopping (*nirodha*), wherein the monastic vogue takes the lead of the two, viz. five out of the seven.

The Eights : here is perhaps the most interesting anomaly of all. The way *as* eightfold *does not occur as a group of eight* in either the Anguttara Eights, nor in those of the Sangīti, nor in those of the Dasuttara. It is however the reply to the Khuddakapāṭha question : 'The eight, what (are they) ?' Let us reconsider this backwards.

The Kajangalan nun's reply (and be it remembered that her teaching here is said to have been endorsed by the founder as what he would himself have said) is, not the usual way-*anga's*, but eight mundane matters,[1] about which the world revolved: gain, fame, blame, pleasure and their opposites. The Commentator is heedful of her high status, but maintains, that the right attitude with regard to the eight implies an end-making of ill, the goal of the way, and that hence *a fortiori* the bigger 'eight' is meant. He was indeed right, that the way was a bigger thing than any eight mundane considerations, but he does not see, that neither do the eight *anga's* usually taught exhaust the real meaning of the way. It was a skilful exegesis on behalf of the values of his day, but it does not take us very far.

In the Dasuttara the eightfold way is listed second, and with the verb which is invariably linked with the way ; it is 'to be made-to-become'. This verb is relatively meaningless, when the eight properties are tacked on. It is when we see, in this great figure, the great adventure that life is, in the religious vision, for each man and woman, that it means wayfaring in the becoming a More in the yet unattained,—it is then that the causative verb comes into right perspective. Each has to make his own way, grow in his own way. The Commentary makes no statement about either way or verb.

In the Sangīti, however, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[2] we have the Eight *anga's* without the Way, first as 'wrongnesses' then as 'rightnesses' (*sammatta*). The Commentary passes this by.

The Anguttara Eights present a similar suggestion to us, that the phrase 'ariyo aṭṭhangiko maggo' was, at the date of final

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[1] *Lokadhammā*, also in Sangīti and Anguttara.
[2] E.g. *Manual*, S.P.C.K., p. 127.

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compilation, not yet accepted as a fixed formula. Thus, there is in them the titular *aṭṭhangika*, but it is applied only to the eightfold profit of the *uposatha* (fast or feast day). This term, then, was ready to hand. But under *anga's* as eight we find no 'magga', but the following :—the qualities of a royal thoroughbred used as figure, the qualities of a master-thief and the qualities, good or bad, eight each, of arable soil. In the human qualities, of which these last are figures, we get the eight wrongnesses and rightnesses, as named in the Sangīti, but no attempt is made to group the latter eight under the term 'ariyan eightfold way'. In the verses, however, following the Sutta, the Magga just shows its face, anticipating, as it were, the association with the eight qualities of a somewhat later date :—

Knowing the world
In verity, he grasps the vision won,
And coming to the winning of the way,
He fares with mind that has accomplishèd.

But this is not all. Earlier in the Eights, in a 'psychic' conversation between the Founder and the governor of the Asuras, eight wonderful qualities of the ocean are discussed, and made to illustrate the qualities of what had come to be called *dhamma-vinaya*. Among these are seven *ratana's* (gems), compared with the ten kinds of gems in the ocean, and here, in what came to be called the '*bodhipakkhiyā dhammā*', the things pertaining to enlightenment, we find the 'eightfold ariyan way'. The 'things' are stated in the tidy numerically progressive way of the *Dīgha* (Mahāparinibbāna-Suttanta), not in the order of the *Saṃyutta* (Mahāvagga), where the way, as one item, is put first, yielding the lucky number of 30, and not the unpromising 37 of later literature. The Sutta, stripped of its psychic frame, occurs in the Cullavagga of the *Vinaya* and in the *Udāna* of the *Khuddaka-nikāya*. I do not see it in the *Visuddhi-magga*, but the ocean-similes are given in the *Milinda*, with just 'Way' put first among the 'gems', and followed *by a quite different list*!

It is hard to reconcile the orderly catalogue of those seven lists of 'things' with the ignoring of 'eightfold way' as deserving a place, and a leading place, in the Eights items, where it would have been thus introduced: . . . *Aṭṭh'imāni angāni ariyo atthasaṃhito maggo. Katame aṭṭha?* Or *aṭṭhehi angehi samannāgato ariyo maggo*, or the like. The only reasonable conclusion is, that in the Asura Sutta (No. XIX), as in other Suttas of other Nipātas, the reference to the way as 'ariyan eightfold' is the work of final revision, perhaps not till the Piṭakas were committed to writing, perhaps earlier.

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For the original compilers of the oral Eights, the way meaning, *as it then did*, virtually the whole of their teaching, standing as it did for their *dhamma*, their religion, was *not yet tied up* in a parcel of eight. For the final editors, it had come to be so tied up.

Tied up with its eight *anga's*—a quaintly inadequate list for the right way of life, 'wisdom' and 'amity' both omitted—the Way has undergone the same fate as *attha*, the original goal of the Way. *Attha* in the Vinaya is distinguished as 'of this life' (*diṭṭhadhamma*) and 'of other worlds' (*samparāyika*). The Way, in the Anguttara is called 'of other worlds' (p. 285). The 'Blessed One' is cited as teaching the latter.[1] In course of time, we see both *attha* and *magga* as matters of this life only. *Attha* stands for 'meaning matter, case' only; and 'Way' fades out from its mighty scope, become a study of qualities.

I come back to the Fives, for the 'aggregates' (*khandhā*), though held as original in date, are not of central dogma. Comparison here is again interesting. *They form no item* in the Pañcaka-nipāta; but they are the 'five' in the *Khuddakapāṭha* catechism, and they are listed in front rank in both *Dīgha* Suttantas, both as *khandhā* and as *upādāna-kkhandhā*.

I have ventured to give a different Five[2] in the little catechism, which need not here, from space-exigency, be repeated. The mode of the Dīgha entry shows the new importance given to the study of mind and of man as a plurality *at the final adjustment* of the *Dīgha* text, whether oral or written. The *Anguttara* treatment betrays that this importance was not yet conceded. I do find the five aggregates mentioned once in the Fives, and that in a peculiar way. Namely, in the parallel sayings called, in the Fives, 'The venerable Nagita', in the Eights, 'Homage'. We have probably one and the same traditional episode, handed down with different endings at different settlements, possibly 'finished off' by different revisors, with credit, I must add, to neither. And in the Fives' version, the *khandha's* come *into the concluding sentence*. Not only in the opening remarks does this Sutta look 'fishy'.

Finally a word on the in- or ex-clusion of those other important *bodhipakkhiya* lists, among which the 'four ariyan truths, be it remembered, *are not found*.

The seven states belonging to enlightenment appear as an item in No. XXIV of the Sevens. The five powers of (spiritual) sense (*indriyas*), the five strengths (*balāni*):—all these are duly entered in the *nipātas* of Sevens, and Fives. But there is this curious feature

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1 Mahāvagga VI.
2 *Minor Anthologies*, S.B.B., VII, Introd. to Khp.

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about the *indriyas* : they are entered in the Fives as, not *indriyas*, but *dhammas*, and are only called *indriyas* in one of the Sixes, when a sixth irrelevant item is tacked on to them : *āsavakkhaya*. Elsewhere in the Nikāya they have been *inserted* as *indriyas* and as five.

But what of the three Fours in the *bodhippakkhiyā dhammā*? Here is another anomaly. The 'four right efforts' are duly listed in the Fours and early. But the 'four stations of mindfulness' and the 'four courses of psychic potency' are *not* duly listed in the Fours as such, but only from the *nipāta* of the Fives onward. And at the very tail of the Fours both of them, with 'the right efforts', are brought in, *not* under those titles, but as three of 'four things' which, if 'made become', lead to a deeper knowledge of passion (or lust, *rāga*). The term *satipaṭṭhāna* occurs in the Fours, but *not as a category*, and in a curious irregular way, thus : 'by himself he makes mindfulness present, and causes another to practise in station of mindfulness (*satipaṭṭhāne*). (The translator has slipped past this oddity.)

The Sangīti is, I think, later in this, that those three Fours are duly named and placed at the head of its Fours. But the Dasuttara only recognizes the first of these. However, I do not think this Suttanta aimed at being all-inclusive. In the Sangīti the five *indriyas* are given a late place, but the *balas* none. The same is true of the Dasuttara. And the *bojjhangas* are given honourable place in both, and are the answer to the seventh question in the *Khuddakapāṭha*.

My sketchy investigation will only perhaps make appeal to the few who are interested in the buried mystery of the slow growth of the Pali Piṭakas during epochs of changing religious values. The evidence suggested is but contributory, but it has been too long overlooked. It is such evidence as we can now at least be preparing. With Walt Whitman let me say :—

> 'When the materials are all prepared and ready, the architects shall appear.'

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TOILET

[MAN'S INDEBTEDNESS TO PLANTS]

By GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR

Here the term toilet is used in its general sense,—to mean the process of dressing. The idea of dressing is comprehended in the oft recurring Pali stock expression—*mālā-gandha-vilepana-dhāraṇa-maṇḍana-vibhūsana-ṭṭhānā*. Going by this expression, the term dressing is to be interpreted in the sense of all processes and materials that go to constitute the art of wearing, anointing and decorating,—all as means of beautifying the person. In this expression *mālā* [1]—flower garland is mentioned as a typical material for wearing as a personal ornament; *gandha*—scents as materials for use as cosmetics, and *vilepana*—ointment as material for personal decoration.[2]

According to another Pali stock list met with in the Nikāyas,[3] the processes of dressing comprise the following items in the main, the list claiming not to be exhaustive :—

(1) Ucchādanaṃ—anointing the body with perfumes ;
(2) Parimaddanaṃ—rubbing, kneading, shampooing ;
(3) Nahāpanaṃ—bathing, washing ;
(4) Sambāhanaṃ—rubbing, shampooing ;
(5) Ādāsaṃ—using mirror, looking at the image of one's face ;
(6) Añjanaṃ—using collyrium for the eye ;

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[1] As early as in the Vedic texts we find use of garlands (*sraja*) as a means of personal decoration, R.V., iv, 38. 6 ; v, 53. 4 ; vii, 47. 15 ; 56. 3 ; A.V., i, 14. 1 ; Śat. Brāh., xiii, 5. 4. 2 ; lotus-wreathed Aśvins, R.V., i, 184. 3.

[2] Mālāgandhavilepanadhāraṇa-maṇḍanavibhūsanaṭṭhānā veramaṇí-sikhāpadaṃ samādiyāmi (8). Mālādíni dhāraṇādihi yathāsaṃkhyaṃ yojetabbāni. Tattha *mālā* ti yaṃ kiñci pupphajātaṃ, *vilepanan* ti yaṃ kiñci vilepanatthaṃ piṃsitvā paṭiyattaṃ, avasesaṃ sabbaṃ pi vāsacuṇṇadhūpanādikaṃ gandhajātaṃ *gandho* ; taṃ sabbaṃ pi maṇḍanavibhūsanatthaṃ na vaṭṭati, bhesajjatthan tu vaṭṭati, pūjanatthañ ca abhihaṭaṃ asādiyato na kenaci pariyayena vaṭṭati,—Khuddaka Pāṭha with commentary, pp. 1, 37—Smith. P.T.S., 1915.

[3] Seyyathidaṃ ucchādanaṃ parimaddanaṃ nahāpanaṃ sambāhanaṃ ādāsaṃ añjanaṃ mālāvilepanaṃ mukha-cuṇṇakaṃ mukhālepanaṃ hatta-bandhaṃ sikhā-bandhaṃ daṇḍakaṃ nālikaṃ khaggaṃ chattaṃ citrupāhanaṃ unhísaṃ maniṃ vāla-víjanaṃ odātāni vatthaṃ dígha-dasāni—iti vā iti evarūpā maṇḍanavibhūsana-ṭṭhānānuyogā paṭivirato Samaṇo Gotama ti—D., i, 1. 16—Brahmajāla Sutta—Vol. i, p. 7—Carpenter. See also Pāli-English Dictionary—Rhys Davids and Stede, P.T.S., 1925.

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(7) Mālā-vilepanaṃ—wearing garlands and using cosmetics ;
(8) Mukha-cuṇṇakaṃ—using face-powders ;
(9) Mukhālepanaṃ—anointing one's face ;
(10) Hatta-bandhaṃ—wearing bracelet ;
(11) Sikhā-bandhaṃ—hair-dressing, combing ;
(12) Daṇḍakaṃ—carrying walking stick for ornament ;
(13) Nālikaṃ—carrying a gun-like weapon ;
(14) Khaggaṃ—carrying a sword ;
(15) Chattaṃ—carrying an umbrella ;
(16) Citrupāhanaṃ—wearing footwear ;
(17) Unhísaṃ—wearing a turban ;
(18) Maṇiṃ—wearing a diadem ;
(19) Vāla-víjaniṃ—carrying a fan or chauri ; and
(20) Odātāni vatthani dígha-dasāni—wearing embroidered and gaudy garment.

The list is prepared evidently by keeping dressing of man in view as will appear from the following restrictions enjoined in the Vinaya texts on the Bhikkhus. They are forbidden to wear—ear-rings, ear-drops, strings of beads for the throat, girdles of beads, bangles, necklaces, bracelets, rings ; to smooth the hair with a comb, or with a shampooing instrument, with pomade, with hair-oil of beeswax ; to look at the image of their faces in a looking-glass ; to anoint their faces, to rub ointment, etc. into their faces, to put chunam on their faces ; to paint their bodies, and to paint their faces. They are also forbidden to enter the Ārāma with their sandals on, with sunshades held over them.[1]

The list is substantially the same in the case of dressing of women. Under the same Vinaya discipline the Bhikkhunī is forbidden to anoint her face, to rub ointments on to her face, to put chunam on to her face, to paint her body, to paint her face, etc., etc.[2]

Ancient India made indeed sufficient advance so far as this aspect of civilization is concerned. Toilet here, as elsewhere, gave birth to a number of subsidiary arts, such as, weaving of garlands, preparation of betel-leaves, etc. Among the constituents of toilet we have principally to note various fragrant substances, hair-dye, garlands, flowers, incense, perfumes, scented oil, collyrium, *anu-lepana* (sandal paste, etc. for the body), *alaktaka* (lac-dye for the feet), etc., etc.

The Suśruta Saṁhitā lays down the following rules of conduct to be daily observed by an intelligent man (after leaving his bed)

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, Cu., V, 1 ; V, 2 ; VIII, 1 ;—S.B.E., 20, pp. 66–71 ; 272.
[2] *Ibid.*, Cu., X, 10 ; S.B.E., 20, pp. 340–343.

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seeking perfect health and sound body: (1) tooth-brushing, (2) use of eye- and mouth-washes, (3) use of collyrium, (4) chewing of betel-leaf, (5) *śirobhyaṅga* (anointing the head with oil), (6) *pariṣeka* (affusing the body), (7) combing, (8) anointing, (9) physical exercise, (10) *utvartana* (massaging), (11) *utsādana* (rubbing), (12) *utgharsana* (rough rubbing), (13) bathing, (14) *anulepana* (anointing the body with scented paste), (15) wearing of gems, flowers, and clean clothes, (16) *ālepa* (besmearing the face with scented paste), (17) putting on shoes, (18) the shaving of hair and pairing of nails, (19) *vānavara* (putting on armour), (20) wearing turban (*uṣṇīṣa*), (21) carrying a stick (*daṇḍa*), (22) carrying an umbrella, (23) fanning with chowries (*vāla vyajana*), and (24) sambāhana (shampooing).[1]

The Śukranīti definitely says 'One should have daily baths, use scents and decent clothing but should not be excessively gaudy' (III, 6, 7). It then goes on to mention explicitly the names of the arts to which it gave birth: 'The decoration of men and women by dress and ornaments is an art' (IV, iii, 135); 'the weaving of garlands, etc. constitutes an art' (IV, iii, 137);[2] 'the making and preservation of betels constitute an art' (IV, iii, 198).[3]

The Arthaśāstra gives a long list of fragrant substances for toilet preparations. The list is as follows:—

Sātana, gosírṣaka, haricandana, tārṇasa, grāmeruka, daivasabheya, aupaka, joṅgaka, taurūpa, malayeka, kucandana, kālaparvataka, kośākaraparvataka, sítōdakiya, nāgaparvataka, and sākola: these are all varieties of *candana* named after and obtained from different parts of India, such as Ceylon, S. India, Kāmarupa, Assam and other parts; they are characterized by pleasant smell, are adhesive to the skin, of mild smell, are retentive of colour and smell, tolerant of heat, absorptive of heat, and comfortable to the skin.

The following are the varieties of *aguru*, each named after the place of its origin: Joṅgaka, doṅgaka, and pārasamudraka (Ceylon): they smell far and long, are of uniform smell, absorb heat, and are adhesive to the skin.

The following varieties of *Tailaparṇikā* (plants producing essential oils) are derived from Assam: Aśoka-grāmika, joṅgaka, grāmeruka, sauvarṇakuḍyaka, pūrṇadvípaka (all products of Kāmarupa); bhadraśríya, pāralauhityaka, antarvatya, kāleyaka, and

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, Cikitsāsthāna, Ch. xxiv; Eng. transl. by K. L. Viṣagratna.

[2] A class of people, by profession garland-weavers, *mālākara* and *mālini*, sprang out as an outcome of this art. This class, especially the *mālini* played an important part in the later day drama. In the Buddhist literature, too, we find mention of garland-makers and flower-sellers. Buddhist India, p. 94—Rhys Davids.

[3] S.B.H., XIII.

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auttaraparvataka : 'their smell is lasting, no matter whether they are made into a paste, or boiled, or burned'.[1]

The Agnipurāṇa describes eight processes by means of which the body of a person may be freed of bad smell[2] and thus appear pleasing to others. They are : 'by cleansing or washing, by gargling, by vomiting, by decorating the body with flowers and garlands, by heating, by burning incense-sticks, by fumigating and by using scents and perfumes. Washing is to be done with water containing leaves of wood-apple, *vilva*, mango, or *karavíra* trees, or with musk water ; fumigation by *nakha*, *kuṣṭha*, *dhana*, *māñsí*, *śrīka*, *śaileyaja*, saffron, shellac, sandal, agallochum, *nirada*, *sarala*, *devakāṣṭha*, camphor, *krāntā*, *vala*, *kunduru*, scented gum, resin and *śrínivāsa*. These drugs should be powdered together, and pasted with the juice of a *sāla* tree, and then cut into sticks. Oils scented with *tvaca*, *nāḍi*, *phala* (nutmeg), saffron, *granthi*, *śaileyaja*, *tagara*, *krāntā*, *cola*, camphor, *māñsí*, *murāmāñsí*, and *kuṣṭha* should be used before bathing. By using before bath the oil scented with equal measures of *tvaca*, saffron, *murā*, *analada*, and *valaka* weighing half as much as the latter substances, the body of a person is sure to emit the odours of the lotus. By dipping half of a *tagara* in it, the same oil will have the scent of *jātí* flowers ; while mixed with the powder of *vakula* flowers it will smell as such (19–32).

A powder made of pulverized *elā*, clove, *kakkola*, nutmeg, camphor, and *jātípatraka* may be used for perfuming the mouth. The equal parts of *tvaca* and *pāthya* mixed with half part of camphor, should be kept in the mouths of damsels whereby they would have breaths scented as the flowers of *Nāgavallí* (33–40).[3] It is clear from these prescriptions that the hygienic notions were greatly developed at the period when the Agnipurāṇa was composed.

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[4] is more elaborate in its description of toilet. The ingredients used in toilet preparations comprise, among others, —*kasturí*, *jātíphala*, *mālatí*, *tamāla*, *nāgakeśara*, *hareṇuka*, *kuṣṭha*, *jatāmāñsí*, *priyaṅgu*, *mṛnāla*, *mala*, *gandhamūla*, *pítacandana*, *haridrā*, *mañjiṣṭhā*, *yaṣṭimadhu*, *vaca*, *dhānyaka*, *maruvaka*, *mūrvā*, *sarjarasa*, *guggula*, *lākṣā*, *āmalaka*, *vibhítaka*, *śuṇṭhí*, *marica*, *pippalí*, *kakkola*, *darpa*, *mātulaṅga*, *padma*, and so on and on.

It then gives some special recipes for the preparations of such items as hair-dye (*keśarañjanaṃ*), perfumed oil (*sugandha tailaṃ*),

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[1] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. XI, 78-79, pp. 90-91. (Eng. ed., 1915.)

[2] Cf. खेदादिकृतदौर्गन्ध्यहरणाय चन्दनादिना उद्वर्तनानुलेपनादिः ॥ सारसुन्दरी ।

[3] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 224, Śl. 19–40, pp. 802-803 ; Eng. ed. For details and other recipes see these pages.

[4] *Loc. cit.*, Ch. 76, 1–37, *Gandhayukti*, pp. 941–960.

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scented water for bath (*gandhodaka*), perfuming the mouth (*mukha vāsa*), cosmetics, preparation of betel, etc. etc. Let us deal with them one by one:

Hair-dye.—'Garlands, sweet scents, frankincense, clothes and ornaments, and paste, etc.—all these things of luxury do not become a man with white hairs (*sraggandhadhūpāmbarabhūṣanādyam na śobhaté śuklaśiroruhasya*): this is why one should dye one's white hairs artificially. Besides, over and above, black hairs intensify the beauty of the eye'. 1.

'Rice of *kodrava* paddy should be mixed with iron-dust in an iron vessel, boiled in water, and when the mixture is condensed one should besmear one's head with it and then should cover the head for two *praharas* (6 hours) with leaves of *ākanda*, and then one should wash away this head-paste and besmear one's head again with the paste of *āmalaka* fruit and cover the head with *âkanda* leaves for another six hours, after which the new paste should be washed away; through this process white hairs are made black' (2-3).

But the recipes given in the Śārṅgadhara Paddhati[1] are even more elaborate:

'One should take six parts of *triphalā* (three myrobalans), two parts of pomegranate root, three parts turmeric, powder them and mix them together with one part of gruel of *ṣaṣṭhika*-rice and should add to it twenty parts of the juice of *bhṛṅgarāja*. Then the compound thus obtained should be placed in an iron vessel and covered with an iron lid. This vessel should be placed for a month in a pit filled with horse-dung. Then it should be taken out, and the contents of it mixed with milk should be applied to the head (of the man) and the space on the forehead between the eye-brows. The parts thus besmeared should be covered with the leaves of the castor-oil plant. He should go to sleep during the night (in this condition), and rise and take his bath early next morning. Then his hairs will grow as black as black-bees.' 3055–3059.

'A man's hair will remain eternally black as black-bees if the aforesaid preparation be applied to his head three times in succession at an interval of seven days.'

'The whiteness of a man's hair is surely removed if he drinks only milk and takes snuff made up of sesame mixed with dead-sea fruit oil.'

'Again, the whiteness of a man's hair is removed if he uses the oil of any of the following: *Vibhítaka, nimba, kumbhāri, śivaseta* (*haritakí*), and *kākiní*.

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[1] *Atha keśarañjanaṃ*, ślokas 3055–3072; edited by Peterson, Vol. I, Bombay, 1888.

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'The same result is obtained by the use of a paste made up of *śyāmā, tagara, karccura, niśa* and sulphur, or by the fumigation of the hairs with molasses.'

'Leaves and roots of *kākiní, sahacara,* rhizomes of *ketakí, bhṛṅga* dried under shade and decoction of *triphalā*—all these should be thrown in oil in an iron pot, and the pot itself should be kept under the ground for a month. The application of this oil makes even hairs as white as the flowers of *kāśa,* as black as black-bees.'

'A piece of thin lead-plate should be wrapped with a piece of cloth besmeared with the ashes of grain, and this lead-plate then should be placed in an iron pot and covered. The pot should afterwards be placed in the midst of cow-dung for five months and it should be taken out when its contents have been liquefied. The compound then should be applied to the head and the space on the forehead between the eye-brows, and the man should keep in his mouth a certain quantity of rice, and should take his bath when the rice within the mouth becomes black. If a man follows this process his hairs will remain as black as black-bees for ten years.'

'An oil should be prepared out of the ashes of silver, copper, lead and *triphalā, nāgavallí, kaśisa,* sulphur, juice of *bhṛṅgarāja,* indigo, and *lodhra*—one *pala* each, mixed with oil four times as large (as all these taken together), and fermented rice-water four times as large as the oil. After applying this oil to the head and covering it with castor leaf, one should sleep throughout the night and take one's bath in the morning. This keeps the hair black as black-bees for a fortnight.'

'One should carefully extract oil with the help of a machine (*yantrākṛṣṭam*) out of *kalañjí,* and apply it to the roots of hairs after uprooting the grey hairs themselves. Thereon black and fine hairs will grow (in place of the uprooted grey ones). The same result is produced by the application of the juice derived from *meṣaśṛṅgí.*'

It then gives recipes for the **cure of baldness** and the **removal of hairs** from the body. Thus :

'The hairs grow upon the head even of a bald man if a paste made up of the ashes of elephant's tusk burnt on smouldering fire mixed with goat's milk and *rasāñjana* (antimony sulphide) be applied to it for seven consecutive days'. 3001.

'The hairs of a man are easily removed from his body if to them be applied an oil in which camphor, *bhallātaka* and powdered conch-shell, carbonate of potash, *manaḥśilā* (realgar) and *haritāla* (orpiment) are boiled together.'

Sweet scented Hair-oil.—Varāhamihira gives the following prescriptions :—

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'One should compound the powder of *mañjiṣṭhā, vyāghranakha,* pearl, *tvaca* (cardamom) and *kuṣṭha*—and mix them with oil and dry it in the sun; an oil thus prepared acquires sweet scent of the *champaka* flowers.' 6.

'One should compound together the powder of *patra* (tejapatra) *turuṣka, valā,* and *tagara* in equal quantity and prepare an oil in the manner indicated above. The scent which the oil thus acquires is called lust-provoking, and when *vyāma* (rohisatṛṇa) and *kaṭuka* are mixed with the above it acquires the scent called *vakula,* and again when *kuṣṭha* is mixed with the above it acquires the scent called *utpalagandha*; when *candana* is mixed it acquires the scent called *campaka* mentioned above, and when *jātīpatra,* cardamom and coriander are mixed with it, it acquires a scent similar to that of *atimuktaka.*' 7.

The following recipes for the preparation of perfumed hair-oils are quoted by U. C. Datta in his Materia Medica of the Hindoos:—

'Sesamum, castor, and cocoanut oils are rendered fragrant by boiling with cardamoms, cinnamon, cloves, fenu-greek seeds, saffron, *jatāmāñsí* roots, aloe wood, *Curcuma zedoaria,* leaves of *Cinamomum tamala,* white sandal-wood, *Cyperus rotandus, kakkola,* resin of *Deodara,* storax, long pepper root, root of *uśíra, nakhí,* camphor, musk, *śaileya,* costus root, seed of *latākasturí*'.

'Mustard oil is purified by being boiled with the following ingredients, namely *Embelic myrobalans,* turmeric, tubers of *Cyperus rotandus,* root bark of *Ægle marmelos,* pomegranate bark, flowers of *Mesua ferrea,* Nigella seeds, roots of *Pavonia odorata,* the bark called *nalikā,* and the *Belleric myrobalan,*—two tolās each and *maddar* 16 tolās for 4 sheers of oil.'

For the purifying of castor oil the following ingredients are used: *Maddar,* tubers of *Cyperus rotandus,* coriander, the three myrobalans, leaves of *Sesbania aculeata* (Vaijayantī), *Pavonia odorata,* wild dates, tender red buds of *Ficus bengalensis,* turmeric, wood of *Berleria asiatica* (dāruharidrā), the bark called *nalikā,* ginger, and the shoots of *ketakí,*—each half a tolā for each 4 sheers of oil.[1]

Scents.—The Mahābhārata defines Scent as 'that which can be perceived through smell, which purifies breath and includes both fragrance and its reverse, and speaks of ten varieties of Scent. They are: (1) *iṣṭa* (beneficent)—as emitted by *kasturí* and similar other substances; (2) *aniṣṭa* (baneful)—as by decomposing corpse, etc.; (3) *madhura* (pleasant)—as by *madhuka* and other flowers; (4) *kaṭu* (bitter)—as by peppers, etc.; (5) *nirhārí* (fœtid)—as by

[1] Introduction, pp. 15-16.

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assafœtida, etc.; (6) *saṁhata*—it is wonderful and is the product of a mixture of various compounds; (7) *snigdha* (soothing)—as emitted by clarified butter and like substances just heated; (8) *rukṣa* (pungent)—as by mustard and such other oils; (9) *visada* (particular) —as by boiled *śāli* and other sweet scented rice, and (10) *amla* (sour)—as emitted by hog-plum and other sour fruits.

The Great Epic also speaks of five ways in which fragrant scent may be prepared, viz.: (1) pounding (substances) into dust, (2) rubbing (substances) on a hard object, (3) burning (substances), (4) extraction from bodies of trees, etc., and (5) extraction from the bodies of animals. Scented dusts may be obtained by pounding the fragrant leaves and flowers, especially the leaves that are noted for sweet scent; scented paste may be obtained by rubbing on a hard and rough object the wood of sandal, *sāla*, pine, aguru and such other trees; sweet scent may also be derived by burning the wood of Deodara, aguru, *Brahmaśāla*, and sandal trees. It is also obtained by the extraction of *rasa* (exudation, essential oils?) of fragrant Oleanders, Vilva, Tilaka and (flowers of) such other trees and plants. The sweet scent derived from musk is pleasing even to the very gods.[1]

Frankincense—to fumigate rooms and clothes, Varāhamihira prescribes :—

'If one prepares frankincense out of two substances *śatapuṣpa* and *kunduru* constituting ¼th part, and *nakha* and *turuṣka* half the part, to which adds one part each of sandal and *priyaṅgu*, and then burns it in fire an exquisitely sweet smell follows.' 8.

Frankincense may also be prepared of *guggula*, roots of *veṇā*, *lākṣā*, *musta*, *nakha*, and *śarkarā*—all mixed in equal shares. And a second type of frankincense should be made out of *jatāmāṅsi*, *bālaka*, resin, *nakha* and sandal—all mixed in equal shares.' 9.

'The scent that is prepared of *nakha*, *tagara*, and *turuṣka*—these three things mixed together in equal proportions and then treated with *jātipatra*, camphor and musk and scented with *guḍa* and *nakha*—is known as *Sarbatobhadra*.' 26.

'One, of one's own accord, should gather substances noted above and mix with them *jātiphala*, camphor and musk and apply to the mixture mango juice and honey—thus can the scent of the thing be made like that of *pārijāta* flower.' 27.

In this way the same authority notes that by various combinations and permutations of the things mentioned in the list above 174720 different kinds of frankincense might be prepared. 21.

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[1] Mahābhārata, Santiparva. Text quoted by Śabdakalpadruma.

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The Śārṅgadhara Paddhati on the other hand has the following prescriptions for the preparation of frankincense [1] :—

'If frankincense is prepared out of *tejapatra, malayaja* (sandal), *jatāmāṅsi*, sugar, *aguru, valā*, and honey—all these mixed in equal proportions—it acquires the smell of *kumkuma*.'

'Frankincense, called *malayanila*, prepared out of sandal, *aguru, kuṣṭha, śivā*, resin of *sarja* and sugar—is dear even to the very gods.'

'The grand frankincense made up of ten ingredients, namely, *sūrana*, dvipadāna (exudation from the head of elephants, or a kind of scented substance), storax, white mustard, *kuṁkuma, aguru, rambhā*, camphor, sandal and *guggula* (olibanum) is known as *Sanmohana*—this charms the three worlds, and is comparable to the dart of Cupid.'

'The intelligent person should fumigate both his clothes and the house with the compound made up of camphor, *nakhi, giri*, musk, *māṅsi*, and resin—one part each, white sandal and *aguru*—two parts each, mixed together and pasted with molasses.'

To prepare incense-stick (*dhūpavarttiḥ*) and wickets (*dípavarttiḥ*) Śārṅgadhara gives the following prescriptions :—

'One should prepare incense-sticks out of the compound made up of *nakhi, aguru, śilārasa* (storax), *valā, kundura, śaileya, candana*, and *śyāmā*—each taken in progressively increasing quantities. These sticks are dear even to the kings.'

'One should mix together musk, camphor, *kuṁkuma, goracanā*, storax, *yavanakāṣṭha, valā, jatāmāṅsi, guggula* in progressively increasing quantities and mix with it molasses, clarified butter, and sugar. This is then known as *manmatha vartti*, and it is very much desired by the persons of fine taste.'

'One can prepare a wicket fit for the king's household out of *devadāru, padmakāṣṭha, mustaka, lākṣā, aguru, śilārasa*, and camphor.'

'Another type of wicket may be made out of *gandharasa, śailajā, guggula*, incense, pūti, camphor, white and red sandal mixed together.' 3263.

Mouth-wash (*atha mukhavāsau jalavāsau*)—Śārṅgadhara gives the following recipes : **cure of halitosis :—**

'One should mix nutmeg, musk, camphor, and mango juice and apply the same to the mouth, or if one fumigates one's mouth with *aguru*, storax, honey, and molasses mixed together it becomes fragrant.' 3250.

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[1] *Atha dhūpāḥ*, ślokas, 3255–3259.

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'One should get water scented with cardamom (smaller variety), *kastūrí*, *kuṣṭha*, cinnamon, *tejapatra*, red and white sandal (for mouth-washing purposes).'

'Water acquires the scent of champaka flower through the treatment of cinnamon, *tejapatra*, or of mace and cardamom (smaller variety); that of *vína* through cinnamon and pepper; and that of *pātali* flower through *kuṣṭha* and sesamum.'

Smell of the body (athāṅgavāsaḥ)—Śārṅgadhara says that:

'One's body always emits sweet smell if one takes powders of *kuṣṭha*, *murāmāṅsí*, *nāgakeśara* together with honey and clarified butter.' 3253.

'A man's body becomes for ever strong and fragrant if he licks the powder of *kuṣṭha* and *raja* together with clarified butter and honey in the morning.' 3254.

'If water, in which white *candana*, *elācí*, *tejapatra*, *uśíra*, and *tagara* are kept dipped for a long time, be drunk by a man of fine taste his body becomes fragrant. Water acquires exactly the scent of *ketakí* flowers if *bālā*, white sandal, seeds of *sajinā* and one-fourth part of *tejapatra* are kept together in it.' 3008 and 3009.

'A man's body emits the smell of *champaka* flowers if he bathes in water in which is diluted mustard-oil-cake steamed in the juice of *sajinā* root, kept over night.' 3010.

'If petals of *ketakí* flowers, *kuṣṭha*, *elācí*, *tejapatra*, and *nāgakeśara* be kept in water (for a long time), it acquires very sweet scent, so much so, that even bees are attracted by it.' 3007.

A very elaborate attention is paid to toilet in the Amarakosha.[1] A special section of the book enumerates the following as *ingredients* for the embellishment of person (*aṅgasaṁskāraḥ*): cleaning of it is known as *mārṣṭi*, *mārjanā*; cleaning with perfumes (*udvarttanotsādané*) by wiping with sandal paste, i.e. by plastering the whole person with sandal-wood paste. The person is painted (*patralekha*, *patrāṅguli tamālapatra tilakacitrakāni viśeṣakaṃ*). Delineations on the breast, cheek, etc., with saffron (*kuṃkumaṃ kāśmírajanmā*), sandal paste (*lohita candanaṃ*, etc.), lac (*lākṣā*), cloves (*devakusumaṃ*), a yellow fragrant wood (*jayakaṃ*, *kālíyakaṃ*), agallochum (*aguru*, *vaṃśikā*),—a black kind, a very fragrant sort; resin (*sarjarasō*) compounded perfume, turpentine (*pāyasaḥ*, *saraladravau*), incense, musk, bdellium (*kolakaṃ*, *kakkolakaṃ*), camphor (*karpūraṃ*), sandal wood (*gandhasāraḥ*, *malayojaḥ*)—the first sort is white, the second is of the colour of brass and is very fragrant; and the third is yellow and is said to smell like a ripe mango—(Colebrook); red sandal (*rakta-candanaṃ*), mace (*jātiphalaṃ*), perfumed paste (*karpūrāguru*

[1] Colebrook edition, Bk. II, Ch. VI, Sec. iii, pp. 169–174.

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kasturí, kakkolaiva yakṣakardama, etc., i.e. a paste consisting of camphor, agallochum, musk, bdellium, or else of the first three with saffron and sandal wood—Colebrook) ; perfume for the person (*gātrānulepaní vartivarṇakaṃ syād vilepanaṃ*) ; powder (to be thrown on the clothes—red powder, *cūrṇānivāsayogaḥ*) ; a chaplet (*mālyaṃ, mālā śrajau*),—one worn on the hair (*keśamadhye tu garbhakaḥ*), or suspended from the middle lock (*pravaṣṭakaṃ śikhālamvi*), or falling over the forehead (*puronyaṣṭaṃ lalāṭakaṃ*), or hung round the neck (*pralaṃba mṛjjalamvisyāt kaṇṭhāt*), or worn as a scarf (*vaikakṣakaṃ*), or tied on the crown (*śikhāmbāpíḍā śekharau*), and perfumed powder (toilet powder—*paṭavāsakaḥ piṣṭātaḥ*) for general use.[1]

A concrete illustration of the art or arts of toilet may be found in Vātsyāyana's description of the life of a Nāgaraka and his wife :

'The first article in the toilet of a Nāgaraka is *anulepana*—a fragrant ointment ordinarily made of fine sandal-wood paste, or a preparation of a variety of sweet smelling substances (*acchíkṛtaṃ candanamanyadvānulepanaṃ*). He then scents his clothes in a sweet smelling smoke of *aguru,* and wears a garland on the head or hangs it round his neck. He uses other perfumes (*saugandhikaḥ*), and a box of scents (*saugandhaputikaḥ*) is kept in readiness for the purpose. He applies collyrium, made of various substances, to his eyes. To his lips he applies alaktaka (*alaktakaṃ viśiṣṭarāgārthaṃ*), and then rubs them over with wax to make the dye fast (*sikthakamalaktakaṃ*). Then he looks at himself in a glass (*dṛṣṭvādarśe mukhaṃ*), perfumes his mouth by chewing spiced betel-leaves (*gṛhíta mukhavāsa tāmbūlaḥ*), and proceeds to attend to his business (*kāryāṇyanutiṣṭhet*). He shaves (*āyuṣyaṃ*) and during his bath he uses a soap like substance (*phenakaḥ*) to cleanse his person.[2]

'When going out on festive occasions, his wife, uses perfumes and ointments very moderately and adorns herself only with white flowers. But when she is going to meet her husband she takes the greatest care with her toilet, then she makes herself tidy, sweet, and clean ; she puts on many ornaments, wears flowers of various hues and smell, uses perfumes and in every way makes herself attractive. She wears garlands, hanging from the neck (*śrajaḥ*), or in chaplets (*āpidāḥ*), or on the head or simply put in the hair, or in elaborate ornaments for the ears (*karṇapura, karṇapatra*). Another item of

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[1] Colebrook edition, Bk. II, Ch. VI, Sec. iii, pp. 169–174.

[2] Sādhāraṇamadhikaraṇam, IV, 5 and 6, pp. 120-121 : स प्रातरुत्थाय कृतनियतकृत्यः, गृहीतदन्तधावनः मात्रयाऽनुलेपनं धूपं स्रजामिति च गृहीत्वा, दत्वा सिक्थकमलक्तकं च दृष्ट्वादर्शे मुखं, गृहीतमुखवासः ताम्बूलः कार्य्याण्यनुतिष्ठेत् ॥ See Chakladar, Social life, pp. 156-157.

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a woman's toilet was the paint, or the dots and patches on the forehead and cheeks put on in various designs (*viśesakaḥ*).'[1]

In the Lalitavistara, besides anulepana, we find mention of scented waters of various kinds, perfumed oils and fragrant powders of sandal, flowers, and other sweet-smelling things.[2]

Very naturally toilet was regarded as a thing more important with women than men. One ancient authority goes to the extent of saying that a faithful wife desiring longevity of her husband must not forego 'turmeric, saffron, red lead, stibium, boddice, betel-leaf, auspicious ornaments, dressing of the hair, chignons, bangles, and ear-rings.'[3]

हरिद्रां कुङ्कुमञ्चैव सिन्दूरं कज्जलं तथा ।

कार्पासकञ्च ताम्बूलं माङ्गल्याभरणं शुभं ॥

केशसंस्कार-कवरीकरकर्णविभूषणम् ।

भर्त्तुरायुष्यमिच्छन्ति दूरयेन्न पतिव्रता ॥ मार्कण्डेय पुः ।

In modern times the articles of toilet have multiplied rather frightfully, thanks to the inventions and industries initiated by the West. But these luxuries are still beyond the reach of the majority of Indians who are content with their poor old things. Thus the poor man has not his soap but soap-berry, plantain-bark ash, flour, pulse-powder, *sājimāti*, etc., and for improving complexion turmeric powder, rice-powder, a paste of *kusuma* flower, oil-cakes, sandal-wood paste, and various other pastes are used.

We cannot help referring here to a custom which is universal with the Hindus in India, namely, the observance of the 'flower-bed night' which follows the third night of the marriage. The festivity centres round the bride and the bridegroom, the former being literally covered with flowers, and ornaments, made of flowers, who are made to lie on flower-bed and their friends of both sexes indulge in innocent mirth, jest, etc.

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[1] Social Life—Chakladar, pp. 173-174. *Vahubhūṣaṇam vividhakusumānulepanam, etc.*, Kāmasūtra, I, 24, pp. 240-241.

[2] Texts—quoted from Social Life—Chakladar, pp. 157-158.

विविधगन्धोदकपूर्णघटपरिगृहीतैः—xv, 218, etc.

दिव्यगन्धपरिवासित-तैलपरिगृहीतानि—vii, 96.

देन्ती-पुष्पागुरु-तगर-चन्दन-चूर्ण-वर्षां—xxi, 342.

[3] Quoted from Indo-Aryan, I, p. 279.

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Comb (Prasādhanī)

Comb is an indispensable ingredient of toilet. It used to be made of wood, metal, and horns of animals. Wooden comb is still used in many ceremonials as a fit object of gift. This delicacy, by the bye, was regarded as an important insignia of the Royal Table.[1]

काष्ठजा धातुजा चैव शृङ्गजाता यथाक्रमम् ॥

गुरुता लघुता चैव तथा घनशलाकता ।

मनोहरत्वमुदितं प्रसाधन्या गुणग्रहः ॥ [2]

Ornaments

Bharata in his Nāṭyaśāstra writes: 'According to the sages the ornaments of the human body are of four kinds; these are technically called *āvedhya*, *bandhanīya*, *kṣepya*, and *āropya*. Ear-ring, etc., i.e. ornaments for the ear are called āvedhya; belts, bangles, etc. come under bandhanīya; anklets and other ornaments of the feet are called kṣepya and golden threads and various kinds of necklaces are called āropya. Ornaments of the head are crowns, tiaras, etc.; that of the ear are ear-rings and the like; that of the finger are *vaṭikā* and rings; that of the throat (*kaṇṭha*) are pearl necklaces, *harṣaka*, threads, etc.; that of the upper arms are *keyūra* and *aṅgada*; that of the neck and breast *trisara* and neck-chains; the ornaments of the body are pearl-beads and other garlands, and the ornaments of the waist are *tarala* and *sūtraka*. These are used both by males and females.'

But Mallinatha's commentary on Meghadūta quotes a passage from Rasākara which mentions five kinds of ornaments for females. These are: (1) *kacadhāryaṃ*, i.e. ornaments of the hair, (2) *dehadhāryaṃ*, i.e. that of the body, (3) *paridheyaṃ*, i.e. clothes, (4) *vilepanaṃ*, i.e. cosmetic and unguents, and (5) *deśikaṃ*, i.e. other ornaments peculiar to the locality.[3]

Thus ornaments constituted an important part of toilet in India, both ancient[4] and modern. Even the Vedic texts contain clear references to ornaments. Some of them are:

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[1] Yuktikalpataru, *Athopakaraṇayuktiḥ*, 34, p. 72. Cf. Vinaya Texts, Cu. V, 2, 3.

[2] *Ibid.*, Atha prasādhanī, 91–97, pp. 78-79.

[3] Texts quoted from Prācīna Śilpa-paricaya, pp. 59–62.

[4] We have already noticed in the Vinaya Texts that ornaments and jewelleries constituted an important item of toilet for both man and woman.

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'Like handsome and splendid ornaments designed for embellishment . . . ' (R.V., i, 117. 5.) 'Golden ornament' (R.V., ii, 33. 9) ; 'like wealthy bridegrooms who have decorated their persons with golden (ornaments)' (R.V., v, 60. 4) ; 'ornaments which he presented (to decorate) the person' (R.V., v, 33. 9), and definite mention of *karṇaśobhana* (R.V., i, 122. 14 ; viii, 78. 3).

The Śukraníti, however, definitely lays down : 'Ornaments constitute some of the important valuables of the State, and the rulers should appoint females to look after them' (I, 703-704). Ornaments as marks of honour used to be conferred on office-bearers : '(The king should gratify) somebody by the grant of privileges, ornaments and uniforms, umbrellas, etc.' (II, 846-848). 'The making of ornaments with gold and other metals is an art' (IV, iii. 179). 'She (the wife) should put on clothes, ornaments and jewels given by the father-in-law, mother-in-law, husband, parents and brothers, uncles, and relations' (IV, iv. 21-22). 'The rājasika image is adorned with numerous ornaments' (IV, iv. 163-164).[1]

So jewellery came to be regarded not only as individual, but also as possessions of the State. It is curious that the finds at Mahenjo-Daro reveal the fact that the patterns of ornaments were made after plants. Thus some of the ornaments that have been found are : silver wheat-grain necklace, gold mustard-seed necklace and tabiz, gold pea-seed neck-chain and gold barley-grain neck-chain.[2]

A significant verse of Nāṭyaśāstra by Bharata runs thus :

भ्रु-कक्षोपरि गुच्छश्च कुसुमानुकृतिस्तथा ।
कर्णिका कर्णवलयं तथा स्यात् पत्रकर्णिका ॥
आपेश्रुकः कर्णमुद्रा कर्णोत्पलकमेव च ।
नानारत्नविचित्राणि दन्तपत्राणि चैवहि ।
तिलकाः पत्रलेखाश्च भवेदृ-गण्डविभूषणम् ॥[3]

Here, too, ornaments are made in imitation of flowers, leaves, etc. After an exhaustive study on this topic Dr. Rajendra Lala Mitra observes : 'In the Nirukta of Yaska and the grammar of

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[1] S.B.H., XIII, p. 159 ; S.B.H., XVI, pp. 79-80.
[2] *Āmāder deśa pāñchhāzār vachar āgé*—Santa Devi, Prabasi, Pous, pp. 375-386 (1338 B.S.).
[3] Quoted from Prācína Śilpa Paricaya—Girish Ch. Vidyaratna, Ch. 21, 19-24.

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Pāṇiṇi, not only ornaments but names of various kinds of them are enumerated, and Manu defines the duties of the caste whose special vocation was to manufacture them, and the punishment meet for fraudulent transaction of gold. The old vocabulary of Amarsinha gives names for crowns, crests, tiaras for the head, or rings, flowers, and bosses for the ears ; of necklaces of one to a hundred rows, and of various shapes and patterns ; of armlets and bracelets, of signet and other rings for the fingers, of zones and girdles for the waist of both men and women, as also of ornaments of bells and bands and chains for the leg and ankle.' [1]

Another authority, Birdwood, particularly note the imitative basis of ornaments. Commenting on the *komarpātā* he writes : 'Fig-leaf is worn by the women in the wilder parts of India, and which in many places is their only clothing from which a literal transcript in silver, and then a more or less conventionalized form of it, but all keeping the heart-shape of the leaf. These leaves, silver or gold, are suspended from the waist sometimes like the actual leaf, and this ornament is possibly the origin of the " heart and serpent " bracelets of the European jewellery.' The forms of the *champaka* bud, and of the flowers of *bābul* and *soventi* (chrysanthemum sp.) are commonly used for necklaces, hair-pins, as well as of the fruits of the *Phyllanthus emblica, Elæognus koluga* and mango. The bell-shaped ear-ring with smaller bells, the flower of the sacred lotus and the cone-shaped ear-rings of Kashmere, in ruddy gold, represent the lotus flower-bud.' [2]

Garlands are also closely associated with ornaments. Materials out of which they were used to be made, were wood, flowers, gold, and silver. माल्यं कुसुमं तत्स्रजो। माला तु पुष्पादिदामनि॥ हेमचन्द्र। Garlands of silver and gold and of richer metals than gold, used to be put on by kings and queens and nobles, and those who could afford. But sacred garlands are imperatively necessary being enjoined by texts. Thus the Śaiva must have a garland of *rudrākṣa*, and the *Vaiṣṇava* that of *tulasí* wood. A text runs :

न धारयन्ति ये मालां तुलसीकाष्ठनिर्म्मिताम्।
नरकान्न निवर्त्तंते दग्धाः क्रोधाग्निना हरेः॥ एकादशीतत्त्व।
विना भस्मत्रिपुण्ड्रेण विना रुद्राक्षमालया।
पूजितोऽपि महादेवो न स्यात्तस्य फलप्रदः॥ लिङ्ग पुः।

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[1] Indo-Aryan, I.
[2] The Industrial Art of India, part ii, p. 184. 1880.

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'He, who does not put on garlands made of Tulasí wood, is surely destined to go to hell. He is burnt in the fire of God's anger.'

'A man without ashes on his body, trident mark on his forehead, and a garland of *rudrākṣa* does not obtain salvation even by worshipping the God, Mahādeva.'

Coming to the modern times, we find, at least in Bengal, most of the ornaments in use are of imitative patterns being in imitation of flowers, leaves, etc. Thus some prominent types of ornaments in use are for—

Hair—Pins designed after the flowers of rose, lotus, jasmine, *bel*, etc.

Ear—Grape-leaf ear-ring, *bel*-bud drop, *sajné*-flower-, *vatphal*-, *śuṣnipātā*-, *jhumkāphul*-ear-ring, *kapipātā* mākḍí, and so on.

Nose—Pins designed after clove flowers, any flower bud; *begun-botā nolaka*, *pānpātā nākchābi*, etc.

Neck—Lotus-bud necklace, sun-flower-, paddy-ear-, *tentul-víja*-, *mouridānā*-, *matardānā*-, *champak*-bud-, *lavaṅgadānā*-necklace, *aśvatthapātā*-, *kapipātā-cík*, *kāmrāṅgā* sātnar, *matar-mālā*, and so on.

Wrist—*Pātā*, *phul*, and *latā*-pattern bracelet, bamboo-pattern curi, *Hoglāpakér* bālā, *yavadānā* curi, *nārikel-phul* curi, *matar-dānā* ruli, *nimphal* ruli, *golāpchari* curi, *padmagokhāri* curi, and so on.

Upper Arm—*Ananta* made after the patterns of rose flower and grape bunch, amongst others.

Waist—*Komarpātā* after leaves, specially fig-leaves.

Locket—Always designed after betel-, or fig-leaf.

Feet—After lotus, generally made of silver.

The Indians have reached a perfection in this art of fine workmanship which have not been attained by any other people.[1]

Thus it may be seen that most of the ingredients of Indian toilet, flowers, garlands, perfumes, scents, cosmetics, paints, ointments, pastes, were derived from plants. For the patterns of ornaments, too, men were equally indebted to the plant world,—the trees, leaves, flowers, fruits, and creepers.

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[1] For detailed information see articles by Kedar Nath Chatterjee—Prabasi, 1334 B.S., Sravan, pp. 545–563; Bhādra, pp. 714–727.
Jogesh Chandra Roy—Prabasi, 1334 B.S., Kartik, pp. 71–74.

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THE IDENTIFICATION OF SATIYAPUTA

By B. A. SALETORE

The old controversy ranging round the name Satiyaputa occurring in the Edicts of Aśōka has been revived by Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar who, in a very learned article in the January issue of this Journal (pp. 493–496), has adduced considerable proof in support of his theory. Mr. Dikshitar identifies Satiyaputa with ancient Tuḷuva (modern South Kanara). In all good faith, it must be said that there is nothing new in this identification.[1] But Mr. Dikshitar has with his usual thoroughness brought forward new arguments which may be reduced to the following three sets :—

The Tamil classic *Tolkāppiyam* mentions the three kingdoms—Cōḷa, Cēra, and Pāṇḍya. The twin classic *Śilappadikāram* adds a fourth one—the kingdom of the Kōśar. The people of this kingdom are described in a third Tamil gem—the anthology called *Ahanānūru*—as ruling over an important part of the Koṅgu-nāḍu. Fifth in the list comes Ceylon mentioned by Iḷaṅko Aḍigal.

The evidence thus gathered from the above, *viz.*, that there were five kingdoms, is made to conform to that supplied by the Edicts of Aśōka. Indeed, 'Aśōka in his inscriptions seems to follow this rather closely.'[2] Eliminating the Cōḷa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms, it is alleged that the Kēralaputra of the Edicts may be identified with the Cēras, Tāmraparṇi with Ceylon, and Satiyaputa with Tuḷuva.

A third set of arguments centres round the *Keralōtpatti* (or *Keralōlpatti*) one statement of which concerning the supposed existence of Satyabhūmi—identified in general by Mr. Dikshitar

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[1] Smith held this view in his earlier edition of his *Early History of India*, p. 163 (1914). He gave up this in his later edition. P. 171, n. 3, where he held that view that Satiyaputa was Satyamaṅgalam. On Satiyaputa, read *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1915, p. 581 ; *ibid.* for 1918, p. 541 ; *ibid.* for 1919, p. 583 ; *ibid.* for 1923, pp. 411–414 ; Smith, *Aśōka*, p. 160 ; Bhandarkar, *Aśōka*, p. 275 seq. ; and also his article in the *Indian Review* for 1909, p. 401, seq. ; *Cambridge History of India*, I, pp. 599, 603 ; *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, XII, pp. 2, 100 ; *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the R.A.S.*, III, p. 51 ; Radha Kumud Mookerjee, *Aśōka*, p. 131 ; *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, III, p. 442, n. (24) ; The *Indian Antiquary*, XLVIII, p. 24 ; Mr. Govind Pai also arrived at the conclusion that Satiyaputa was no other than Tuḷuva. *The Canara High School Magazine*, I, No. i, p. 65 seq. ; No. 3, p. 101 seq.

[2] *Indian Culture*, I, p. 469.

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with the Koṅgu country of the Kōśars—is brought forward to back the contention that 'Aśōka meant by Satiyaputas the people occupying the Satyabhūmi of the *Keralōlpatti*. . . '.[1]

The following may be said at the outset: That there is no evidence whatsoever to identify Tuḷuva with the Satiyaputa of the Edicts of Aśōka.

First, the evidence supplied by the *Keralōtpatti* may be dispensed with. The *Keralōtpatti* is not only a work of uncertain date, as Mr. Dikshitar himself admits, but it is a farrago of legends upon which, so far as the history of Tuḷuva is concerned, no reliance whatsoever can be placed. Even if we admit the identification of Satyabhūmi—which name is however not to be met with in any literary or epigraphical record hitherto discovered—with 'more or less the Koṅgu country of the Kōśar',[2] yet one cannot make headway in this direction. Tuḷuva was never in any period of its history a part of the Koṅgu-dēśa which comprised the modern Salem and Coimbatore districts.[3] It did not form a province of Malabar. On the other hand, Tuḷuva was always a distinct unit by itself since early times.[4] As regards the statement of Mr. Dikshitar that the 'Tuḷu country became an independent kingdom and it retained the status until the second century A.D.', and that 'the present Mangalore was probably the centre', it may be said that epigraphical and traditional accounts belie both the assertions. While, as mentioned above, the history of Tuḷuva as a distinct political factor may—with certain reservations—be said to come into prominence somewhere in the second or third century, its appearance as a well-defined kingdom may definitely be dated in the sixth century of the Christian era. The earliest capital of Tuḷuva was certainly not Mangalore[5]—the Maṅgaḷāpura of the later inscriptions—but a more ancient town called Udayāpura, now in the Uḍipi tāluka. It was in the twelfth century or thereabouts that Maṅgaḷāpura figures as *one of the provincial* capitals of the ancient rulers of Udayāpura. We may add that neither the epigraphical, legendary, nor literary accounts dealing with ancient Tuḷuva call that province by the name Satyabhūmi or Satiyaputa.

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[1] *IC.*, op. cit., p. 495.

[2] *Ibid.* See also Mr. Dikshitar's article in *IC.*, I, p. 97 seq. where he maintains the same.

[3] Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 31, 100. On a short history of the Koṅgu-dēśa, read *Epigraphical Report for the Southern Circle* for 1906, pp. 59–61; *ibid.* for 1911, p. 77.

[4] See the writer's forthcoming book entitled '*Ancient Tuḷuva*'.

[5] Smith also opined that Mangalore was the 'centre of the Tuḷuva country. . .' *EHI.*, p. 464 (1924 ed.). But this is an error.—B. A. S.

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In the second set of arguments we select two details: the assertion that Aśōka seemed 'to follow rather closely' the order of kingdoms given in the *Tolkāppiyam*, amplified by the authors of the *Śilappadikāram* and by Iḷaṅko Aḍigal; and the identification of Tāmraparṇi with Ceylon. How Aśōka could have followed 'rather closely' the topographical order mentioned in the above works which, as will be presently suggested, were far anterior to him, passes one's comprehension. Admitting that the Kēraḷaputra mentioned in his Edict may be identified with the Cēras—or better still with the Kēraḷas of the epics and the *Purāṇas*—, it is erroneous to affirm that Tāmrapaṇṇi mentioned in the same inscription was Ceylon. This error was maintained, if we are not mistaken, by Fleet.[1]

Three Tāmraparṇis were known to the ancient world. There was the Tāmraparṇi of Gōkarṇa, the second one was in the south in the Tinnevelly District, and the third in Ceylon. We have to see which of these three admits of being identified with the one mentioned in the Edicts of Aśōka. Tāmraparṇi is a small stream that falls into the sea near Gōkarṇa in the North Kanara District.[2] But this Tāmraparṇi never seems to have figured so conspicuously as its namesake in the south.

For the Tāmraparṇi of the south was celebrated in Indian history. The epics and the *Purāṇas* describe it; the Edicts of Aśōka mention it; Kālidāsa noted it; and it figured in the epigraphs of well-known Karṇāṭaka monarchs. The *Rāmāyaṇa* associates it with the Pāṇḍyas, the Mahēndra Mountain, the sandal-wood forests, and the coast adorned with pearls, while describing the activities of Hanumān.[3]

Turning to the *Mahābhārata* we find Dhaumya relating the following to the son of Kuṅti: 'That in that asylum (i.e. Tāmraparṇi) the gods had undergone penances impelled by the desire of obtaining salvation. In that region also is the lake Gōkarṇa which is celebrated over the three worlds, hath an abundance of cool water, and is sacred, auspicious, and capable of producing great merit. Near to that *tīrtha* is the sacred asylum of Agastya's disciple[4]. . .'

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[1] *I.A.*, XX, pp. 239–240, 249. See also *ibid.*, XXII, p. 191.

[2] Burgess-Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 191.

[3] *Ramayana*—Kiṣkindhā Kaṇḍa, 41, 17, p. 1607 (Mudholkar, 1915).

[4] *Vana Parva*, 88, p. 292 (Roy). The Gōkarṇa mentioned herein is not to be confounded with the Gōkarṇa of the north. In the same *Parva*, in an earlier connection, a detailed description of the Gōkarṇa of North Kanara is given. There it is correctly stated to be situated in the midst of the deep. *Ibid.*, p. 278.

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The *Purāṇas* describe this Tāmraparṇi in the south. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* relates that the Kritmālā, Tāmraparṇi, and other rivers flow from the Malaya hills.[1] This is repeated in the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*.[2] In a later context the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa* locates the river in the Tortoise's right flank.[3] The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* has numerous notices of this southern river.[4] The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* clearly places it in the south, and mentions one distinctive feature of the river, viz. that pearls were obtained in it.[5] Evidently it was the same river which is referred to by Kālidāsa when he describes the conquests of Raghu.[6]

We come across the southern Tāmraparṇi in some of the inscriptions of the Karṇāṭaka monarchs. The *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Vijaya Pāṇḍya Dēva of Ucchaṅghi is described in an epigraph dated A.D. 116 as having a treasury filled with many jewels set with pearls purified by the Tāmraparṇi.[7] In another record dated A.D. 1168 we are told that Vijava Pāṇḍya Dēva had his treasure filled with pearls purified in the Tāmraparṇi and many other gems of purest water.[8] Of the Hoysala king Sōmēśvara Dēva, it is narrated in an epigraph dated A.D. 1249 that from his elephants continually perceiving the clouds, they poured forth their floods and filled the Tāmraparṇi river.[9]

There cannot be any doubt that it was this same Tāmraparṇi thus associated with pearls which Megasthenes had in view when he wrote the following: That Taprobane is separated from the mainland by a river, that the inhabitants are called Palaiogonoi, and that their country is more productive of gold and large pearls than India. According to Megasthenes Taprobane is separated from India by a river flowing between: for one part of it abounds with beasts and elephants much longer than India breeds, and man claims the other part.[10]

We may identify this Tāmraparṇi with a river of the same name

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[1] *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 176 (Wilson).

[2] and [3] *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*, pp. 303-4; 367. Tāmra-varṇa is spoken of in the same work as one of the divisions of Bharatavarṣa. *Ibid.*, p. 284, and note. Cf. *Agni Purāṇa*, I. cxviii, p. 473.

[4] *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, IV, 28, 35; V, 19, 18; X, 79, 16; XI, 5, 39.

[5] *Bṛhatsaṁhita*, XIV, 16; LXXXI, 2, 3. Cf. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, p. 187. (Calcutta, 1890.)

[6] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 50.

[7] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, IX. Dg., 5, p. 26.

[8] *Ibid.*, Dg., 39, p. 49.

[9] *Ibid.*, V. Cn., 238, p. 225.

[10] McCrindly, *India as described by Megasthenes*, pp. 62, and *ibid.* (n.), 63. London, 1877.

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in the Tinnevely District flowing by Palmacottah.[1] Vincent Smith was right when he asserted that the Tāmraparṇi of the Edicts of Aśōka was not Ceylon but a river in the south.[2] There is no doubt that Ptolemy mentions the Taprobane island. But he also speaks of the Tāmraparṇi river.[3] Pliny speaks of Taprobane sending an embassy to Rome in the reign of Emperor Augustus.[4] The island of Ceylon may have been christened Tāmraparṇi after the founding of the city of Tāmraparṇi by Vijaya. The occasion was after the slaying of the Yakkhas by Vijaya. He then put on the garments of the Yakkha king and bestowed the other raiment on his followers. 'When he had spent some days at that spot he went to Tāmbapaṇṇi. There Vijaya founded the city of Tāmbapaṇṇi and dwelt there, together with the Yakkhinī, surrounded by his ministers.' 'When those who were commanded by Vijaya landed from their ship, they sat down wearied, resting their hands upon the ground—and since their hands were reddened by touching the dust of the red earth that region and also that island were (named) Tāmbapaṇṇi'.[5]

It may be argued that the above proves the contention that Ceylon was called Tāmbapaṇṇi even in the days of Vijaya, i.e. before the days of Aśōka. But there are certain considerations to be noted here. In the first place, the *Mahāvamso* is a work of a later date.[6] Secondly, there is some ambiguity in the above account of Vijaya's founding Tāmbapaṇṇi. We are told that he 'went to Tāmbapaṇṇi. There Vijaya founded the city of Tāmbapaṇṇi. ...' If Tāmbapaṇṇi had already existed before Vijaya had founded a city of that name, one does not understand why a second Tāmbapaṇṇi should have been founded! Further, the explanation given concerning the hands having been made red by the mud—while it no doubt sounds plausible—is equally unconvincing. The probability seems

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[1] It was in this river that a student of the St. John's College, Palmacottah, was drowned, as reported in the *Times of India*, Bombay, in its issue of Sept. 27, 1932, p. 3. Mr. K. V. Subramany Iyer calls this river the Porunai. *IA.*, XL, p. 227, n. (21). But Sewell calls it Chittar. *Arch. Survey of Southern India*, I, p. 303. Cf. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*, p. 367, where Pargiter tells us that Tāmraparṇi is the name also of a mountain. The Tāmraparṇi figures in a record dated Śaka 1556 (A.D. 1634-5). *EI.*, III, pp. 240, 254.

[2] *IA.*, XLVII, pp. 48-49.

[3] McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, pp. 57, 59, 78, 247 seq., 252, and 259.

[4] Bostock-Riley, *Pliny*, II, pp. 52-3.

[5] *Mahāvaṁso*, pp. 39-42. (Geiger-Bode.) Read Pargiter, *Mārk. Purāṇa*, where Pargiter suggests that the island probably under the name of Tāmradhvaja-dvīpa is mentioned in the *Sabhā Parva*, XXX, 1172. *Mark. Pur.*, p. 367, n. Wilks has a novel explanation to give concerning the name Taprobane. He derives it from *Tapō Rāvaṇa*. *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, I, p. 14, n. (18110); I, p. 9, n. (1869).

[6] Cf. *IHQ.*, IX, pp. 742, 744.

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to be that the Tāmraparṇi of Ceylon was evidently named after the more famous Tāmraparṇi in the mainland.

If, as Mr. Dikshitar admits, we know it 'as a matter of fact that the Mauryan Empire extended to the Mysore frontier'—which is a vague expression, since the limits of the ancient Karṇāṭaka were by no means conterminous with those of modern Mysore—and that the Mauryan Empire stretched even to the skirts of the Tamil kingdoms, it is, we presume, more reasonable to identify the Tāmraparṇi of the Edicts of Aśōka with the Tāmraparṇi of Tinnevely rather than with Ceylon. In the age of Aśōka, it may be asserted, Ceylon was not called Tāmraparṇi.[1]

Turning to the first set of arguments, the following may be observed: the assertion that the *Tolkāppiyam* is a work anterior to the times of Aśōka is entirely a gratuitous one. The question of the date of this Tamil classic is in some respects bound up with that of the age of the Saṅgham poets which is itself related to the intricate question of the northern expeditions of the Tamil rulers. No cogent arguments have been till now brought forward to prove either the hoary antiquity of the Saṅgham poets, or the truth concerning the northern expeditions of the southern rulers. For our purpose we may note that it is a far cry from those who maintain that the *Tolkāppiyam* is a work of the fourth or fifth century B.C. and those who assign it to the eighth century A.D.[2]

If the age of the *Tolkāppiyam* is thus an unsettled problem, it is unsafe to assert that 'after the *Tolkāppiyam* and some time

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[1] Even if a chronological probability may be established between the reign of Aśōka and that of Dēvānampiyatissa of Ceylon, yet the actual conversion of Ceylon may be attributed, on the evidence of the *Dīpavaṁśo*, the *Mahāvaṁśo*, and that of the traditions of the island, to Mahinda, son of Aśōka, and to his sister Sanghamittā. *Mahāvaṁśo*, pp. xvi, xix, xxxi.

[2] Mr. Aravamuthan's pertinent remarks in this connection may be read. *The Kaveris, the Maukharis, and the Saṅgham Age*, pp. 2–4. On p. 57, he assigns to Karikāḷan and other Saṅgham heroes the age ranging from B.C. 208 to the third century A.D. As an instance of gratuitous statements, we may select the one made by Mr. Dikshitar concerning the Mahābhārata war, in his learned work *Studies in Tamil Literature*, p. 20. This concerns the alleged synchronism of some of the Saṅgham heroes with the Mahābhārata war. Mr. Dikshitar writes thus: 'The battle of Kurukshetra is generally believed to have taken place in the eleventh century B.C.'. But there is no unanimity of opinion among scholars concerning this point at all! Read, Fleet, *JRAS.* for 1911, p. 675; Smith, *EHI.*, p. 27, n. (1) (1914); Shama Shastry, *Gavam Ayana*, Mysore, 1908; and also his *Mysore Arch. Report for* 1927, pp. 8–15; Mr. D. N. Mukherjee, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, p. 86; Mr. K. G. Sankar, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, VIII, pp. 340–350. See also the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, IV, p. 77; *ibid.*, V, p. 115 seq.; *ibid.*, XI, pp. 168-169; L. Mohankar, *Matsya Purāṇa*, Intd., p. xiv, (S. Books of the Hindus).

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before Aśōka' the Tuḷu country became an independent kingdom. The futility of maintaining that Aśōka followed 'rather closely' the order of kingdoms mentioned in the *Tolkāppiyam*, and in the *Śilappadikāram* is further made clear when we note that the latter classic is, even according to Mr. Dikshitar himself, a poem that may have been composed in the second century A.D.[1] The disparity in the ages of the *Tolkāppiyam*, the *Śilappadikāram*, and the Edicts of Aśōka being thus very wide, one fails to see how Tuḷuva could be identified with the Kōśar-nāḍu of the Tamil classics or with Satiyaputa of the Aśōkan Edicts.

Were the above identification acceptable, we should have removed a great obstacle in the path of the students of Tuḷuva history. For it could then have been unequivocally asserted that Tuḷuva was included among those countries which had been conquered by the Law of Dhamma. But there are other and more valid reasons which may be brought forward to maintain that Tuḷuva had indeed come within the fold of Buddhism. But into this question we shall not enter for the present.

We may pass on to one little point which Mr. Dikshitar has utilized in his identification of the Satiyaputa of the Edicts with the Kōśars mentioned in the *Ahanānūru*. The argument seems to be the following: the Kōśars 'were renowned for speaking truth and had great regard for truth' (p. 495). Mr. Dikshitar gives a few instances to prove their honest habits. 'These incidents, it is reasonable to assume, tended to spread the fame of the Kōśar for their *satya* or truth. And Aśōka also must have heard of these styled them Satiyaputra' (p. 495).

The above reasoning does not take into account the following: Firstly, it may be taken as a sort of an axiom that primitive people were generally addicted to speaking truth. Thus, for instance, we find in Tuḷuva a very backward people called the Koragars, who are still reputed for their habits of telling the truth. It is possible that there were other tribes and equally ancient people, too, in this part of the country who were noted for their straightforward dealing and honest talk. Hence we see that the description of the Kōśars in the *Aham* is not of much use in identifying Satiyaputa of the Edicts.

In this connection it may also be noted that the Brahmagiri Rock Edict of Aśōka has nothing to say concerning the Satiyaputas of Tuḷuva. If Tuḷuva had really been called Satiyaputa, we would

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[1] On the age of the *Tolkāppiyam*, read, Prof. V. Rangachari, *Educational Review for April* and *Sept.*, 1928; Murdock, *Classified Cat. of Tamil Books.*, pp. xxii, seq.

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have had that fact mentioned in the Brahmagiri version. The contrary proves the validity of our assertion that Tuḷuva was never called by that name in the early ages of its history. Future finds alone may contain a clue to the correct identification of this hitherto unexplained problem.

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CITTAVIŚUDDHI-PRAKARAṆA—ITS PĀLI BASIS

By B. M. BARUA

Mr. Prabhubhai Patel has rendered a distinct service to the Indologists by publishing in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 705–721, an informative notice of the Cittaviśuddhi-Prakaraṇa which is a highly authoritative text of Vajrayāna Buddhism,[1] ascribed to Āryadeva of Mādhyamika fame. I am not to discuss here the grounds of ascription of the work, as we now have it, to so ancient a teacher and author as Āryadeva, or the probable earlier form of the work in which it might be regarded as a writing of Āryadeva.[2] What I am really interested here is to discuss is the Pāli basis of the Vajrayāna treatise which has not been properly dealt with by Mr. Patel. Had Mr. Patel been acquainted with a Pāli basis, he would not, perhaps, have dared make out so strong a case in favour of the Vajrayāna form of Mahāyāna as he has actually done. Cittaviśuddhi was, to be sure, in no way peculiar to Vajrayāna or to any other form of Buddhism. The term itself prominently occurs in the Rathavinīta-Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya I, No. 24), in a *mātikā* which was subsequently developed into a treatise by Buddhadatta in his Abhidhammāvatāra, by Upatissa in his Vimutti-magga, and by Buddhaghosa in his Visuddhimagga, all during the 4th and 5th centuries of the Christian era. Further, *Citta-viśuddhi* is just another term for *sacittapariyodapana* which constitutes the third item of Buddha's doctrine :—

> Sabbapāpassa akaraṇaṁ, kusalassa upasampadā,
> *sacittapariyodapanaṁ*,—etaṁ Buddhāna sāsanaṁ [3]

This is, however, not to suggest that the Pāli bases of the Vajrayāna Cittaviśuddhi-Prakaraṇa are the same as those of the works of Buddhadatta, Upatissa, and Buddhaghosa. I would rather say that the case of the Vajrayāna work stands on a different footing.

In tracing back the Pāli source, Mr. Patel has drawn our attention to the two opening verses of the Dhammapada, which is

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[1] Mr. Patel inclines to describe the work as ' one of the most important texts of the Mantrayānists probably of the Yogatantrayāna school of the Vajrayāna '.

[2] In Mr. Patel's opinion Āryadeva's Cittaviśuddhikrama *alias* Anuttarasaṁdhi has some relation to the Cittaviśuddhiprakaraṇa

[3] Dhammapada ; Buddhavagga ; Dīgha-Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 49.

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not, after all, a right hit to make. The main Pāli bases of the applauded Vajrayāna work are two: (1) the Vatthūpama-Sutta (Majjhima Nikāya I, No. 7), and (2) the comment on the opening verses of the Dhammapada, as will be presently shown.

In introducing the contents of the Sanskrit work Mr. Patel observes: 'The keynote of all the arguments employed .... is that, one with a pure mind (aduṣṭacitta), good intention (śubhāsaya) and proper means (upāyas), has no burden either of sin (pāpa) or of bondage (bandhana). In order to support the above view he (the author), in the text itself, has adopted the first (? second) verse of the Dhammapada as describing the influence of mind owing to the purity and impurity of which we have good and evil consequences.' 'Being free from all attachment this mind shines out in its true colours. It is pure from the beginning (ādiśuddham), free from all impurities (anāvilam) and enlightened (? radiant) by nature (prakṛti-prabhāsvaram).'

And also: 'This *citta* is naturally from the very beginning pure (ādiśuddha) and free from all sorts of false notions (vikalpas). The different colours, by which this mind seems to be apparently impressed, are not originally its own.'

If this is the case with the Vajrayāna work, one may turn to the comment on the opening verse or verses of the Dhammapada and note what it has got to say on the point. The Dhammapada Commentary (I, p. 23) teaches by way of explanation of the nature of mind:—

Pakatimano hi bhavaṅgacittam; taṁ appaduṭṭhaṁ . . . cittaṁ pi āgantukehi abhijjhādīhi dosehi puduṭṭhaṁ hoti .... Tasmāha Bhagavā: 'Pabhassaram idaṁ bhikkhave cittaṁ, tañ ca kho āgantukehi upakkilesehi upakiliṭṭhaṁ'.

Mr. Patel adds that according to the Sanskrit work: 'The deciding factor, with regard to the determination of *pāpa* and *puṇya*, is one's disposition of mind (āśaya). Therefore there is no sin for one whose mind is pure. .... One should not be shocked at the outward features of the means advocated in the system (such as the worship of women, the use of meat and wine by a *yogin*). As a washerman makes a dirty cloth clean with some matter which itself is dirty (yathaiva rajako vastraṁ malenaiva tu nirmalam), ... so . . . one can get rid of *rāga* and *kāma* by those *rāgas* and *kāmas* themselves, which become the cause of bondage only when they are resorted to by the foolish, but not by the wise in whose case they are actually the cause of emancipation.' The work 'eulogises the greatness of Mahāyāna and deprecates the texts of Hinayāna', and 'denounces the practice of renunciation, austerity, bathing in the holy rivers, etc.' Upon

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the whole its 'attack on Hindu rites and ceremonials is very aggressive and uncompromising'. 'In conclusion (it) eulogises the greatness of the *guru*, without whose favour no secret meaning of the system can be realized.'

If these are the main contents of the Cittaviśuddhi-prakaraṇa, it is not difficult to ascertain that its historical basis or scriptural foundation is a discourse or text which is similar to the Vatthūpama-Sutta. Cittavimutti or Citta-viśuddhi is the ultimate aim of the Pāli Sutta precisely as that of the Sanskrit work :

Tassa evaṁ jānato evaṁ passato kāmāsavā pi cittaṁ vimuccati, bhavāsavā pi cittaṁ vimuccati, avijjāsavā pi cittaṁ vimuccati, vimuttasmiṁ vimuttam iti ñāṇaṁ hoti ; khīṇā jāti, vusitaṁ brahmacariyaṁ, kataṁ karaṇīyaṁ nāparaṁ itthattāyāti pajānāti.

The Sutta extols this as the real internal mode of bathing as a means of self-purification (ayaṁ vuccati bhikkhu sināto antarena sināṇena), and denounces the Brahmanical way of bathing in the sacred rivers :

Bāhukaṁ Adhikakkañ-ca, Gayaṁ Sundarikām-api,
Sarassatiṁ Payāgañ ca atho Bāhumatiṁ nadiṁ,
Niccam pi bālo pakkhanno kaṇhakammo na sujjhati,
kiṁ Sundarikā karissati, kiṁ Payāgo, kiṁ Bāhukā nadī
veriṁ katakibhisaṁ naraṁ
na hi naṁ sodhaye pāpakamminaṁ.

The main thesis of the Pāli Sutta has been set forth thus :—

Seyyathā pi bhikkhave vatthaṁ saṁkiliṭṭhaṁ malaggahītaṁ, tam-enaṁ rajako yasmiṁ yasmiṁ raṅgajāte upasaṁhareyya, yadi nīlakāyo yadi pītakāyo yadi lohitakāyo yadi mañjeṭṭhakāyo durattavaṇṇam eva assa, aparisuddhavaṇṇam eva assa. Taṁ kissa hetu ? Aparisuddhatthā bhikkhave vatthassa. Evam eva kho bhikkhave citte saṁkiliṭṭhe duggati pātikaṅkhā.

Seyyathā pi bhikkhave vatthaṁ parisuddhaṁ pariyodātaṁ tam enaṁ rajako yasmiṁ yasmiṁ raṅgajāte upasaṁhareyya . . . . surattavaṇṇam eva assa, parisuddhavaṇṇam eva assa. Taṁ kissa hetu ? Parisuddhattā bhikkhave vatthassa. Evam eva kho bhikkhave citte asaṁkiliṭṭhe sugati pātikaṅkhā.

Seyyathā pi bhikkhave vatthaṁ saṁkiliṭṭhaṁ malaggahītaṁ accham udakaṁ āgamma parisuddhaṁ hoti pariyodātaṁ, ukkāmukhaṁ vā pana āgamma jātarūpaṁ parisuddhaṁ hoti pariyodātaṁ, evam eva kho bhikkhave bhikkhu evaṁ-sīlo evaṁ-dhammo evaṁ-paññño sālinañ ceti piṇḍapātaṁ bhuñjati vicitakāḷakaṁ anekasūpaṁ anekabyañjanaṁ n'eva assa taṁ hoti antarāyāya.

The Sutta inculcates the need of cultivation of unwavering faith (aveccappasāda) in the Triad and closes with an unstinted praise

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of Buddha Gotama as a Master who sets up that which is set down, who uncovers that which is covered, who points out the way to one who is benighted, who bears the torchlight in darkness, and who being gifted with sight himself enables others to see the objects.

The Vajrayāna work deprecates the texts of Hīnayāna because it is the usual way with the world to kick off the ladder by which one climbs up, and it applauds the greatness of Mahāyāna because it is the Great Vehicle. The Vehicle is great because it accommodates many but not superior because of its intrinsic value. There are just two important points in which the Sanskrit work makes a departure from the tenets of the Pāli Sutta :

(1) in that it introduces a new factor, namely, the help of the Guru, and

(2) in that it twists the original simile of cleaning of dirty cloth by a washerman so as to suit its purpose which is no other than justification of all ugly means by which the end is sought to be realized.

If the end justifies the means (upāya), the means resorted to by the Vajrayānist or Tantrayānist is excellent, nay, super-excellent.

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MISCELLANEA

THE SUNDARBAN PLATE OF ḌOMMAṆAPĀLA

Mr. D. P. Ghosh and Dr. B. C. Sen have earned our gratitude in publishing a dated copper-plate inscription from the Sundarbans in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 321ff. As my views regarding the interpretation of the epigraph differ, in some respects, from those of my friends, I put them here for the consideration of scholars.

After the *svasti-vācana*, the inscription reads (lines 1–4): *Parama-māheśvara-samasta-supraśasty-upeta-mahāmāṇḍalika-śrī-Śr* sapāladev-ānudhyātaḥ*[1] *mahāsāmantādhipati-mahārājādhirāja-vipakṣa-sāmanta-bhagavan*[2]*-Nārāyaṇa-nirdroha-dhavala-sāmantarāja-śrīma-[d*]-Dommaṇapāladevaḥ kuśalī | Ayodhyā-viniḥsṛta-Pāl-ānvay-opārjjita-Pūrvva-khāṭik-āntaḥpātī-svīya-mukti-bhumau śrī-Dvārahaṭāke . . .*

The name of the donor has been read as śrī-Maḍommaṇapāla (p. 328). The passage however seems to be a mistake for Śrīmad-Ḍommaṇapāla. This name appears to belong to the southern part of India, where we very often get names like Bomma,[3] Jommana,[4] Ammaṇa (=Kalacuri Anaṅgadeva),[5] and many others.[6] The use of the Śaka era in the present record seems also to point in the same direction. This era is not known to have been used in Bengal before the 12th century A.D.; it is, on the other hand, very common in the inscriptions of Southern India. If, further, we may think that the 24 variant forms of Viṣṇu, to which the Nṛsiṃha-*mūrti* on the Sundarban Plate belongs, have their origin in the Jain convention of the 24 Tīrthaṅkaras, Ḍommaṇapāla may possibly be taken to have connections with the Kanarese country which was the region principally influenced by Jainism.

Ḍommaṇapāla was a *parama-māheśvara*, and is said to have been meditating on his father whose name cannot be read with

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[1] Not noticed by Dr. Sen.

[2] Not *bhagavān* as read by Dr. Sen.

[3] Sewell, *Hist. Ins. S. Ind.*, pp. 93, 112, 139, 147, 157, 164, 399.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 400.

[5] Reu, *History of the Rashtrakūtas*, p. 78. Cf. also the name *Khommāṇa* in the Guhila dynasty.

[6] The name Ḍomana (evidently the same as Ḍommaṇa) is also found in Bengal. According to the *Candraprabhā* (p. 19) of Bharat Mallik, Ḍomanadāsa was an ancestor of the Kulīna Dāsas of the Vaidya caste of Bengal. The name possibly suggests that a section at least of the Bengal Vaidyas originally came from Southern India. See *Baṅgīya-Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, 1340 B.S., p. 164.

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certainty, as the second letter of it has peeled off.[1] This father of Ḍommaṇapāla has been called a *mahāmāṇḍalika*, which, as title of a feudatory chief, is so common in mediæval inscriptions. See Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 296 ; also Nos. 208, 1254, and 1555.

Ḍommaṇapāla is said to have been a *mahāsāmantādhipati-mahārājādhirāja*. Similar titles assumed by feudatory chiefs are known from a number of inscriptions. Thus, in the Khalimpur grant of Dharmapāla (*ibid.*, No. 1610) a subordinate chief named Nārāyaṇavarman has been called *mahāsāntādhipati*, and in the Kamauli grant (*ibid.*, No. 1636) Vaidyadeva, feudatory of Kumārapāla, has the title *mahārājādhirāja*. *Mahāsāmantādhipati* is the title of feudatory chiefs also in other inscriptions, e.g. in Nos. 1086 and 1580 ; the title *mahārājādhirāja* is used by subordinate rulers in Nos. 65, 66, 74, and 77. We must also notice that Saṃgrāmagupta and Rājādityagupta are called *parama-bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-mahāmāṇḍalika* in No. 1555, that Śulkī Raṇastambha is called *mahāsāmantādhipati* in No. 1697 and *mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-rāṇaka* in No. 1694, and that, in No. 317, Paramāra Dhārāvarṣa has been called *mahārājādhirāja-mahāmaṇḍaleśvara*. These are only some of the examples.

Ḍommaṇapāla is also called *vipakṣa-sāmanta* (i.e. one who made his neighbouring chiefs helpless) and *bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-nirdroha-dhavala* (i.e. one who has become purified by his being well-disposed towards lord Nārāyaṇa). These two passages seem to suggest that the chief, who was a staunch devotee of Maheśvara (Śiva), was not disrespectful to Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu) as Śaiva kings generally were in his age. They may further suggest that, though he crushed his rival chief (or chiefs), Ḍommaṇapāla paid homage to the Nārāyaṇa-*vigraha* belonging to that chief.[2] In this connection we may refer to the raid of Kāñcī by Calukya Vikramāditya II as described in the Vakkaleri grant (*S. Ind. Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 146). The Calukya King defeated the Pallavas and entered Kāñcī, but did not destroy the city. He is then said to have acquired great merit by granting

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[1] May the name be restored to Śṛ[ṅgā *] sapāla (i.e. protector of one's seat in the sovereignty) ? If the first letter be a mistake for *nṛ*, the name may possibly be Nṛśamsapāla.

[2] May *Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa* also have a secondary significance to imply Lakṣmaṇasena (presumably Ḍommaṇapāla's overlord), who has been called *Kṣmāpāla-Nārāyaṇa* in the tenth verse of the Madhainagar grant (*Ins. Beng.*, III, p. 110). The Gobindapur grant of Lakṣmaṇasena (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1687) calls him devout worshipper of Narasiṃha, which form of Viṣṇu was possibly most favourite to him. Is the Narasiṃha-*mūrti* on the Sundarban Plate in any way connected with Ḍommaṇapāla's overlord ? Was his *nirdroha* to Nārāyaṇa due to his overlord's being a staunch Vaiṣṇava ?

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heaps of gold to the temple of Rājasiṃheśvara and to other temples (see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 190).

Ḍommaṇapāla, who has been called *mahāsāmantādhipati*, has also the epithet *sāmantarāja*. In this connection we should note that the rulers, Satrasyaṅgha and Gajasiṃha, have been called both *mahārājādhirāja* and *mahārāja* in inscriptions (Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 968 and 977). A chief named Bhivasiṃha has been called *mahārāja* and *rājarājeśvara-mahārājādhirāja* at the same time (*ibid.*, No. 1058).

The next important passage is *Ayodhyā-viniḥsṛta-Pāl-ānvaya*. We have seen that there are reasons to believe that the dynasty to which Ḍommaṇapāla belonged was of South Indian origin. If, then, this *Pālānvaya* refers to his own family, Ayodhyā should be sought for in the Deccan. That some southern towns were named after famous North Indian cities is evidenced by the existence of Madurā (=Mathurā) and Pāṭaliputtiram (=Pāṭaliputra) in the South. The existence of an Ayodhyā in the Deccan is rendered possible by the existence of a dynasty of the Ikṣvākus in the Madras Presidency (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 1ff.).

It may also be suggested that this *Pālānvaya* does not signify the family of Ḍommaṇapāla himself. In that case it should refer to the house of the famous Pāla kings of Bengal and Magadha. According to the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva (12th century) the Pālas belonged to the Sūrya-*vaṃśa*. Cf. :

> *Etasya dakṣiṇa-dṛśo*[1] *vaṃśe mihirasya jātavān pūrvam* ।
> *Vigrahapāla-nṛpatiḥ sarvvākārarddhi-saṃsiddhaḥ* ॥
>
> *Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 128.

Soḍḍhala, a Gujrat-poet of the 11th century A.D., seems also to speak of Dharmapāla, in his *Udayasundarīkathā*, as belonging to the Māndhātṛvaṃśa (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 480).

At the time of our record (Śaka 1118=A.D. 1196), therefore, the dynasty of Dharmapāla may have well been thought of to be come from Ayodhyā, the traditional home of the Sūrya-Vaṃśī kings. Thus, it would seem that this *Ayodhyā-viniḥsṛta-Pāl-ānvaya* has been mentioned as a contrast to Ḍommaṇapāla's own family which was possibly *dākṣiṇātya-viniḥsṛta*.

The last point that we are going to note is that Dvārahaṭāka in the division called Purvvakhāṭikā has been called Ḍommaṇapāla's

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[1] Did the line of Dharmapāla come from the South ? The southern Sūrya-vaṃśa (*dakṣiṇadṛśo vaṃśe mihirasya*) may refer to the dynasty of the Ikṣvākus of the Madras Presidency or to any other dynasty claiming descent from the *Sūrya-vaṃśa*. For a southern solar dynasty, see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 485.

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own *mukti-bhūmi*. Does it mean that the chief was granting a village when he was on the death-bed ?

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

THE WORD 'UPATALPA'

The word '*upatalpa*' in the Girnār rock inscription of Rudradāman has been variously interpreted by Indian and European Orientalists. 'Dr. Bhagwanlal means by it "pieces of the neighbouring ground". Prof. Buhler interprets it as "pinnacles of temples", and Dr. Kielhorn supposes that the words अट्टालकोपतल्प are identical with तल्पाट्ट in Raghu XVI (विशीर्णतल्पाट्टशतो निवेशः)—तल्प meaning "a room on the top of a house" or "upper storey". The last being the interpretation, now generally believed in, Mr. D. B. Diskalkar translates accordingly the words गिरिशिखर-तटाट्टालकोपतल्पद्वारशरणोच्चय as "hill-tops, trees, banks, turrets, upper stories, gates, and raised places of shelter".'

But that none of these scholars has arrived at the right meaning of उपतल्प will be clear, if we refer to description of प्रतिष्ठान, the capital of Duṣyanta, in the Ādiparvan of the Mahābhārata.[1] Its first two verses read as follows :—

शनैर्मध्याह्नवेलायां प्रतिष्ठानं समाययुः ।
तां पुरीं पुरुहूतेन ह्यैलस्यार्थे विनिर्मिताम् ॥
परिखावप्रपुरगैर् उपतल्पशतैरपि ।
शतघ्नीचक्रवच्चैश्च गुप्तामन्यैर्दूरासदाम् ॥

Here the context in which उपतल्प has been used requires that it should be like परिखा, वप्र, etc., a means of defending the city. It cannot obviously be a mere 'piece of neighbouring ground', or 'a room on the top of a house', or 'the pinnacle of a temple'.

तल्प means a tower. Should not therefore the addition of the prefix उप to the word उपतल्प be given the meaning of a small tower or turret of some sort ? This would certainly be the sense conveyed, if उपतल्पा instead of उपकाल्या be the right word in the following verse of the *Samarāṅgaṇa-sūtradhāra*.[2]

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[1] Southern Recension edited by Mr. P. P. S. Sastri, Vol. I, Part I, p. 539.
[2] p. 90 (Gaekwad's Oriental Series).

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निर्गताश्चोच्छ्रिताश्चैव प्राकारस्यान्तरान्तरा ।

उपका(ल्या ? र्या) इति प्रोक्ताः क्षौमाश्चाट्टालका मताः ॥

उपकार्या the emendation suggested by the editor does not seem good. The manuscripts on which the edition has been based are admittedly 'full of errors, and not very legible'. Hence it is quite possible that उपकाल्या might be a misreading for उपतल्पा. The prefix उप is common to both, ल्पा can be read easily as ल्या, and का might have been misread for त on account of the illegibility and incorrect nature of the manuscripts. Further the sense given by the Samarāṅgaṇa sūtradhāra suits admirably the context of both the Mahābhārata and the Girnār inscription. It may therefore be accepted as the exact significance of the term उपतल्प unless some strong reasons be advanced to the contrary.

DASHARATHA SHARMA.

THE MAUKHARIS WERE NOT MĀLAVAS

In a note in *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 298, my friend Mr. Niharranjan Ray has said that the Sāvitrī-Satyavāna story of the *Mahābhārata* 'seems to suggest that the Maukharis belonged to the tribal stock known as the Mālavas'.

Mr. Ray has rightly pointed out that, according to the Haraha (misprinted Harata) inscription, the Maukharis claimed descent from Aśvapati (father of Sāvitrī), who obtained through his wife a hundred sons from Vaivasvata (i.e. Yama). There is however no evidence to show that King Aśvapati described as King of the country of the Madras belonged to the Mālava tribe. As I am going to show, he certainly belonged to a family quite different from that of the Mālavas.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, the name of the wife of Aśvapati and mother of Sāvitrī was Mālavī, which clearly points to the fact that King Aśvapati married a girl belonging to the Mālava tribe, but did not himself belong to it. That Mālavī, wife of Aśvapati, was a girl belonging to the tribe of the Mālavas is also proved from the *śloka* quoted from the *Mahābhārata* by Mr. Ray (p. 299):

Pituś=ca te putra-śataṃ bhavitā tava mātari।
Mālavyāṃ Mālavānāṃ śāśvatāḥ putra-pautrinaḥ ॥

My friend however seems to have missed the importance of the passage *Mālavyāṃ Mālavānāṃ* which means 'in Mālavī who belongs to the Mālava family or tribe'. There is therefore no

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direct genealogical connection between the Maukharis and the Mālavas. *Mālava* is possibly derived from the Dravidian word *malai* (hill) and meant originally a Dravidian hill tribe.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

A NOTE ON THE TERM 'ANTARAṄGA'

The term 'Antaraṅga' probably occurs first in point of time in the Daśakumâra-carita of Daṇḍin, and in the Ghâgrâhâṭi copper-plate inscription of Samâcâradêva of Bengal, both dating from the sixth century A.D. While editing the latter, the late Mr. Pargiter translated the term as 'privy minister' (J.A.S.B., 1911, p. 485), but the late R. D. Banerji had occasion to point out that 'Antaraṅga in one case at least has been used as a title of a Royal Physician', and for this he referred to the Cakradatta (of Cakrapâṇi-Datta), (edited by Yaśodânandan Sarkâr, Calcutta, B.S. 1302) (J.A.S.B., 1914, p. 427). But this interpretation of the term, although brought to the notice of Prof. Râdhâ Govinda Basâk, was curtly rejected by him, while editing the Belâvo copper-plate grant of Bhôjavarman, where it reappears in the prose portion,—in view of the expression, 'Antaraṅgeṣu râjya-bhâraṁ samarpya', in the Daśakumâra-carita. He preferred to put it as 'privy councillor', and elsewhere as 'member of the inner council' (Ep. Ind., XII, p. 43 and footnote 1; Sâhitya, 1319 B.S., p. 395; History of North-Eastern India, circa 320–760 A.D., London, 1934, p. 192). The inscription of Samâcâradêva was re-edited by Mr. (now Dr.) N. K. Bhaṭṭaśâlî, who rendered the term into English as '(one) of the intimate class of servants (of his Majesty)' (Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 78), but what such a rendering of a term, that is employed for a distinct royal functionary, may possibly signify, is difficult to make out.

'Antaraṅga' again finds place in the copper-plate grants of the Sênas of Bengal, including the Barrackpur inscription, of Vijayasêna (Ep. Ind., XV, p. 283), and the Śaktipur inscription of Lakṣmaṇasêna (Ep. Ind., XXI, p. 217), but is, curiously enough, omitted in all the three inscriptions of the sons of Lakṣmaṇasêna, that have hitherto been brought to light (J.A.S.B., 1896, Part I, p. 13; Ind. Hist. Quarterly, 1926, p. 84; J.A.S.B., 1914, p. 103). The term is all the more conspicuous by its absence in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Pâlas of Bengal, for we know definitely from the Cakradatta of Cakrapâṇi-Datta (11th century) that his

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elder brother Bhânu bore the title of Antaraṅga. Śivadâsa-Sêna, the commentator of the Cakradatta, and who belonged to the 15th century, explains the term with reference to Bhânu in a general way as, 'vidyâ-kula-sampannô hi bhiṣag=antaraṅga ity=ucyate', that is, 'a learned physician of good family is called an Antaraṅga' (Cakradatta, ed. Kâlîśa Candra Sēna, 1289 B.S., comm. on the first of the two stanzas in the colophon of the work). Still later, in the 18th century, the word is still more generalized, and treated in the sense of any and every physician, or the physician in general. Thus Râdhâ Môhana Ṭhâkura (18th century), the compiler of the Vaiṣṇava anthology, 'Padâmṛta-Samudra', in his commentary on the 11th verse (pada) of the book says, 'Vaidyaka-śâstrânusârêṇa tad=Antaraṅga-jana-prâpita-parama-dâha-hara-viśeṣa padminî-sparśâdinâ . . .' etc.

But Śivadâsa-Sêna, while speaking of his own father, Ananta-Sêna, reports that he got the rare title of Antaraṅga (Antaraṅga-padavîṁ duravâpâṁ) and an umbrella of unique workmanship from Bârbek Shâh, the lord of Gauḍa. This tends to show that it was a title given but by a king to a learned physician (of good family). An Antaraṅga might not necessarily be a Royal Physician or Court Physician, for there is in the Vaṅgîya Sâhitya Pariṣad a MS. of a medical work, entitled Ratnamâlâdhyâya, the author of which, as stated in the colophon, was a Nârâyaṇa, who is styled as both an 'Antaraṅga' and a 'Râja-Vaidya' or Court Physician (Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ, 1320 B.S., pp. 67-68). The identification of this Nârâyaṇa with Nârâyaṇa, the father of Narahari Sarkâra of Śrî-khaṇḍa (one of the reputed followers of Caitanya), as proposed, may or may not be correct, but the difference between a Royal or Court Physician and an Antaraṅga is clearly brought home by this example. The terms Bhiṣak and Antaraṅga are also found side by side in the Śabda-pradîpa of Surêśvara, who describes himself as both a Bhiṣak and an Antaraṅga of Bhîmapâla of Bengal (Śrî-Bhîmapâla-nṛpater-Bhiṣag=Antaraṅga—Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. in the India Office Library, by Julius Eggeling, 1896, Part V, No. 2739, p. 975). Bhiṣak, in this case also, seems to be a Court Physician, as against an ordinary physician, and we know from the inscriptions of the Gâhaḍavâla kings of Kanauj that the Bhiṣak is one of the officials, who were addressed to abide by their grants of lands (cf., for instance, J.A.S.B., 1873, p. 325 ; Ind. Ant., XV, p. 11 ; Ep. Ind., XVIII, p. 221 and p. 226).

In the inscription of Samâcâradêva, the word Antaraṅga is followed by the word 'Uparika', and in all other cases where Antaraṅga has been used, it is invariably followed by the word 'Bṛhad-Uparika'. In the inscriptions of the Pâlas of Bengal,

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Bṛhad-Uparika is an expression which, wherever it occurs, is invariably preceded by the expression 'Râjasthânîya', and both Râjasthânîya and Antaraṅga are never used together in one and the same inscription, so that it tempts the suggestion that Râjasthânîya and Antaraṅga may be to some extent at least analogous. Râjasthânîya may mean either (*a*) an officer entrusted with viceregal duties, or (*b*) an officer appertaining to the residence or palace (sthâna) of the king, i.e. the superintendent of the king's harem. In the latter sense, it would correspond to the 'Antaḥpurika' of the inscriptions of the Gâhaḍavâla kings of Kanauj (op. cit.), and 'Mahallaka' of the Nowgong (Assam) copper-plate grant of Balavarman (Sâhitya Pariṣad Patrikâ, 1317 B.S., p. 120). In the Arthaśâstra of Kauṭilya, the 'superintendent of the harem' is called 'Antar-vaṁśika' (Tr. Shamasastry, 1st ed., p. 307). Might Antaraṅga originally denote the title of a physician, who was also the superintendent of the king's palace or harem? The physician as the superintendent of the culinary department of the king (rasavaty =âdhikârî) is a much too known fact, and from the Naiṣadhîya of Śrîharṣa we learn that the (royal) physician and the (prime) minister were the two persons whose access to the harem of the king's daughter was not impeded (IV, 116). One enjoying this privilege could easily act as the superintendent of the king's palace, and reading the inscription of Samâcâradêva and the Daśakumâra-carita of Daṇḍin without any predilection, there is nothing that may possibly stand in the way of accepting this implication of the term. Later on, as we find in the case of Śivadâsa-Sêna's father, it became the title of a learned physician, and a mere title only, without having had any connection with the palace of the king. At last, as is testified to by Râdhâ Môhana Ṭhâkura, it denoted a member of the physician class in general.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.

BUDDHIST PĀRAMITĀ

Pāramī[1] is the same term as Pāramitā, and both occur side by side in Dhammapāla's commentary on the Cariyāpiṭaka.[2] So far as later Buddhist literature goes, the bulk of Pali works shows

[1] Pāramī or Pāramitā means 'perfection', 'completeness' or 'highest state'.
[2] Cariyāpiṭakaṭṭhakathā, Ceylonese ed., p. 7: Buddhaguṇānaṁ hetubhūtā Buddhakārakadhammā pāramiyo . . . pāramitā paripācitā.

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predilection for *pāramī*, and that of Sanskrit works for *pāramitā*. In the Pāli canonical texts, however, *pāramī* is the only form met with. In the Nidhikaṇḍa-sutta we have *sāvaka-pāramī*, the perfection of discipleship which is no other than the fruition stage of arhatship, the ripeness of saintship which is the ideal before a Buddhist learner or aspirant. In the Buddhavaṁsa, on the other hand, the term *pāramī* is employed as a synonym of *Buddhakarādhammā*, the virtues or qualities which tend towards making a Buddha, i.e. maturing the life of a Bodhisattva for the attainment of Buddhahood in his last birth. Precisely in this sense Dhammapāla uses the term *Buddhakārakā dhammā* and quotes a passage of canonical authority with bearing on the point. The passage cannot be traced in the Pali Text Society's edition of the Tīpiṭaka. Even if its antiquity be doubted on this ground (which is not very reasonable), there is the text of the Buddhavaṁsa to show that, at least as far back as the 2nd century B.C., *pāramī* was treated as another term for *Buddhakarā* or *Buddhakārakā dhammā*. It goes also to show that already in that time the *Pāramīs* were counted as ten in Theravada Buddhism,[1] while the prose passage quoted by Dhammapāla clearly speaks of *dasa-Buddhakārakā dhammā*.

The quotations from the Cariyāpiṭaka, in the Jātaka-nidānakathā and the Cariyāpiṭaka commentary, presuppose a Canonical text compared with which the P.T.S. edition appears to be incomplete. These quotations fully attest that ten were the *Pāramīs* recognized in Theravada Buddhism when the Cariyāpiṭaka was compiled and taken into the corpus of the Pāli Canon along with and as an adjunct to the Buddhavaṁsa. Thus any surmise or conclusion drawn on the basis of the incomplete text of the Cariyāpiṭaka regarding the number of *Pāramīs* is apt to be misleading.

These considerations may warrant the statement that when the conception of *Pāramitā* developed in Buddhalogy, the Theravada school counted the Pāramīs as ten, while in the Sanskrit works belonging mostly to the Sarvāstivāda school, the *Pāramīs* are counted as six.

The ten Pāramīs, as enumerated in Theravāda are: dāna (alms-giving), sīla (morality), nekkhamma (renunciation), paññā (wisdom), viriya (energy), khanti (forbearance), sacca (truth), adhiṭṭhāna (resolution), mettā (friendliness), and upekkhā (indifference). Each of them is practised in three degrees of intensity. And the six Pāramitās, as recognized in Buddhist Sanskrit tradition, are: dāna, sīla, khanti, virya, dhyāna, and prajñā. In order to get

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[1] This is clearly implied in counting *mettā* as the 9th *pāramī* (navamaṁ mettāpāramiṁ) and closing the enumeration with *upekkhā* occurring after *mettā*.

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ten pāramitās, the following four are to be added, viz. upāya, praṇidhāna, bala, and jñāna. A Bodhisattva who has conceived an inspiration to become a Buddha, advances in birth after birth, to higher and higher sanctity, in the practice of the ten perfections until at last he is born as the Buddha preaching the Law and passing away into the everlasting stillness of Nirvāṇa, as we find in the Jātakas. An exactly accomplished Buddha should acquire all these pāramitās. Each of these pāramitās may be sub-divided into (1) the ordinary, (2) the inferior, and (3) the unlimited perfection of the virtue. Childers is right in agreement with Clough in saying that dānapāramitā expresses the duty in general terms and signifies acts of charity or making offerings without any reference to their nature or value (*vide* Childers' Dict., p. 335). A Bodhisattva after having exercised the ten pāramitās in all the three degrees of their intensity in anterior births was destined to become an omniscient Buddha. Thus we see that the attainment of Buddhahood is the consequence of the vast accumulation of merit in course of the exercise of the pāramitās in previous births. In order to attain Bodhi or enlightenment a Bodhisattva had to fulfil the ten pāramitās. He had to undergo several births to fulfil each pāramitā. In the Jātaka-nidānakathā we read that these ten pāramitās are the Buddhakārakādhammā, i.e. the precepts which make one Buddha. The great Śākya prince Siddhārtha before attaining Bodhi found these pāramitās out to be the only means of attaining Buddhahood. All the previous Buddhas also had to fulfil them in order to attain Buddhahood. Siddhārtha performed these pāramitās. Bodhisattva Sumedha fulfilled dāna pāramitā by giving in charity all the worldly things and his own life ; he fulfilled sīla pāramitā by observing precepts and without taking the least care for his own life ; he fulfilled nekkhamma pāramitā by renouncing household life like a prisoner always anxious to be released from the prison ; he fulfilled paññā pāramitā by learning whatever he could learn from anybody ; he fulfilled viriya pāramitā by behaving like a lion, the king of beasts, in all his departments ; he fulfilled khanti pāramitā by forbearing all the vicissitudes of life most patiently like the earth ; he fulfilled sacca pāramitā by not telling lies for fear of punishment or for temptation or even for the falling of thunder on his head ; he fulfilled adhiṭṭhāna pāramitā by steadfastly adhering to his endeavour to become a Buddha like a mountain unmoved by storm coming from all directions ; he fulfilled mettā pāramitā by cherishing love and friendliness towards his friends and foes alike like water cooling both the virtuous and the sinner ; he fulfilled upekkhā pāramitā by being indifferent to happiness and suffering like the earth (cf. Jātaka-nidānakathā, Vol. I).

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A Buddha is called Dhammakāya because he is the embodiment of these ten pāramitās. Dr. Barnett points out that dāna pāramitā is not an actual deliverance of the world from poverty but an intention for such deliverance; it is a grace of the spirit. Thus purity of the will is the greatest of all virtues, and the foundation of all. He further points out that sīla pāramitā consists essentially in the will to hurt no living creature (*vide* the Path of Light, Wisdom of the East Series, p. 98).

As for examples of dāna pāramitā, we may refer to the following in the Cariyāpiṭaka :—Akatticariyaṁ (Akitti Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Saṅkhacariyaṁ (Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. V), Kurudhammacariyaṁ (Kurudhamma Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. II), Mahāsudassanacariyaṁ (Mahāsudassana Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I), Mahāgovindacariyaṁ (Mahagovinda Suttanta, Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II), Nimirājacariyaṁ (Nimi Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. VI), Candakumāracariyaṁ (Khaṇḍahāla Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. VI), Sivirājacariyaṁ (Sivi Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Vessantaracariyaṁ (Vessantara Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. VI), and Sasapaṇḍitacariyaṁ (Sasa Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III). The following are the instances of sīla pāramitā mentioned in the Cariyāpiṭaka :—

Sīlavanāgacariyaṁ (Sīlavanāga Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I), Bhuridattacariyaṁ (Bhuridatta Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Campeyyanāgacariyaṁ (Campeyya Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Cūlabodhicariyaṁ (Cullabodhi Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Mahiṁsarājacariyaṁ (Mahisa Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. II), Rururājacariyaṁ (Ruru Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Mātaṅgacariyaṁ (Mātaṅga Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Dhammādhammadevaputtacariyaṁ (Dhamma Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Jayaddisacariyaṁ (Jayaddisa Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. V), and Saṅkhapālacariyaṁ (Saṅkhapāla Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. V).

The examples of Nekkhamma pāramitā can be found in the Yudhañjayacariyaṁ (Juvañjaya Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Somanassacariyaṁ (Somanassa Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Ayoghacariyaṁ (Ayogha Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Bhisacariyaṁ (Bhisa Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. IV), Soṇapaṇḍitacariyaṁ (Soṇananda Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. V). In the Cariyāpiṭaka only one instance of adhiṭṭhāna pāramitā is traceable in the Temiyacariyaṁ which corresponds to the Temiya Jātaka (Jātaka, VI) which is also known as the Mugapakkha Jātaka found in the Jātaka, Vol. II. As for examples of sacca pāramitā, we may cite the following :—

Kapirājacariyaṁ (Kapi Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. II), Saccasavhayapaṇḍitacariyaṁ (Saccamkira Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I), Vaṭṭapotakacariyaṁ (Vaṭṭa Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I), Maccharājacariyaṁ (Maccha Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. I), Kaṇhadīpāyanacariyaṁ (Kaṇhadī-

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pāyana Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III), and Sutasomacariyaṁ (Mahāsutasoma Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. V). Mahālomahaṁsacariyaṁ of the Cariyāpiṭaka which corresponds to the Lomahamsa Jātaka in Jātaka, Vol. I, is the only instance of Upekkhā pāramitā. Suvaṇṇasāmacariyaṁ (Sāma Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. VI) and Ekarājacariyaṁ (Ekarāja Jātaka, Jātaka, Vol. III) are the instances of Mettā pāramitā as found in the Cariyāpiṭaka. The Cariyāpiṭaka is the only work of the Pāli Canon in which a brief and systematic account of Buddhist pāramitā is given, although references are found scattered here and there in the Pāli Nikāyas.

The Mahayana Buddhist texts are replete with information regarding the fulfilment of pāramitās by the Bodhisattva. In the Śraddhotpādasūtra Asvaghoṣa points out that the Bodhisattvas know that the nature of the dharma is the perfection of spotless charity, and they being free from covetousness, practise dāna pāramitā. They know that the nature of the dharma being free from the influence of five sensual pleasures and being free from immorality is the perfection of stainless morality, and they being far above all these vices, practise sīla pāramitā. They know that the nature of the dharma is the perfection of stainless patience, and they being free from malice, practise khanti pāramitā. They know that the nature of the dharma is the perfection of pure energy, they being free from indolence, practise viriya pāramitā. They know that the nature of the dharma having nothing to do with disturbance and confusion is the perfection of pure tranquillization, they practise dhyāna pāramitā. They know that the nature of the dharma is the perfection of pure wisdom, they being free from darkness of ignorance, practise prajñā pāramitā (cf. The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana by Suzuki, pp. 122-123 ; *vide* also outlines of Mahayana Buddhism by Suzuki, p. 69).

Thus we see that the pāramitās are the excellences of a Bodhisattva who never gets tired of practising the ten virtues of perfection. A Bodhisattva in order to obtain Bodhi or enlightenment has to fulfil ten pāramīs (pāramitās). The Jātakamālā,[1] the Mahāvastu,[2] and the Avadānakalpalatā [3] contain instances of pāramitās. The idea of pāramitā is similar according to Northern and Southern Schools of Buddhism with slight variations as noticed above.

We may agree with Dr. Barua in thinking that the Pāramitā doctrine had its root in the age-old Indian conception of faith

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[1] It contains 35 birth-stories, ten of which have the same titles as those of the Cariyāpiṭaka tales.

[2] e.g. Vānara Jātaka and Mahāgovindacariyaṁ.

[3] e.g. Stories of Sivi, Sasa, Matsya, Vaṭṭapotaka, Ruru, and Sutasoma.

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(saddhā), particularly as developed in a Sutta of the Majjhima-nikāya and that, as it is, its main importance lies in its bearing on the problem of evolution of personality, whether of the Buddha type, or of the Sāvaka, or of the Paccekabuddha.[1] The Pāli book of Apadāna contains copious illustrations of how the *Sāvaka-pāramī* was attained by a large number of men and women as the ripe result of their age-long efforts. In heightening the importance of the moral excellence of Buddhist personalities, the doctrine had necessarily to lay stress on the prolonged character of strivings, and in doing so, it destroyed the belief in the immediate prospects held out by Gotama and transferred the possibility of final fruition to an indefinitely long date.[2]

B. C. LAW.

A GOLD COIN OF BUDHAGUPTA

From the Eran Pillar (G.E., 165),[3] the Sarnath image (G.E., 157),[4] and the Damodarpur copperplate[5] inscriptions we come to know that Budhagupta (of whose relationship with the Imperial Gupta line we know next to nothing) was not really a local ruler, as Mr. Allan thinks, but an imperial sovereign holding undisputed sway over the whole of the empire of Skandagupta from Malwa to Bengal (cf. his epithet *avanīpati* on his silver coins). His numismatic position, however, is mysteriously obscure, and the only coins known to him are his silver issues in imitation of those of Kumāragupta I and Skandagupta. No gold coins of him had been known to the numismatists up to now, and it has been a mystery why Budhagupta, of whose imperial position there is no doubt, issued no gold coins.

Mr. Allan in his Catalogue of Gupta coins[6] illustrates a gold coin of one Puragupta (?). It is of the 'Archer' type and closely resembles the heavier issues of Skandagupta and has the legend *Śrī-Vikkramah* on the reverse.

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[1] B. M. Barua's 'Faith in Buddhism' (Law's Buddhistic Studies, pp. 329ff.) and 'Mahayana in the Making' (Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference).

[2] Barua's 'Mahayana in the Making' (Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference).

[3] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 19.

[4] *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1914-15, pp. 124-125.

[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, pp. 134c and 137.

[6] Allan, *Catalogue of the Indian coins of the Gupta dynasty in the British Museum, London*, Pl. XXI, No. 23.

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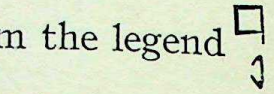
Obv.—King nimbate standing l. as on the preceding Archer type, holding bow in l. hand and arrow in r. hand.

Garuda standard on l. Beneath l. arm the legend 

Rev.—Goddess (Lakshmī) nimbate seated facing on lotus, holding lotus in l. hand and fillet in r. hand. Symbol on l. On r. the legend

Śrī Vikkramah.

Now the legend on the obverse has been read as *Pura* by Mr. Allan, and he attributes the coin in question to Puragupta, who, according to the Bhitari copper seal of Kumāragupta (II), was a son of Kumāragupta I by his queen Anantadevī. But a careful examination, however, leads to a different reading of the obverse legend, however definitely sure Mr. Allan may be about his reading *Pura*. We reproduce here an enlarged photo of the coin in question. The first letter beneath the left arm of the king shows a square-shaped letter with the right vertical line extended downwards. Mr. Allan reads it as *Pu*. *Pa* in the Gupta alphabet is also a square-shaped letter, but without the horizontal top stroke, which though quite clear here, has been missed by Mr. Allan. We cannot explain away this horizontal top stroke as the usual crescent mark, as the latter is quite clear over this top stroke. This horizontal top stroke makes the letter *Ba*; and with the vowel mark, *u*, in the downward projection of the right vertical line, the letter almost certainly reads *Bu*. For a comparison of this letter with another *Bu* in the Indor plate of Skandagupta we refer to Bühler's Palæographical chart (Tafel, IV, No. 29, VII). In the second letter again Mr. Allan misses the upward bend of the vertical line, which, though the letter is a bit indistinct, we can imagine to be joining the apex of the vertical line. Any way the letter is certainly not *ra*. It may be either *sha* or *dha*. *Sha* after *Bu* is meaningless, and the revised reading would apparently lead to *Bu*[*dha*] instead of *Pura*, the coin having been issued by Budhagupta, of whose imperial position the inscriptions speak so eloquently. That Budhagupta belonged to the imperial Gupta line may easily be inferred, and it is no wonder that he assumed the lofty title of *Vikramāditya* (the reverse legend on this coin) like his great predecessors, Chandragupta II and Skandagupta.

SARASI KUMAR SARASWATI.

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THE CORRECT INTERPRETATION OF THE INTERCALARY MONTH IN THE GRANT OF ŚARVANĀTHA

In ordinary usage, when there occur two new moons in a solar month, the intercalated lunar month receives its name from the succeeding natural month (lunar) ; for example, when there is an intercalated month between natural Āṣāḍha and natural Śrāvaṇa, it is named after the latter as intercalary Śrāvaṇa. But there was also an older practice as stated in the Brahma-Siddhānta, which says that the intercalated month is the second of the two *nija* or natural and *adhika* or intercalary. 'A verse that is given by Bapu Deva Shastri, in his edition of the *Siddhānta-śiromaṇi* of Bhāskarāchārya, p. 49 note, as belonging to the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, indicates a more ancient custom according to which the first (bright) and the second (dark) fortnights would belong to the natural month ; and the third (bright) and the fourth (dark), to the intercalated month. The verse runs—Mēshādi-sthē Savitari yô yô māsaḥ prapûryatê chāndraḥ Chaitvādyaḥ sa jñêyaḥ pūrti-dvitvê=dhimāso=ntyaḥ, —" whatever lunar month is completed when the sun is standing in Aries and the following (signs), that month is to be known as Chaitra, etc. ; when there are two completions (there is) an intercalated month (and it is) the latter (of the two) ".'[1] According to this ancient custom, the intercalated month receives its name from the preceding natural month. Thus in the example cited above the intercalary month is to be named intercalated Āṣāḍha, and not intercalated Śrāvaṇa as according to ordinary usage.

The Sohāval Plates of the Mahārāja Śarvanātha issued from Uccakalpa (No. 1196 of Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*) is dated 'Samvatsara-śate ekanavaty-ullāre dvir-Āṣāḍha māsa-divase daśame'. Assuming the inscriptions of these Uchchakalpa kings to be dated in Fleet's epoch of the Gupta era (A.D. 319), both Ojha and Halder took the date of the Sohāval Plates of Sam. 191 to be equivalent to A.D. 510. But Prof. Bhandarkar says that there was no intercalary Āṣāḍha in A.D. 510 and therefore along with Fleet and Kielhorn he intends to take these dates in the Kalachuri era. In doing so he had to assume that *ekona-navaty-uttare* is intended for *eka-navaty-uttare*. Mr. K. N. Dikshit in his Navagrāma Grant of the Mahārāja Hastin, dated G.E. 198 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 126ff.), shows that admitting the inscriptions of the Uchchakalpa kings to be dated in the Kalachuri era King Śarvanātha has to be given a reign of at least 70 years—a highly improbable figure. Mr. Dikshit thus intends to take the date

[1] Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, Intro., p. 88 fn.

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of the Sohāval Plates to be in the Gupta era and as equivalent to A.D. 510. But Mr. Dikshit wants to slur over the difficulty already experienced by Prof. Bhandarkar in getting an intercalary Āṣāḍha in A.D. 510 by vaguely remarking that 'it is very probable that the succeeding month of *Śrāvaṇa* that has been actually shown as intercalary in the tables attached to Pillar's *Indian Chronology* may have been antedated by a month, according to some *Siddhānta* followed in this locality; or what is more probable, the month intercalated (which according to the rules of intercalations was Śrāvaṇa) must have received its name from the preceding month, a conclusion to which the late Dr. Kielhorn was forced in the calculation of the dates of the Batul Plates of Saṁkshībha'.

Now, in the year A.D. 510 as shown in the Tables of Swamikanni Pillai and others there is an intercalary month between natural Āṣāḍha and natural Śrāvaṇa. This month is to be named intercalary Śrāvaṇa according to the usual practice, but *dvir*=Āṣāḍha according to the ancient custom. In view of the rules of intercalation just described it will be seen clearly that the difficulties experienced by Kielhorn, Bhandarkar, Dikshit, and others disappear and the same month which is *dvir-Āṣāḍha* of one mode, is *prathama Śrāvaṇa* of the other mode, of calculation.

DHIRENDRANATH MUKERJI.

A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM KOSAM

This inscription is found engraved on a slab of stone, about 45 inches long, 15 inches broad, and 10 inches high. It was recovered from Kosam, the site of ancient Kauśāmbī,[1] by Mr. B. M. Vyas, Executive Officer of the Allahabad Municipal Board, and is now deposited in the Allahabad Municipal Museum.

The inscription is fragmentary, its upper portion only being available to us, and an indefinite number of lines has been broken away and lost at the bottom. Only two lines are now existing, but excepting the three last letters, the second has entirely peeled off. Though the stone is roughly hewn, the existing letters are clearly incised, their size varying from 1 to 2 inches. Palæographically the record may be ascribed approximately to the first century B.C., and seems to be of the same age as (or slightly later than) the Pabbosa inscriptions of Āṣāḍhasena, the maternal uncle of King

[1] *JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 689ff.

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L2

L1

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Bahasatimitra.[1] We find in both cases that *ga* is round at the apex, that the legs of *ta* do not form an angle, that *va* is triangular in shape and that at the top of the letters we find ceriphs at their primary stage. The language of the inscription is regular Prakrit, but the influence of Sanskrit is visible in the word *rājño* (line 1), and in the lingual in *puteṇa* (line 2).

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals to us the name of a new king, Varuṇamitra, who must have belonged to the dynasty of the Mitra kings, the names of whom we are acquainted with from coins, inscriptions, and seals.[2]

TEXT

Line 1. Rājño Gotiputasa Varuṇamitasa putasa rājño Kohaḍi-(?)putasa

Line 2. .....puteṇa

TRANSLATION

Line 1. Of King Kohaḍiputa ....., the son of King Gotiputa Varuṇamita,

Line 2. ..... by the son.

Gotiputa is usually rendered into Sanskrit as *Gauptīputra*,[3] 'the son of a lady of the Gupta family'; but this is by no means certain, for *goti* may as well stand for other Sanskrit words, e.g. *gotrī*. Kohaḍi, who seems to have been the queen of Varuṇamitra, has a strange name, but we have a similar name Kahoḍa or Kahola in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, iii, 5. 1. More probably she was 'a lady of the Kohala family', Kohala according to one authority being a branch of the Viśvāmitra, and according to another, of the Śāṇḍilya *gotra*.

For the estampage of the inscription as well as the permission to reproduce it, I am indebted to Mr. B. M. Vyas.

AMALANANDA GHOSH.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 242ff.

[2] Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 69, etc.; Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, pp. 146, 184ff.; Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 12; *Arch. Surv. Ann. Rep.*, 1911-2, pp. 62 and 65; Jayaswal, *JBORS.*, 1934, pp. 7ff.

[3] Lüders' *List*, Nos. 94, 96, 156, 194, 271, 442, 663, 680, 681, 682, 687, 1088, and 92*a*.

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INDRAMITRA AND BRAHMAMITRA

In a note on the above subject by Mr. Jyotish Chandra Ghatak, published in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 506-7, the writer has sought to point out certain omissions and inaccuracies in the *Political History of Ancient India*, by Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, as well as in Chapters XXI and XXVI of the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, edited by Prof. Rapson.

Mr. Ghatak's first point is that, 'the original source to which Prof. Rapson and Dr. Raychaudhuri are indebted for the statement' that the names of Brahmamitra and Indramitra are found engraved on two rail-pillars at Bodh-Gayā, 'has not been vouchsafed to us by any one of these scholars'. Mr. Ghatak rushed through three editions of Dr. Raychaudhuri's *Political History* as well as two chapters of the *Cambridge History*, but apparently did not think it necessary to go through the bibliographical lists appended to these two works, and omitted to mention the fact that one of the chapters of the *Cambridge History* referred to by him is from the pen of Sir John Marshall. In the bibliography to Chapter XXVI of the *Cambridge History* (Vol. I, p. 695) we find reference to Sir John Marshall's note in the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1907-8, p. 40, in which the above information occurs for the first time. In the bibliographical index to Dr. Raychaudhuri's book (third edition, p. 442) we are referred to Sir John Marshall for pp. 270f. of the text, in which the statement in question is made. The historical contents of the rail-pillar inscriptions of Bodh-Gayā have been so well known to genuine students of ancient Indian History since the publication of the notes of Sir John Marshall and of Bloch long before 1922 when the *Cambridge History* was published, that even one of the editors of *Indian Culture* did not think it necessary to give full references to original sources while 'taking note of two kings, Kauśikīputra Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra' on p. 143 of *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Book I, published in 1931.

Mr. Ghatak next remarks that it is 'possible', nay 'obvious', that Dr. Raychaudhuri has made his statement on the authority of Prof. Rapson's account in the *Cambridge History*, and 'wonders why no reference to this publication at any rate was made by Dr. Raychaudhuri in any of the editions of this book that are now before us'. In the first place, Dr. Raychaudhuri has made his statement, not on the authority of Prof. Rapson, but of Sir John Marshall as noted in the bibliographical index. Secondly, it is not true to say that he has made no reference to the *Cambridge History* in any of the editions of his book. He has mentioned the *Cambridge*

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History in the preface to the first edition and in several places in the later editions.

Mr. Ghatak's third point is that Indrāgnimitra (and not Indramitra) is the correct name of the king mentioned on p. 270 of the *Political History* (third edition), as he is mentioned under that name in the Coping-stone inscriptions, and that the existence of Brahmamitra is doubtful inasmuch as he is not referred to in Lüders' list. We may tell him that Dr. Raychaudhuri speaks of the mention of Indramitra on *rail-pillars* and *coins* (p. 270) and not on *Coping-stone inscriptions*. The name is clearly written as I(n)d(r)amit(r)a on coins (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 84). Sir John Marshall (*Arch. Surv. Rep.*, 1907-8, p. 40) refers to the name on the pillar in question as Indramitra, and Dr. Raychaudhuri and apparently Prof. Rapson have followed him. Bloch's reading of the name on the pillar as Indrāgnimitra (A.S.I., A.R., 1908-9, p. 147) is at best doubtful. The record, as Bloch himself points out, is mutilated, and the only clear words are *Im . . .tra* (*I.H.Q.*, March, 1930, p. 7). Bloch based his reading on the analogy of the Coping-stone inscriptions, but this of course is open to two objections. For one thing, the word *Rāño* indicative of royal rank is not legible in the Coping-stone epigraphs. Secondly, analogies are very often deceptive. For instance, in the Sonpat Copper Seal we get the name Harsha*vardhana*, but in the Apshaḍ inscription the name of the same king is given as Harsha*deva*, though both these records are almost contemporaneous. Supposing the portion *deva* was lost owing to the mutilation of the record, the natural inclination of scholars would have been to read Harshavardhana. Obviously, such a reconstruction would have been unfaithful. In any case, Prof. Rapson and Dr. Raychaudhuri cannot be said to have 'gone wrong' only because they followed Sir John Marshall in preference to Bloch in restoring the name of a king in a mutilated inscription in the light of numismatic evidence.

As for the question of Brahmamitra, we are glad to note that one of the editors of *Indian Culture* is well informed enough to point out in a foot-note that 'it looms large in Nāgadevī's inscription on the Yaksha pillar' of the Bodh-Gayā Railing. We thought that one at least of the remaining editors had very intimate knowledge of the contents of the *Archæological Survey Reports*. Lüders' list is by no means up-to-date, and many facts have come to light since it was prepared. Is it correct to doubt the existence of a person because he is not mentioned in Lüders' list?

Mr. Ghatak has thought it necessary to comment on the works of two renowned scholars without even consulting them properly.

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE.

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NĀGAR BRAHMANS AND SYLHET

Without committing myself one way or the other on the debatable question about the locus of the land denoted by Mahābhūtivarman, I shall confine myself for the present to one or two observations of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua in his article on 'Kauśikā and Kusiyārā' which appeared in the *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 3.

At p. 431, the learned historian of Kāmarūpa observes as follows :—

'It is however evident that these Nagar Brahmans are no longer regarded as true Brahmans and hence everybody seems to be anxious to disown origin from them. I am not sure whether the attempt to identify the Kauśika with the Kusiyara is not prompted by a desire to place the habitation of the Nagar Brahmans in a corner of Sylhet, far away from Bengal proper. The Pancha-khanda Brahmans, who are, according to Mr. Ghosh, of the same stock as the Nagar Brahmans of Guzerat, i.e. Banias, can, however, very well defend themselves.'

Rai Bahadur Barua has not stated whence he has culled the information contained in the first and the third sentences above. I suppose the Nāgars count among themselves Brahmans as well as a few other castes, such as Baniās. If I be wrong and the Rai Bahadur right, I may point out that his remark would not hold good of Bengal where at least one Nāgar Brahman family passes as good Brahmans to this day, and this family migrated from Sylhet. In Bengal Vaiṣṇava literature I remember to have come across at least a couple of Nāgar Brahman names, Kāmadeva Nāgara and Īśāna Nāgara, both contemporaries of Śrīcaitanyadeva. I do not know much about Kāmadeva Nāgara, nor if he has left any descendants. But Īśāna is a well-known figure in Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, being the author of the 'Advaitaprakāśa', and his descendants are still to be found on the western border of the Dacca district and are known as the Gosvāmins of Jhāṅkpāla (ঝাঁকপাল), the latter being a village near Sivalaya at the junction of the Padma and the Jamuna (i.e. the main course of the Brahmaputra). These Gosvāmins are as good Brahmans as any others in Bengal.

Now, this Īśāna was a native of Laur in Western Sylhet a few miles away from the place where I am writing this article. This pergannah of Laur was then under the sway of a family of Brahman chieftains who, later on, migrated to Baniyachong in the same district, about fifty miles to the south of Laur and, in course of time, embraced Islam. They are known as the Dewan Sahibs of Baniyachong. Pandit Padmanath Vidyavinode's family claim

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kinship with this family whose *gotra* name was Kātyāyana, one of the *gotras* of the Brahmans who received grant of land under the Nidhanpur plate. Another branch of the same family used to rule in Jagannathpur, about 40 miles to the south-west of Laur, though the author of the Bengali History of Sylhet disputes this traditional kinship on the flimsy ground that the *pravaras* of the two families are different. Now, it is well known that while two or more *gotras* may have the same *pravaras*, the same *gotra* cannot have different *pravaras*, and wherever such difference of *pravaras* among persons of the same *gotra* is noticed, the difference must be attributed to the ignorance of some of these people's ancestors or their priests.

There are numerous Brahmans of the Kātyāyana *gotra* in at least four out of the five subdivisions including the Karimganj subdivision within which Pañcakhaṇḍa is situated, some of them calling themselves Vaidika or Sāmpradvāyika, names of very recent coinage. One does not really know the motive behind the adoption of these new names. My information is that Brahmans of this *gotra* are not to be found in Bengal. Whether this be so or not, it is certain that fewer of them are to be found among the Brahmans of the whole of Bengal than in the single district of Sylhet. Those, who could conveniently do so, might enquire if Brahmans of the Kātyāyana *gotra* are to be found in decent numbers in Mithilā or North Bihar. If not, Rai Bahadur Barua's contention that the donees under the Nidhanpur plate migrated from Mithilā to Pañchkhaṇḍa in comparatively recent times would break down; and this would lend undoubted support to the hypothesis of Prof. Bhandarkar and Mr. Ghosh, and blunt the edge of the joke in the second sentence quoted above.

Then, again, another *gotra* to which land was donated is the very uncommon one, 'Agniveśya'. Brahmans of this family are to be found in Sylhet and also in the contiguous district of Tipperah. I do not know of any Brahman families in Bengal bearing this *gotra* name outside Tipperah, though I know of a single Bengalee Kayastha family now spread over three districts of Bengal bearing this *gotra* name though their family name is 'Datta' and not 'Bhūti', as in the Nidhanpur plate.[1] An enquiry as to the presence of Brahmans of this *gotra* in Mithilā is also necessary to solve the knotty question of the locus of the donated lands. I have selected only a couple of rare *gotra* names, since many of the names mentioned

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[1] I am quoting the name 'Bhūti' from memory. In any case I remember distinctly that it is not 'Datta'.

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in the copperplate are certainly borne by Brahmans of different classes all over India.

Rai Bahadur Barua doubts if Sylhet could ever have been under the sway of Kāmarūpa Kings, the barrier of the hills being to him an insuperable difficulty in the way of accepting such a hypothesis. He admits, however, that Mymensingh was under the sway of Kāmarūpa kings till quite recent times, but seems to forget that Sylhet has always been easily accessible by both land and water from the contiguous district of Mymensingh. His reliance on Babu Achyutacharan Chaudhuri's identification of Yuan Chwang's 'Sihl-hi-cha-to-lo' with Sylhet rests on what is a very wild guess. The strong local tradition in Sylhet about its former inclusion in Kāmarūpa cannot be treated lightly. Even Ibn Batuta who came to Sylhet on a visit to Shāh Jelal, the invader of Sylhet, states that this warrior-saint was living in Kāmru, i.e. Kāmarūpa, whereas the latter was actually living at the time in the very town of Sylhet, where the mosque, the construction of which was commenced by him, still stands, and where Ibn Batuta met him.

The Rai Bahadur's argument that the Pañcakhaṇḍa Brahmans migrated from Mithila in recent, i.e. post-Vācaspati, times, since they followed the Smṛti rules laid down by Vācaspati Misra, is very weak indeed. These Smṛti rules, known as the 'Prācīna Smṛti', as distinguished from the new code of Raghunandana, are in force not only in the greater portion of Sylhet but in some of the Eastern Bengal districts as well, and one feels almost sure that they were followed throughout Bengal, before Raghunandana's Smṛti reform made headway there. It should also be noted the Vaidikas of Eastern Sylhet claim that their ancestors came to Sylhet on the invitation of the King of Tipperah at a time not far distant from the date of Bhāskaravarman's plate. They are sure to resent the statement that they are post-Vācaspati new-comers to Sylhet. Vācaspati appears simply to have replaced some older Smṛti code in vogue in Mithilā and Bengal, just as Raghunandana's code replaced that of Vācaspati in parts of Bengal and Sylhet at a later time.

I am not so sure as the Rai Bahadur about the physical impossibility of the location of the donated land in Pañcakhaṇḍa. The Surmā and the Kusiyārā have shifted their beds as frequently as any other rivers, and about a year ago, Dr. N. K. Bhattasali of the Dacca Museum pointed out to me a plot of land in the map of Jaldhupa Thana, within which Pañcakhaṇḍa is situated, which appeared to answer the description given in the Nidhanpur plate. But this is a question on which I am not at present competent to speak owing to lack of materials and a reply on this point might

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very well be given by Dr. Bhattasali or other scholars who have gone into the question thoroughly.

The Rai Bahadur is perhaps right in deriving the name of the river 'Kusiyārā' from the word 'kusiyār' which means sugar-cane. This was how the word appears to have been derived as far back as the sixteenth century when Pradyumna Miśra, a kinsman of Caitanyadeva, wrote his 'Śrīkṛṣṇa-Caitanyodayāvalī'. There it is mentioned that a son of Śrīcaitanya's ancestor who first migrated to Sylhet set up a residence at Gupta Vṛndāvana on the western bank of the Ikṣu river. This name 'Ikṣu' is evidently a Sanskritized form of the name 'Kusiyārā' and unless it could be shown that the true import of the name 'Kusiyārā' had been forgotten by Pradyumna's time, the attempt to connect this name with that of the Kośi river would be futile.

AMARNATH RAY.

NAGAR BRAHMANS AND SYLHET

(A Rejoinder)

(1) As to the first sentence of the portion of my article quoted by Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray, I refer him to Dr. Bhandarkar's article in the Indian Antiquary (March, 1932) and as to the third sentence, I refer him to I.H.Q., Vol. vi, p. 67.

I have already said that I am not concerned with the origin of the Nagar Brahmans or with the question whether the original grantees of Bhutivarman's gift were actually Nagar Brahmans. I have only suggested that some descendants of the original grantees might have migrated to Sylhet and carried with them the original copperplates. This hypothesis is not in any way affected by what Rai Bahadur Ray has stated in his contribution. The fact whether at the present day Brahmans of the Kātyāyana gotra can be found in decent numbers in North Bihar will not also materially alter this hypothesis.

(2) If the writer will turn to pages 17–25 of the Kamarupa Sāsanāvali by Pandit Vidyavinod he will find that the following grantees had the surname 'Datta':—Arka Datta, Tusti Datta, Iswara Datta, Karka Datta, Meru Datta, Vishnu Datta, Basu Datta and Ugra Datta. There are, however, several grantees with the surname 'Bhuti'.

(3) I have said that the inclusion of Sylhet (Srihatta) within ancient Kamarupa is a matter of some doubt and I have given my reasons. My doubts have not been removed yet.

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(4) The writer is referred to what I stated in the footnote to page 235 of my 'Early History of Kamarupa'. In 1346-47 A.D. Sylhet was certainly not a part of Kamarupa but still Ibn Batuta wrote that he came to the 'mountains of Kamru' to visit the saint Shah Jelal. I have shown in my book that whenever the Muhammadans effected a lodgment anywhere east of the Brahmaputra flowing through Mymensing they boasted of the conquest of 'Kamru' and minted coins wherein conquest of 'Kamru' is stated. To these early Muhammadans Sylhet, to the east of Mymensing, was in 'Kamru' even till the fourteenth century.

(5) If, as stated by the writer, the Panchakhanda Brahmans claim that their ancestors came to Sylhet on the invitation of the Tippera king as early as the seventh or the eighth century A.D. and if such claim really rests on solid foundation then my theory is very much strengthened. Bhāskaravarman could not have confirmed the grant of land within Sylhet which was under the sway of the Tippera kings. The donated lands were therefore not in Sylhet, on the bank of the Kusiārā, but somewhere else. Further some of the Brahmans imported by the Tippera kings may have been descendants of some of the grantees mentioned in the plates.

(6) If Dr. Bhaṭṭasālī contributes anything on the subject I shall be very glad to consider his arguments. I am open to conviction.

K. L. BARUA.

A BENGALI POET IN THE COURT OF BHOJA (1010–1050 A.D.)

It will be a matter of interest to scholars to know that a Bengali poet Lakṣmīdhara belonging to the Śāṇḍilya gotra and the village of Bhaṭṭa Kośala in Gauḍa made a name in the 11th century outside Bengal as a poet of outstanding merit. He was the great grandson of Naravāhana Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Ajita Bhaṭṭa, and son of Vaikuṇṭha Bhaṭṭa also called Śrī Stambha. He was a poet in the court of the celebrated king Bhoja of Dhārā (cir. 1010–1055 A.D.) and composed a Mahākāvya entitled *Cakrapāṇivijaya*, describing the story of the marriage of Uṣā, the daughter of Bāṇāsura, in 20 Sargas. One MS. of this Mahākāvya is now deposited in the Jain Bhandar at Jaisalmer. Another, a recent copy (MS. No. 4353), preserved at the Oriental Institute, Baroda, is a transcript written at Anahilpura according to a statement in the last colophon. As this is a recent copy it is expected that the original may be in one of the Jain Bhandars at Pattan.

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I give below the extracts from the MS. containing the historical portion :—

ग्रामोऽस्ति शाण्डिल्यकुलोद्भूतानां
गौडेषु भट्टाङ्कितकोशलाख्यः ।
गङ्गेव नैवोज्झति यत्प्रसूति-
रेकान्ततः केशवपादसेवाम् ॥ २ ॥

तत्राननश्रेणिशुचौ विरिञ्चे-
र्बभूव भट्टो नरवाहनाख्यः ।
श्रुतेः समस्कन्धतया स्थितानि
श्रुत्यन्तराणीव वचांसि यस्य ॥ ३ ॥

देवो विवस्वानिव कश्यपस्य
तस्याजितो नाम बभूव सूनुः ।
त्रयीमयस्य ज्वलतस्तपोभि-
र्यस्यार्घ्यमादत्त समस्तलोकः ॥ ४ ॥

आकण्ठमं प्रशमाम्रतैः स
वैकुण्ठनामानमकुण्ठविद्यम् ।
असूत सूनुं स बभूव यस्य
विद्यातपोधामसु तत्समानामा ॥ ५ ॥

नत्वोपनीतामपि पार्थिवेन्द्रै-
र्गुणानियं न क्षमते शठेति ।
द्वारि श्रियं स्तम्भयतो बभूव
श्रीस्तम्भ इत्येव हि यस्य नाम ॥ ६ ॥

उस्रः शतच्छिद्रकवित्वकन्था-
जातेऽपि जाड्ये खलवाक्यवह्नेः ।
लक्ष्मीधरो नाम तदाद्यसूनुः
अनुप्रविष्टः सुजनस्य कक्षाम् ॥ ७ ॥

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ओजोविहीनापि विनापि कान्तिं
कृता हरेः कीर्तिसमाधिनेति ।
चन्द्रोदयध्यानपरायणेव
कुमुद्वती यस्य न मीरसा गीः ॥ ८ ॥

श्रीभोजदेवेन्दु विराजितायां
तस्यां सभायश्चदशीनिशायाम् ।
विनापि मुद्रामतिवाह्यमेव
दूरीकृतं दुर्जनतस्करेण ॥

आकर्ण्यतां काव्यमिदं तदीयं
जितं यदप्यादिकविप्रबन्धैः ।
भास्वन्निरस्तद्युतिमण्डलोऽपि
सुधामयः किं न दिवातनेन्दुः ॥ युग्मम् ।

BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARJEE.

AŚVAMEDHA—A REJOINDER

On pp. 114-15 of this Journal I briefly considered the question: 'Were the Bhāraśivas really Paramount Sovereigns?' In that connection I happened to express some view about Aśvamedha. Now on pp. 311-12 I find this view controverted by Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sircar. While I am sincerely glad that my remarks have attracted his attention, I regret I am unable to follow his line of argument. He refers to the *Baudh. Śrauta Sūtra* (XV, 1) which says that a king victorious and of all the land should perform this sacrifice. He also refers to the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* (XX, 1. 1), according to which a universal king (*sārvabhauma*) can celebrate the Aśvamedha. It is true that it is immediately followed by a Sūtra which is of an entirely different purport, and which we will consider shortly. But these references, Mr. Sircar has cited, with a view to show that it is only a universal king, a king of all the land, who can perform this sacrifice. And as instances of this statement he mentions not only Pushyamitra, founder of the Śuṅga dynasty, but also Pravarasena I Vākāṭaka and Mādhavavarman I Viṣṇukuṇḍin. But can any one of them in all sobriety of judgment

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be designated a universal king, as required by the Śrauta Sūtras quoted by him? I do not, therefore, quite understand why Mr. Sircar has quoted these Sūtras at all. It is true that Pravarasena has been called *samrāṭ*, but, be it noted, that he has been called not simply *samrāṭ* but *samrāṭ Vākāṭakānāṁ*. This shows, not that he was a universal king of India, but that he was a mere overlord of the Vākāṭakas. This does not, however, prevent him from being a subordinate of the Imperial Guptas. For I have already pointed out on p. 115 of this Journal that he is designated simply *māhārāja*, whereas Devagupta (Chandragupta II) is styled *mahārājādhirāja* in the copperplate charters of his own, that is, of the Vākāṭaka family. He was thus inferior in rank to this Chandragupta; and one does not quite understand why a chieftain, even though he is of the status of Pravarasena or Mādhavavarman, cannot celebrate an Aśvamedha, as Mr. Sircar tries to make out.

Another flaw in the reasoning of Mr. Sircar may now be pointed out. In the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra* (XX, 1. 1), we have seen, there is: *rājā sārvabhaumośvamedhena yajeta*. This is immediately followed by the Sūtra: *apy-asārvabhaumaḥ*, which means that even a ruler who is not a universal king may celebrate an Aśvamedha. Both these Sūtras occur in the text published by no less a scholar than Richard Garbe in the Bibliotheca Indica edition. And it is worthy of note that none of these Sūtras presents any variant in this book. But Mr. Sircar ignores it and accepts the text of the second Sūtra as given in the *Śabdakalpadruma-pariśiṣṭa* (Hitabadi Office, Calcutta)!!! The text apparently is: *n=āpy=asārvabhaumaḥ*. And further, Mr. Sircar says the following in a footnote: 'In place of *n=āpi* there is an alternative reading *api*, which is a later interpolation according to Keith (*Black Yajus*, p. cxxxii)'. This sentence is so worded as to raise the implication that both the readings were known to Prof. Keith and that the latter rejects the one given in Garbe's edition and accepts that published in the text of the Hitabadi Office. Nothing, however, is more untrue. And even if such a reading exists, it has to be rejected, because the word *api* here has absolutely no force. The Sūtra in that case would have run *n=asārvabhaumaḥ*, and not *n=apy=asarvabhaumaḥ*[1] as actually seems to be the case according to Mr. Sircar. The case, however, is different with Prof. Keith, who accepts the text of Garbe's edition but dismisses it with the remark 'a later hand, no doubt, has added the words *apy=asārvabhaumaḥ*'. This is a procedure which we can well

[1] In fact, if this is the correct text, one does not understand why this Sūtra was composed at all. It could safely have been omitted. As it is, it is an abject tautology.

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understand, though we cannot bring ourselves to concur with him in his view. Because why should this Sūtra be considered to be an interpolation? Prof. Keith gives no reason. On the contrary, on p. cxxxiii of *Black Yajus* he gives two instances of the molestation of this sacrifice by saying: 'the Çatapatha preserves records of two cases where its progress was impeded: Çatānī ka Sātrājita took away the steed of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, and Bharata that of the Satvants'. If Dhṛtarāṣṭra and the prince of the Satvants had been rulers of all India, their steeds would not have been snatched away by Śatānīka and Bharata respectively. This shows that sometimes even kings who were not *Sarva-bhaumas* could celebrate an Aśvamedha. And this was the reason why sometimes they were hampered in the performance of the sacrifice. It is not, therefore, quite intelligible to us why Prof. Keith says that the Sutra *apy= asārvabhaumaḥ* is the invention of a later hand. Of course, it was always safe for a king to carry on *dig-vijaya* and make himself a supreme ruler of India before initiating this sacrifice. And this is no doubt what Samudragupta did. But even a chieftain could with the connivance or good-will of his overlord perform it. And this is no doubt what Pravarasena and others must have done. But certainly they were not universal monarchs as required by Mr. Sircar's interpretation of the Śrauta Sūtras.

ATUL K. SUR.

ARJUNA MIŚRA

Mahāmiśra Arjuna Bhāratācārya is the author of the *(Mahā)-bhāratārtha(pra)dīpikā*, also known as *Bhāratasaṁgrahadīpikā*, a commentary on the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*. From the colophons of the MSS. of the work, we learn that he was son of Īśāna Pāṭhakarāja Bhāratācārya of the Campāhiṭṭīya-*Kula*. Arjunamiśra regarded the *Harivaṁśa* to be an integral part of the *Mahābhārata*. So he has commented on this also. Besides, he has also commented on the well-known Vedic hymn, the *Puruṣa-sūkta* (*Ṛgveda*, X, 90), which fact he has referred to in his *Dīpikā* on the *Mahābhārata* (14, 25, 26). Satya Khān was his patron.

Haraprasad Sastri, in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts* of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, Vol. V, has stated in one place that Arjunamiśra was a Vārendra Brāhmaṇ of Bengal. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, although inclined to believe that the author was a Bengali, is not quite convinced of the truth of Sastri's statement. For Sastri has relied, for his statement, only on one MS. (No. 3422), all others being silent about it (*Dr. Modi's Memorial Volume*, pp. 565–568). The Doctor is not expected to know that the Campāhiṭṭīya-

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Kula at once marks out the author to be a Vārendra Brāhmaṇ. It is nothing but the modern Campaṭi-*gāñi* of that Brāhmaṇ community of Bengal. In fact, we have traced the genealogy of Arjunamiśra in the Vārendra *Kulajis* (*Kulaśāstradīpikā* of Rai Bahadur Jadav Chandra Chakravarty, pp. 143 and 253, and *Vārendra Brāhmaṇ Kāṇḍa* by Rai Shaheb N. N. Vasu, pp. 19 and 233), as given below :—

1. Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa ; 2. Son, Ādigāñi Ojhā ; 3. Son, Jayamāna Bhaṭṭa ; 4. Son, Harikubja ; 5. Son, Vidyāpati Pāṇḍe ; 6. Son, Raghupati ; 7. Son, Śivācārya ; 8. Son, Somācārya ; 9. Son, Ugramaṇi ; 10. Son, Tapomaṇi ; 11. Son, Sindhusāgara ; 12. Son, Bindusāgara ; 13. Son, Jayasāgara

- 14 Ādimādhava Campaṭi
  - 15 Abhimanyu
    - 16 Vatsa Campaṭi
      - 17 Paja (Prajāpati ?)
        - 18 Rāma
          - 19 Vararuci
            - 20 Śekhara Ojhā
              - 21 Vāsudeva
                - 22 Dhṛtikara Agnihotrī
                - 23 Ānuāi
                - 24 Īśāna Pāṭhaka
                - 25 Mahāmiśra Arjuna Bhāratācārya (Pāñcpāḍā) [3]
        - Meru
        - Kāliśī Ojhā (Biśīgāñi)
        - *Śaunakasvāmī* [2]
          - *Vaṭeśvarasvāmī-Śarman* (c. 1140–61 A.D.)
- Maunabhaṭṭa (Kullūkabhaṭṭa, the commentator of *Manusaṁhitā*, descended from Mauna).
- 14 Pītāmbara Lāheḍī
  - 15 Rudra Bāgcī
  - Sādhu Bāgcī
  - Lokanātha Lāheḍī

First *Kulīns* made by Ballālasena (c. 1159 A.D.)[1]

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[1] There is something wrong in the genealogy of these first *kulīns*. They were contemporaries of Vallālasena (c. 1159 A.D.), while Vaṭeśvara was a contemporary of Madanapāla (c. 1140–61 A.D.). Thus they were about a generation later than Vaṭeśvara, but the genealogy shows that they were five generations earlier.

[2] According to the *kulojis* Paja or Prajāpati's sons are—Rāma, Meru, and Kāliśī Ojhā (Biśīgāñi). For some reason or other Śaunaka's name has been left out, possibly because his line became extinct. But his name and that of his son, as known from a copper-plate grant, have been added hereto and therefore printed in italics.

[3] In the *kulojis*, Pāñcpāḍā has been shown as the residence of Arjunamiśra. There are two villages named Panchpara in the Rajshahi District, one in *thānā* Tānor and the other in Chārghāt. (*Village Directory* of Rajshahi.)

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There is evidence that Arjunamiśra's family or the Campaṭis followed the profession of the Reader of the *Mahābhārata*, even as early as the first half of the twelfth century. The Manahali (Dinajpur District, Bengal) charter of King Madanapāla, son of Rāmapāladeva, records the grant of Village Kāṣṭhāgiri,[1] in the Halāvartta-maṇḍala[2] of the Koṭīvarṣa-viṣaya to a Campāhiṭṭīya Brāhmaṇ named Vaṭeśvarasvāmī-Śarman. He belonged to the Kautsa *gotra*, with three *pravaras*, viz. Śāṇḍilya, Āsita, and De-(Dai)-vala. He was the son of Śaunakasvāmī, grandson of Prajāpatisvāmī, and the great-grandson of Vatsasvāmī, residents of the village of Campāhiṭṭi.[3] The land was granted as the *dakṣiṇā* (fee) for reciting the *Mahābhārata* to the chief queen Chitramatikādevī of King Madanapāladeva (c. 1140–1161 A.D.), in the eighth year of his reign (J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIX, Pt. I, pp. 2–9).[4] It will be seen from the genealogy given above that the donee Vaṭeśvara was the grandson of Vatsa Campaṭi's son Paja or Prajāpati, while Arjunamiśra was ninth in descent from him. So the latter was six generations later than the former. At the rate of 25 years per generation, Arjunamiśra must have lived in about (1147+150=) 1297 A.D. Arjunamiśra mentions Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, the well-known commentator of the *Manusaṁhitā* and the *Mahābhārata*. So the latter cannot be later than the thirteenth century.[5]

The Campāhiṭṭīya or Campaṭi-*gāñi* Brāhmaṇs belong to the

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[1] Kāṣṭhāgiri seems to be the same as the modern village of Kashtari in *thānā* Hemtābād of the Dinajpur District. (*Village Directory* of Dinajpur.)

[2] Halāvartta-maṇḍala is probably the modern village of Halimandala in the Mahādevpur *thānā* of the Dinajpur District. (*Ibid.*)

[3] Campāhiṭṭi is perhaps the same as the modern village of Chapahati in *thānā* Patiram of the Dinajpur District. (*Ibid.*)

[4] This inscription throws a very interesting side-light on the society of the time. The Buddhist Pāla Kings of Bengal married Brahmanic princesses. These ladies seem to have stuck to their Brahmanic faith even after marriage. The *Paṭṭamahādevī* Śrī-Chitramatikā of Madanapāla listened to the *Mahābhārata*, recited by a Brāhmaṇ, and gave him *dakṣiṇā* according to the *Śāstras*. The king, who was a Buddhist, granted it in the name of Buddha Bhaṭṭāraka (*Buddha-Bhaṭṭārakamuddiśya*), and the Brāhmaṇ apparently accepted it without any demur. Again, the Hindu King Govinda Chandra of Kanauj (1104–54 A.D.) married a Buddhist princess named Kumāradevī and constructed a *Vihāra* at Sāranātha (*E.I.*, Vol. IX, pp. 323ff.). Buddhism at that period seems to have been looked upon as a sect of Hinduism, like the Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism of the modern times. The Rājput princesses married by the Moghul emperors, we find, also persisted in their Hindu faith.

[5] It may be incidently mentioned here that another notable scholar named Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa was born in the Campaṭi family. He was the preceptor of King Vallālasena, and the author of the Smṛti works named the *Hāralatā* and the *Pitṛdayita*. The king wrote his *Dānasāgara* under the instructions of his *guru*, who is described there as '*Vedārtha-Smṛti-saṁkath-ādi-puruṣaḥ ślāghyo Varendrītale*.'

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Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, with the *pravaras*, Śāṇḍilya, Āsita, and Daivala. We have seen that Vaṭeśvarasvāmī was of the Kautsa *gotra*. This apparently seems discrepant. But in fact it is not so. Mr. N. N. Vasu, the editor of the plate, is not sure of the reading 'Kautsa'. We think the correct reading is Kauśrī or Kausi, which is one of the individual *gotras*, under the Śāṇḍilya group of the Kaśyapa family, having common *pravaras*. (Baudhāyana *Śrauta-Sūtra*, Bib. Ind. Series, pp. 453-4.) After mentioning these individual *gotras*, Baudhāyana says—'*ity=ete Śāṇḍilās=teṣāṁ tryārṣeyaḥ pravaro bhavati*'. So an individual subordinate *gotra* can go by its group name.

Satya Khān was the patron of Arjunamiśra. We have not been able to trace who he was. But the first part of his name, 'Satya', indicates that he was a Hindu grandee under the Pathan Sultans of Bengal. These kings used to grant the title of Khān to the Hindus as well as Muhammadans, while the Mughals reserved it for the latter only. He was probably a Vārendra Brāhmaṇ high official or Zamindar, under the Sultan Nāsiruddin Bughra Khān (1283–91 A.D.), son of Ghiyāsuddīn Balban, and father of Muizzuddīn Kaiqubād, emperors of Delhi.

Halāyudha, in his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* deplored that Vedic studies, in his time, declined in Bengal. He insisted not only that the Vedas should be read, but that the import of the *mantras* also should be understood. His efforts had apparently borne fruit, for we find that a Vārendra Brāhmaṇ, namely Arjunamiśra, in the latter part of the thirteenth century wrote a commentary on the well-known Vedic hymn, the *Purusha-sukta*. Before this another Bengali Brāhmaṇ Guṇaviṣṇu wrote a *Bhāṣya* on the *Chāndogya-mantras*.

Nīlakaṇṭha, as a commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, is well known in this province. But Bengal does not know her own son Arjunamiśra, although in the eyes of scholars his commentary is better in many respects than the former, who came some four hundred years later. In this connection, we make no apology to quote what Dr. Sukthankar thinks of the respective merits of the two commentators :—

'A commentator of the Mahābhārata who has suffered undeserved neglect at the hands of the scholars and publishers alike is Arjunamiśra. Not only is Arjuna's commentary better than that of Nīlakaṇṭha, his text also is superior, in many respects, to that used or fixed by the Western Commentator. And yet Arjuna's Dīpikā has never been published in its entirety[1] and, being

[1] 'The commentary on the Virāṭaparvan and the Udyogaparvan has been published by the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay.'

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difficult of access, is seldom consulted by scholars. Holtzmann has devoted a paragraph to him in his compendious work *Das Mahābhārata*, Vol. 3, pp. 67ff., but Winternitz does not mention him even once in the 130 pages he devotes to the Mahābhārata in his *Geschichte*. He is referred to *en passant* by Brockhaus, ZDMG. 6. 528 ; by Telang, *Bhagavadgītā* translation ; by Rajendralal Mitra, *Notices*, Vols. 5 and 6 ; and in some other manuscript catalogues.'

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

A VEDIC BASIS FOR THE ETYMOLOGIES IN THE NIRUKTA BY YĀSKA

In this article an attempt is made at supplying the Vedic basis for a few of the etymologies of Yáska given in his Nirukta. So far attempts have been made by various scholars to explain these etymologies and they have succeeded therein to a great extent, but our task is entirely different—we will supply a Vedic basis for these.

I. Agnih

We take Agni as the first example. Says Nirukta :—

अग्निः कस्मादग्रणीर्भवत्यग्रं यज्ञेषु प्रणीयते ॥ नि० दै० अ० १ खं० १४ ॥

In Rigveda we find :—

१. ओ३म् आदेवानामग्रयावेह यातु ... ... ॥ ऋग्० १० । ७० । २ ॥

२. ,, अग्निं देवासो अग्रियमिन्धते ... ... ॥ ऋग्० ६ । १६ । ४८ ॥

३. ,, गार्हपत्येन सन्त्य ऋतुना यज्ञनीरसि ..... ॥ ऋग्० १ । १५ । १२ ॥

In 1897 A.D., Bhudhar Chaṭṭopādhyāya brought out the Ādiparva with the commentaries of Nīlakaṇṭha and Arjunamiśra. Owing to his untimely death the work stopped. It is in Bengali types.

The Citraśāla Press, Poona, in their edition of the *Mahābhārata* (1929 A.D.) has published the commentary of Arjunamiśra here and there, e.g. Droṇaparva. We are indebted to Mr. Chintaharan Chakravarti for this information.

Macdonell, in his *History of Sanskrit Literature*, speaks of another edition of the *Mahābhārata*, with the commentaries of both Arjunamiśra and Nīlakaṇṭha, begun in Calcutta in 1875.

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which respectively mean :—

1. May the forerunner (Agni) of the Deities come here.
2. The Deities glorify Agni, the forerunner.
3. You (Agni !) are the conductor of the sacrifice—you are carried in the sacrifice.

In the first mantra Agni has been termed अग्रयावा and in the second अग्रियं apparently both conveying the same meaning 'forerunner'. In the third mantra has Agni been termed यज्ञनीः meaning the leader of the sacrifice, i.e. one who leads the sacrifice or is himself carried as if at the head of the sacrificial procession.

By combining all these three quotations into one we would understand Agni much better than by any other extraneous methods. This is what Yáska seems to have done. He has taken अग्र from the first two and नीः from the last and put them together as अग्रणीः meaning अग्रं यज्ञेषु प्रणीयते on the basis of Rigveda VIII, 60. 2, reading as under :—

४. ओ३म् अच्छा ह्वी त्वा ... मीमहेऽग्निं यज्ञेषु पूर्व्यम् ॥

and meaning :—

4. '. . . . . well do we attain Thee Agni ! the forerunner of the sacrifices.'

II. Purohitam

Next we take Purohitam. Says Rigveda :—

१. ओ३म् अग्निमीळे पुरोहितम् ... ... ॥ ऋग्० १ । १ । १ ॥

२. ओ३म् अग्निं दूतं पुरोदधे ... ... ॥ ऋग् ८ । ४४ । ३ ॥

meaning respectively :—

1. I praise Agni the Purohita . . . . 2. I keep before me Agni the messenger.

Nirukta has recognized similarity amongst the two and translated पुरोहितः as पुर एनम् दधति in Naigam Kand Adhy. 2, Khand 12, especially on the basis of Rigveda, II, 3. 1, stating :—

३. ओ३म् समिद्धो अग्निर्निहितः पृथिव्यां ... ... ॥

meaning :—

3. 'Kindled fire is placed on the earth . . .'

He has grasped the three stages पुरोदधे, निहितः, पुरो+हित all dealing with Agni and the same phenomenon concerning with it.

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III and IV. Ritvijam and Devam

Regarding ऋत्विजम् and देवम् we find in the Rigveda :—

५ २ ६
१. ओ३म् स्वयं यजस्व दिवि देव देवान्किं ते पाकः कृणवदप्रचेताः ।
८
यथा यज ऋतुभिर्देव देवानेवा यजस्व तन्वं सुजात ॥

ऋग्० १० । ७ । ६ ॥

१
२. ,, भवानो अग्नेऽविता ... ... ॥

ऋग्० १० । ७ । ७ ॥

३ ९
३. ,, द्युभिर्हितं ... ऋत्विजं ... ... ॥

ऋग्० १० । ७ । ५ ॥

७ ४
४. ,, स्वस्ति नो दिवो अग्ने पृथिव्या विश्वायुर्धेहि यजथाय देव ।
सचेमहि तव दस्म प्रकेतैरुरुष्या ण उरुभिर्देवशंसैः ॥

ऋग्० १० । ७ । १ ॥

which mean :—

'O Agni[1] ! O Deity[2] ! O Thou who art beneficial[3] through thy lights and is established[3] through same ! grant us a full[7] term of life for the purpose[4] of sacrifice. O Lord ! do Thou thyself perform sacrifice with the deities[6] in the firmament[5] and exactly as thou servest them in accordance with the seasons, so do thou serve them as may be best for their physical frames, O Thou most apparent one !'

We will have to examine these quotations rather carefully to grasp all that they have to offer us.

(*a*) Mention is here made of the deities of the firmament, e.g. दिवि देवान्. Therefore a Dev is one which is established in the firmament दिवि. Therefore Nirukta says :—

"देवो ... द्युस्थानो भवतीति ॥" निरु० दै० १ । १५ ॥

(*b*) The Deity Agni has been invoked for granting us full term of life for the purpose of sacrifices. Therefore a deity is one who gives. Therefore says Nirukta :—

"देवो ... दानात् ... ॥" निरु० दै० १ । १५ ॥

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(c) 'O Sacrificial priest ऋत्विज exactly as thou offer sacrifices according to the seasons.' In this purport has Agnih[8] been here invoked as देव in Mantra 6, and termed ऋत्विज in Mantra 5, and attributed with ऋतु यजन in the former. Therefore does Nirukta state :—

ऋत्विक् ... ... ऋतुयाजी भवति ... ... ॥ नि० दै० ३ । १९ ॥

V. *Indra*

Next we take up Indra. Says Nirukta :—" इन्द्र...इन्दतेर्वैश्वर्यकर्मणः ॥ " नि० दै० अ० ४ खं० ८ ॥

meaning :—' Indra is derived from इन्दति meaning " governing ".'

Its basis may be traced in the Rigveda Mandal, VIII, Śukta 89, Mantra 10, reading :—

ओ३म् इन्द्रो दिव इन्द्र ईशे पृथिव्या इन्द्रो अपामिन्द्र इत्पर्वतानाम् ।
इन्द्रो वृधामिन्द्र इन्मेधिराणामिन्द्रः क्षेमे योगे हव्य इन्द्रः ॥

ऋग्० १० । ८९ । १० ॥

meaning :—

'Lord Indra governs the heavens, the earth, the waters, and the mountains . . .'

Apparently this mantra shows how Indra governs and mantras like this inspired Yáska or his forerunners to translate Indra as one who governs.

VI. *Váta*

Next we take up Váta. Says Nirukta :—" वातो वातीतिसतः ॥ " नि० दै० अ० ४ खं० ३४ ॥

meaning :—' Váta is so-called because it blows '.

Its basis in the Rigveda is met with in the following :—

१. ओ३म् आत्मा देवानां भुवनस्य गर्भो यथावशं चरति देव एषः ।
घोषा इदस्य शृण्विरे न रूपं तस्मै वाताय हविषा विधेम ॥

ऋग्० १० । १६८ । ४ ॥

meaning :—

1. 'We offer our oblations to the deity Váta who moves of his own accord (uncontrolled by any one else) . . .'

This shows Váta to be the deity who moves of his own accord, i.e. यथावशं चरति.

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२. ओ३म् वात आवातु भेषजं ... ... ॥ ऋग्० १० । १८६ । १ ॥

meaning :—' May healing Váta blow from all sides '.

This shows that Váta blows from all sides. Here the root ' वा ' is used instead of ' चर ' of the first quotation.

३. ओ३म् मयोभूर्वातो अभिवातूस्रा ॥ ऋग्० १० । १६९ । १ ॥

meaning :—' May pleasing Váta blow towards the kine from all sides '. This, too, shows that Váta blows from all towards one side. Here, too, the root ' वा ' is used.

Yáska or his forerunners, on the basis of these, derived ' वात ' from ' वा ' meaning ' to move ' which meaning he found out from the first quotation or some other similar one.

VII. Váyu

We may next take up वायु. Says Nirukta :—

' वायुः ... ... वेतेर्वा स्याद् गतिकर्मणः ॥ ' नि० दै० ४ । १ ॥

meaning ' वायु ' is derived from ' वी ' meaning ' to move '.

Its basis in the Rigveda is discernible in the mantra :—

" वेत्यध्वर्युः पथिभीरजिष्ठैः प्रति हव्यानि वीतये ... ... ॥ " ऋग्० ८ । १०१ । १० ॥

meaning :—' Váyu moves on dusty paths towards oblations for eating same . . . . '

Nirukta has based its etymology only on the first portion ' वेत्यध्वर्युः ' and not on the last ' हव्यानि वीतये ' ॥

In the foregoing pages we have adduced seven examples of the etymologies given in the Nirukta of Yáska and tried to supply a Vedic basis for each of them. We now leave it to the learned leader to judge for himself how far we have succeeded therein.

Our object in all this has been to suggest a method of Vedic study which was probably followed by the founders of the Etymologies. In our opinion scholars of yore studied Veda independently by the help of Veda itself alone and by comparing parallel Vedic passages they succeeded in arriving at the purport of the mantras. They consulted each other, discussed with each other, and finally summed up the meanings of the various Vedic words on the basis of the various parallel Vedic passages in which that word occurred and evolved a Nirukti or the other.

We leave it to our readers to judge for themselves the merits of such a study of the Vedas.

In some future article we hope to give the various methods by which Veda helps its students to find out its purport.

RULIA RAM KASHYAP.

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THE MAGHAS OF KAUŚĀMBĪ

Two Mahārājas, with names ending with °*magha*, are known to us from the following records :—

1. A sealing of Mahārāja Śivamagha, discovered in the Bhīṭā excavations of Sir John Marshall, who referred it to the second or third century A.D.[1]
2. Kosam inscription of Mahārāja Śivamagha, date missing.[2]
3. Kosam (Ḥasanābād) inscription of Mahārāja Bhadrama[gha]. The date has been read as 88.[3]
4. Two Kosam inscriptions of Mahārāja Bhadramagha of the year 87, discovered by Mr. G. S. Chatterji in 1929, and now preserved in the Allahabad Municipal Museum.[4]

Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, the editor of Nos. 2 and 3, took the year 88 as referring to the Gupta era and concluded that Śivamagha and Bhadramagha were Gupta feudatories. An earlier date, however, is preferable on palæographical grounds.

Of the innumerable important points raised by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in his *History of India*, 150 *A.D. to* 350 *A.D.*, one is the connection of Śivamagha and Bhadramagha with the Vākāṭakas.[5] In the first place he reads *Śivamāgha* both on the Bhīṭā sealing and the Kosam inscription (Nos. 1 and 2 above). Though the *ā*-mark may be traced on the sealing, it is non-existent on all the four stone inscriptions.[6] As it is unthinkable that the scribes forgot to put the vowel-mark on all these records, we conclude that the real names of these Mahārājas were Śivamagha and Bhadramagha. For a similar reason we must reject the emendation into Śivamegha and Bhadramegha, as proposed by Sir John Marshall and Mr. Sahni.[7]

Mr. Jayaswal refers the year 86[8] of the Kosam inscription (No. 3) to the Kalacuri era. He may be right, for palæographically

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[1] Marshall, *ASI-AR.*, 1911-2, p. 51.

[2] Sahni, *EI.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 159. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

[4] They have been edited by Mr. G. S. Chatterji and will be published in *Mahāmahopādhyāya Ganganatha Jha Commemoration Volume.*

[5] The word *ma* in the word *Bhadramagha* in No. 3 above is intact, so that there is no room for thinking that the vowel-mark has been broken off with the subsequent portion.

[6] *Loc. cit.*

[7] *History of India*, pp. 230-1. The opinion expressed *ibid.*, p. 87, is corrected on p. 230 n. 2. He thinks that Śivamagha was succeeded by Bhadramagha by the year 86. However, as we have no date for Śivamagha, we cannot be sure as to who was the successor.

[8] This is his reading for 88, as read by Sahni. To judge from the published estampage of the inscription, it seems that Mr. Jayaswal is right.

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a post-Kuṣāṇa and pre-Gupta date seems to be necessary. But we cannot be sure of its reference to the Kalacuri era ; for we cannot overlook the possibility of some local era, connected with the dynasty, being used in these inscriptions.

Lastly, Mr. Jayaswal thinks that Śivamagha and Bhadramagha ruled at Kauśāmbī as governors of the Vākāṭakas. Even assuming that the Vākāṭaka empire extended as far north as Kauśāmbī, it is a problem how Śivamagha and Bhadramagha, both of whom called themselves Mahārāja, could have the same title as their overlords, the Vākāṭakas, who assumed no title higher than Mahārāja. Mr. Jayaswal's view that a Vākāṭaka prince is called Mahārājādhirāja in a Bhīṭā sealing is far from certain.[1] AMALANANDA GHOSH.

In the last issue of the *Indian Culture* I contributed a short note under the Miscellanea Section called : ' Did not Yavana denote Persians even before the second century A.D. ? ' When this note was being published little did I know that an erudite article on : ' Yavanas in Early Indian Inscriptions ' by Dr. O. Stein, was being published in the same number. But I express that what he has said about the term ' Yavana ' occurring in Asokan Inscription, in para. one, is anything but clear to me.

Dr. Stein starts off with one of the misconceptions that Dr. E. J. Thomas has tried to correct. The second sentence in the article begins with ' The Yonas comprised here evidently the peoples of the five kings, etc. etc. . . . p. 343 '. The word ' here ' no doubt refers to R. Edicts II, V, and XIII. But may I respectfully enquire how he knows that these were the ' Yonas ' in the mind of Asoka ? He, however, assumes that Asoka's ' Yona ' means Greek and says further on : ' essentially he might have thought the subjects of these five kings to be Greeks '. But this is just what I am afraid there is no evidence for. It is possible that Asoka might have got the name Yona through the Persians as contended by Dr. E. J. Thomas. The ν in the word Ionians (Ιωνες = Iōnes) dropped out of the Greek language at least a century before the time of Asoka. It is worthy of note that the Greeks of Alexander did not even call themselves Ionians.

May I therefore request him along with other Asokan scholars to thresh out this subject and ascertain what exactly the term ' Yona ' of Asokan Inscriptions conveys ?

(MISS) BHRAMAR GHOSH.

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[1] The Bhīṭā sealing No. 29 was read by Marshall as [Bhaṭṭā]-*raka-mahārājādhirāja*. Mr. Jayaswal tries to read it as [*Vākā*]*ṭaka-mahārājādhirāja*, and thinks that Pravarasena I is referred to here (*loc. cit.*, pp. 226-7). But it is difficult to read the first existing letter as *ṭa*.

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REVIEWS

THE UNIVERSITY OF NĀLANDĀ, by H. D. Sankalia, M.A., LL.B., with a preface, by Rev. Henry Heras, S.J., M.A., published by B. G. Paul & Co., Madras, 1934, pages 1–259, with illustrations and maps.

This book consists of 13 chapters with an appendix and an index. The author has discussed in the first chapter the meaning of 'university'. The chapter second, part 1, which deals with the background of the university of Nālandā refers to various subjects taught in Pāṇini's time. In part second of the same chapter the author has said a few words about the formation of Saṅghārāmas. I am at a loss to understand what the author means when he speaks of aḍḍhayogas (not aḍḍhāyogas, p. 26) 'as gold-coloured Bengal houses'. I like to draw the author's attention to the P.T.S. Dictionary (p. 17) which says that this interpretation is not correct. Aḍḍhayoga really means a kind of house shaped like a Garuḍa bird. In the 3rd chapter the author attempts at tracing the rise and growth of the university under different kings. In the next three chapters the author has given an account of the curriculum followed at Nālandā, the famous Paṇḍits of Nālandā, the religious rites and worship of images which a student was required to perform. In the seventh chapter an interesting account of student life has been given but the author ought to have made clear the distinction between the saddhivihārikas and bhikkhus and the bhikkhus and māṇavas. It is wrong to call bhikkhus māṇavas. The term 'māṇava' means 'a young brahmin'. Nissaggiyā Pācittiyā Dhammā and Saṁghādisesā Dhammā mentioned at p. 152, fns. 3 and 4, require explanation. In the remaining chapters the author has discussed about the contemporary universities and Nālandā as an international university. The author has written about the modern site of Nālandā with her interesting finds which are good specimens of art and architecture. The index of important classical books seems to be inexhaustive as it is regrettable to find omission of such names as the Vinayapiṭaka, Dīgha-Nikāya and Majjhima-Nikāya. At p. 35 of his book the author has referred to the Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī (p. 35) wherein, according to the author, the place (Nālandā) has been described as a prosperous village in Buddha's time, but it is found that there is no description of Nālandā in the page referred to. At p. 38, the author says that Nālandā was one yojana from Rājagriha, but the author is silent as to the source of this information. I like to draw his attention to the Sumaṅgala-Vilāsinī, p. 35. But according to the Mahāvastu Nālandā is situated at a distance of half a yojana from Rājagriha (Vol. III, p. 56). There was a road from Rājagriha to Nālandā and Buddha took this road in course of his journey; he was seen seated on this road (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. II, p. 220). All these facts remain unnoticed in the author's book. The author says at p. 40 that Nālandā was often visited by Buddha and his disciples, mainly relying upon an English book without consulting the original sources. I would like to draw his attention to the following references. In the mango grove of Pāvārika at Nālandā Sāriputta came to see the Buddha who was there and discussed with him on the subject of faith (Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 81–83). Here a discussion was held between the Buddha and the bhikkhus on the subject of conduct, earnest interpretation and intelligent discourse (Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. II, pp. 83ff.). At Nālandā the Buddha was met by a Jaina named Dīghatapassi. He asked the Jain as to the number of karmas which Niganṭha Nāthaputta preached in order to destroy simple deeds. A householder met the Buddha at Nālandā and asked him about the cause of Parinibbāna in life (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. IV, p. 110).

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A village headman named Asibandhakaputta asked the Buddha thus: 'The brahmins by their mantras send dead men to heaven'. The Buddha replied, 'Those who commit life slaughter cannot go to heaven'. Then the village headman asked the Lord 'why are you not preaching dhamma equally to all?' The Buddha replied, 'One should sow seeds according to the fertility of the soil' (Saṁyutta Nikāya, Vol. IV, pp. 311ff.). While the Buddha was staying at Nālandā he spoke about the three wonders of the gods to a young householder who became pleased at heart and rejoiced at the words spoken (Dīgha Nikāya, Vol. I, Kevaḍḍha-sutta). All these facts ought to have been noted in order to show the importance of the place in the Buddhist history.

At p. 40, the author says: 'Here the great Mahāvīra, the Jain Tirthaṅkara met Gosāla' also relying upon an English book. The author ought to have consulted Uvāsagadasāo, Vol. II, pp. 109ff and Bhagavati Sūtra (Chap. 15). For six years Mahāvīra and Makkhaligosāla lived together practising austere asceticism but afterwards Gosāla separated himself from Mahāvīra and set up a religious system of his own.

The author while describing the prosperity of Nālandā has failed to point out from the Mahāvastu (Vol. III, p. 56) that it was a rich village.

On the whole the book under review is a laborious and useful publication. The author has relied much upon second-hand information. There are some misprints, e.g. Upasampāda (p. 30), Dhammapadāṭṭhakathā (p. 167), etc. In the Bibliography the author has made a mistake by including the *Vinaya text* and *Dialogues of the Buddha* in the list of Buddhist Sanskrit sources (p. xxi).

B. C. LAW.

DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA (EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD), Vol. I, by Dr. H. C. Ray, M.A., Ph.D., with a foreword, by Dr. L. D. Barnett; Calcutta University, 1931; pp. xl+663.

Besides a well-written introduction, the volume under review has ten chapters dealing with the dynastic history of Sind (Ch. I), of the Śāhis of Afghanistan and the Panjab (Ch. II), of Kashmir (Ch. III), of Nepal (Ch. IV), of Assam (Ch. V), of Bengal and Bihar (Ch. VI), of Orissa (Ch. VII), of the Gāhaḍavālas (Gaharwars) of Vārāṇasī and Kānyakubja (Ch. VIII), of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Northern India (Ch. IX), and of the later Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj (Ch. X). There are also an appendix on the coins of the Śāhis and no less than ten excellent maps which have greatly increased the value of the book.

The first two chapters, viz., those on the history of Sind and the Śāhis of Afghanistan and the Panjab, are the most interesting in the book. The history of continued hammering at the north-western gates of India by her Muslim neighbours till the gates gave way, is a pathetically interesting prelude to the final act of a drama that pictured the establishment of Muslim supremacy in India. The other chapters (the last chapter specially) are also well written. Dr. Ray has marshalled the facts and figures in a skilful manner, and we are glad to note that he has hardly been overcome by the eagerness for theorizing which is now common in almost all historians (including even the most reputed ones) in India.

There are, however, some points about which our opinion differs from that of Dr. Ray. We do not think, for instance, that the dynasty which ruled in Sind before the family of Dāhir (=Dahirā[ya]=Dadhirāja) and to which belonged the kings Dīwāji (=Devajit), Sihras (=Sīharāsi=Siṁharāśi?) and Sāhasin, can be called 'the Rāī Dynasty' (pp. 3 and 47) simply because the kings are called 'Rāī'

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in the Persian work *Cacnāma*. The term *Rāī* (=*rāya*=*rājan*) was used by the Muslim chroniclers to denote an Indian king.

The family of Kuñjaraghaṭāvarṣa described as *Kamboj-ānvaya-gauḍapati* in the Bangaḍ inscription may not be taken to have any connection with Southern China (p. 309). Kamboja (Kamboja<Kamoja<Kaõja<Kaõca<Kõca<Kõc) of this record is evidently a sanskritized form of *Koc* (also pronounced *Kõc*) and *Kambojānvaya* signifies the Koch, originally a Himalayan tribe of Mongoloid origin. The Koch kings became very powerful about the beginning of the 16th century A.D., and carved out a kingdom that comprised the western part of Kāmarūpa and the eastern part of Gauḍa or Varendra ; the remnant of the kingdom is still visible in the modern State of Cochbihar, i.e. *Koca-vihāra* (p. 265). It is possible that about the time of Mahīpāla I, a prince belonging to an earlier royal family of the Koch tribe occupied the district round Gauḍa which lay just to the west of the later Koch kingdom.

Dr. Ray has tentatively accepted the correction *rājy-aikaviṃśe* of the passage *rasaikaviṃśe* in the celebrated colophon of the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (p. 367, note). We are however constrained to reject it as the correction does not suit the metre in which the colophon is composed. It seems that *rasaikaviṃśe* here signifies, by *lakṣaṇā*, *rasā-bhog-aikaviṃśe*, i.e. in the 21st year of the enjoyment of the earth (*rasā*) by king Lakṣmaṇasena.

All such minor differences of opinion, however, will not diminish the value of the work which is no doubt a valuable guide to all students of the mediæval history of India.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

THE VIPASSANĀ DĪPANĪ OR THE MANUAL OF INSIGHT BY MAHĀTHERA LEDI SAYĀDAW, translated into English by U. Nyāna. Published by the Society for promoting Buddhism in foreign countries, Mandalay, Burma.

This booklet consisting of 70 pages will be useful to students of Buddhist philosophy. In it the author has treated such topics as three kinds of vippallāsas (erroneous observations), two abhinivesas (firm beliefs), two bhūmis or the stages of origin and growth, two gatis or transmigrations, two bhāvas or productive principles, rūpas or material qualities, ākāsadhātu or the element of space, fifty-four kinds of mental phenomena, e.g. citta, cetasika, nibbāna, etc., two abhiññās or super knowledges, suffering, soul, impermanence, etc. The translator has given his own renderings of various terms which seem to be unacceptable to us, e.g. nibbāna, means ' freedom from every kind of infelicity ' (p. 27) ; adhimokkha (p. 29), ' deciding '. It is difficult to understand what the translator means by attā or soul. He says that it is the supposed underlying essence of a pictorial idea. In many places the idea has been found to be not very clear. The translator ought to have made an attempt to explain the Buddhist technical terms as clearly as possible. This booklet is nothing but a catalogue of Pāli terms with meanings but not explanations in many cases. However, students of Buddhism and Buddhist philosophy may find it somewhat helpful.

B. C. LAW.

BUDDHISM—ITS BIRTH AND DISPERSAL, by Mrs. Rhys Davids, D.Litt., M.A., Revised edition, The Home University Library publication No. 47, 1934, Price 2/6 net.

The general impression in India about the writings of Mrs. Rhys Davids is that she is nowhere so clear, lucid and readable as the late lamented Professor T. W. Rhys Davids ; that she adopts a phraseology, a manner of writing, or a mode

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of presentation which is extraordinarily her own ; and that, above all, she takes up a standpoint which is difficult to appreciate. Her books, nevertheless, are widely read in the whole of India, the whole of the East, nay, all over the world.

This is not, however, to say that we share this 'common' impression or current opinion. It may be that she rather talks than writes, rather suggests than thrusts, rather warns than guides. But it is not true to say that she is unintelligible or unsympathetic, unseeing or uninspiring. We would say there is hardly another writer on Buddhism who is so unpretentious and appreciating as Mrs. Rhys Davids, and every little sentence or phrase from whose pen bears such a genial touch of sympathy and displays such eagerness to know, eagerness to grow in knowledge, eagerness to sound a note of caution, and eagerness to cheer up weary journey-man. The real excellence of her writings is that she does not spare herself. The humbleness of spirit with which she seeks for truth finds a fitting expression in the pithy dedicatory inscription—'Too little payment for so great a debt'. She does not close her little book without having to finally remind her reader of 'many warnings' amounting to self-condemnation as one ranking among the translators of Buddhist texts: 'Translators can be traitors. Guides they are, bandits they may be' (p. 252). She beautifully and vividly sums up the history of progress of the study of Buddhism, the collection of manuscripts, the publication of texts and translations, without any undue claim for achievements of her Pali Text Society in the matter of that and without belittling the importance of endeavours made by other scholars in Europe and America. And yet she is not forgetful of the feat: 'that wider experience will profit us little, in so far as we honestly wish to get a just idea of those traditions and an intelligent appreciation of that culture, if we rigidly estimate the one or the other by the measure of our (Western) traditional standpoints' (p. 19).

To the scholars and thinkers of the West who generally are disinclined to learn anything from the East by way of science or philosophy, she has adroitly pleaded the cause of Buddhism and held out the interest of its study: 'it is just the otherness in standpoint, in the midst of much that is our own (European), that we need to discern before we judge, and from which, in contributing unit-wise to modify the thought of our day, we have most to learn' (p. 20).

We may readily admit that she is near the truth when she tends to interpret Dharma (Pali Dhamma), according to Buddhist conception, as meaning 'a world-cosmos, wherein cause-and-effect grinds its way, a cosmodicy rather than a theodicy, an infinite mechanism, started none knows when, or how, or to what end' (p. 37); or, according to Asoka's idea, as implying the inner 'urge' of the sense of 'what ought to be done, or not done' 'that makes a man truly moral' (p. 228).

Religion, as understood in India, is rather a mode or system of worship than 'an adventure in faith'. The 'adventure in faith', in which the man undertaking it is to be considered the 'willer' growing from 'more to more' and approaching the cherished 'Most' is undoubtedly an earlier phase of Buddhism, just one of its main phases, but not the only phase as Mrs. Rhys Davids would have us believe. As we sought to show (Faith in Buddhism, B. C. Law's Buddhistic Studies), this was the *Saddhā* aspect of Buddhism, *Paññā* representing the other aspect of it. *Saddhā* was, however, to remain subservient to *Paññā*, the 'willer' having been expected to pursue his career as a well-trained seeker of truth, the seeker of knowledge. It was suggested that the notion of 'will' was in the Upanishadic word *saṅkalpa* (*yaṃ kāmaṃ kāmayote tad saṅkalpād eva samuttiṣṭate, tena sampannaḥ mahīyate*), and in the Buddhist word *saddhā* (cf. Majjhima-N., III, pp. 99-100: *So taṁ cittaṁ dahati, taṁ cittaṁ adhiṭṭhāti taṁ cittaṁ bhāveti, tassa te saṅkhārā ca viahāro c'evaṁ bhāvitā bahulīkatā tatr' uppattiyā saṁvattanti. Ayaṁ maggo, ayaṁ paṭipadā tatr' uppattiyā saṁvattati*).

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Assuming with Mrs. Rhys Davids that Buddhism stood for a doctrine of 'More', why should we pin our faith only to growth of more in 'man', in 'life', and not as well to growth of more in 'wisdom', in 'knowledge'? Would it not be more correct to say that Buddhism in its earlier phase and fundamental character was a search, for truth, for which the 'adventure in faith' was but a requisite qualification?

According to 'Last words' in her book, Buddhism is not 'fitly called philosophy' in any sense whatsoever, nor is it 'just ethics'; it just dwindles into 'an adventure in faith' for a fancied growth of more in 'other-world life'.

We may readily concede that in 'the more' (*uttaritara*) lies the keynote of Buddhism. An Indian writer interprets Buddhism in that regard thus: 'As, on the one hand, the trend of universalism in Buddha's thought is towards increasing the significance of all statements of truth, so, on the other hand, the trend of universalism in Buddha's religious experience is towards gaining in consciousness from more to more'.

Buddhism developed with the progress of time into a system of worship—Bhāgavatism, Buddha-Bhāgavatism, that system of worship which derives its significance from the contemplation of an assemblage or aggregate of human attainments, attributes, experiences and excellences symbolized by the name Buddha. As a system of worship, Buddhism may be shown to have all the features that are in other forms of Bhāgavatism, Śiva or Vishṇu, Jina or Christ. In so far as this aspect of Buddhism goes, there is no reason why it should fail to satisfy the test, in Max Müller 'Five broad foundations' of religions.

It is no use quarrelling with the monk who is the preserver of tradition. He is incapable of discovery of a new truth. To try to push him aside is to acknowledge his authority. We have got to see whether we have so far rightly imagined the contents of Buddhism. The exposition attempted by Mrs. Rhys Davids shows that she has neither got hold nor made use of the keys, given keys, of the early tradition of Buddhism. Until that tradition is unlocked with the help of those keys, the matter should better be laid to rest where it is than taken as decided once for all.

B. M. BARUA.

THE NAIṢADHACARITA OF ŚRÎHARṢA, translated into English with critical notes and extracts from unpublished commentaries and a vocabulary, etc. by Principal K. K. Handiqui, M.A. (Cal., Oxon) of the Jorhat Intermediate College, Assam—published by Motilal Banarsi Dass of the Punjab Sanskrit Book Depôt, Lahore.

The *Naiṣadhacarita* of Śrîharṣa is a long art poem. I would not call it an epic. *Naiṣadha* is the latest of the *Mahākāvyas* (lit. long poems) and its sweet diction has passed into a proverb. The line of development or decline which Sanskrit poetry adopted after *Kālidāsa* was destined, it now seems to us, to lead to *Naiṣadha*. Clever use of figures of speech, learned allusions to the learning of the day, selection of words of many meanings,—such tricks usurped the place of real poetry and natural flow of language. Still it cannot be denied that the authors who wrote during this long period of decadence also had great poets amongst them; only they could not realize that what surrounded them was the ruins of culture and that the conventions that fenced them all round spelt the death of all genuine poetry. They accepted the conventions as insurmountable, as something sacrosanct. It would be wrong to forget all this in judging a poet like Śrîharṣa.

Judged by this standard, Śrîharṣa appears to have been gifted with real poetical power. Many of his *ślokas* contain fine poetry. But he was also a *very learned*

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man; his *Khaṇḍana* is an attempt at proving that every philosophical position carries in it germs of its own negation: it is a very difficult Vedantic work. Śrîharṣa's wide learning, and wonderful command over the Sanskrit language assert themselves at every step. The result is that his poem can be read and appreciated only by the highly educated scholar. All Sanskrit poems are meant for the select few, but the audience of *Naiṣadha* is even more limited.

Does such a book deserve the compliment of translation into a foreign language? Let Mr. Handiqui answer: "Poetic merits apart, the chief interest of *Naiṣadha* lies in the fact that it is in many ways a repository of traditional learning, and contains literary, lexicographical and socio-religious data important for the study of the cultural history of mediæval India. No apology is needed for translating a lengthy *mahâkâvya*, which is in some respects the *most difficult* of the later Sanskrit epics". We agree. We testify that after going through some portions of the translation and notes and extracts from old commentaries, we are convinced that the task of the English-knowing reader of *Naiṣadha* will be much lightened by Mr. Handiqui's labours, which will help better appreciation of Śrîharṣa's poetry.

The language of the translation is good, and one unacquainted with Sanskrit might get some idea of the poem through the translation, though it is true that frequently he would feel bored. The real use of the translation would be manifest to those who try to read the original with or without the help of any Sanskrit commentary.

The Sanskrit notes extracted from *Cāṇḍūpaṇḍita* (1297 A.C.), *Vidyâdhara* (a little earlier than *Câṇḍū*), *Īśânadeva* (1322 A.C.), etc. are all well-selected and will be of real help to the student of *Naiṣadha*.

The philosophical notes read more like researches in Indian philosophy, and may profitably be read even by people who are not interested in *Naiṣadha*. It is very gratifying to notice that these contain no careless and muddled sentences, such as are not very rare even in professedly philosophical writings.

The glossary of important words is interesting, learned and accurate. It shows the translator's width of reading and interest as well as his habit of careful work. We cannot praise this portion too highly. In order to ascertain how a *bona fide paṇḍita* of the old school virtually unacquainted with English, would appreciate these word-notes, I read out and explained some of these to him, e.g. the notes on धीरहन्, यागेश्वर, पत्र, ताराम्रग, etc. He appreciated the scholarship and width of learning of the translator and remarked that the translator's labours would have been more useful, if he had given all his notes in Sanskrit, so that the *alumni* of the indigenous Sanskrit Schools (the *catuspâṭhîs-pâṭhaśâlâs*) also could have been benefited by them. Moreover, people who would read *Naiṣadha* (whatever be their nationality and mother-tongue), the most learned and difficult of all Sanskrit *Mahākāvyas*, must be presumed to be tolerably well acquainted with Sanskrit, and Sanskrit notes would not be too difficult for them. There is much truth in this observation. We would be very pleased to see an edition of the *Naiṣadha* with commentaries in Sanskrit, brought out under the supervision of Mr. Handiqui, who by his translation and notes proved himself one of the best-equipped scholars of the land.

Mr. Handiqui has dedicated his book to the memory of the late Mr. Anandarama Borooah (I.C.S.) of Assam. This Borooah was a wonderful scholar. The late Dr. P. K. Ray, D.Sc. (Edin. and Lond.) related the story that the then Registrar of the London University had told him (then a student at London) that he (the Registrar) had never met with a young man, who could learn so much in such a short time, as Mr. Borooah. Borooah projected many important works, but could not complete any of his major works on account of his untimely death. A higher

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Sanskrit grammar on historical principles and a comprehensive Sanskrit lexicon (Sanskrit to Sanskrit or Sanskrit to English) are yet desiderata. Could Mr. Handiqui step into Borooah's shoes and organize the compilation of these works? He has learning, leisure, capacity and love for the old language. Will he have the will? These thoughts passed into my mind as I read Mr. Handiqui's work, and these I set down in writing for what they are worth.

Mr. Handiqui's first work—for I take *Naiṣadha* to be his first work—contains great promise of a brilliant future, and that future may yet give us many welcome volumes on Sanskrit literature, philosophy, history and other subjects.

VANAMALI VEDANTATIRTHA.

KAULAJÑĀNA-NIRṆAYA AND SOME MINOR TEXTS OF THE SCHOOL OF MATSYENDRANĀTHA, by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, M.A., D. és lettres (Paris), Lecturer, Calcutta University.

The above book forms No. 3 of the Calcutta Sanskrit Series which is being published under the direction of Pandit Amareswar Thakur, M.A., Ph.D. It is divided into four main divisions. The first of these, called Introduction, treats of nearly ten different matters, namely: (I) The manuscript; (II) The date of the manuscript; (III) The author of the text—the legends about him; (IV) The traditions; (V) The time and place of origin; (VI) The school and its fundamental doctrines; (VII) The Yoginīkaula of Matsyendranātha and the Buddhist Tantras. Every one of these sections is of great importance historically. Thus under Section (II) where he discusses the date of the manuscripts, he criticizes no less a scholar than the late M.M. H. P. Sastri, and adduces some cogent grounds for differing from him. Similarly, what he says under Sections (III), (IV), and (V) about Matsyendranātha is exceedingly interesting. His Introduction, however, which forms the first part of the book, does not consist of merely the seven sections referred to above. It also treats of (VIII) Notices of MSS. relating to Matsyendranātha which is exceedingly informative and (IX) Abstract of the Texts which is very helpful to the students of the Nātha cult. The second division of his book is entitled 'The Texts' which includes those of (1) Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya; (2), (3) Akulavīratantram A. and B.; (4) Kulānanda (tantram); and (5) Jñānakārikā. This is followed first by Index of Verses and lastly by Index of Technical Words.

It will be seen from the above brief description of the frame-work of Dr. Bagchi's book that it leaves nothing to be desired. And it is very doubtful whether his *guru* from the Śveta-dvīpa, Prof. Sylvain Levi, in spite of his intimate acquaintance with Nepāl, Nepalese MSS. and Inscriptions, and Nepalese Cults could have done this work better. Nevertheless, in the field of scholarship there will for ever remain an honest difference of opinion. In the first place, the reviewer of this book is not very certain whether Dr. Bagchi has understood the full significance of what the Mahārāshṭra poet-saint Jñānadeva has said about the pedigree of his *guru* Nivṛttinātha in the *Jñāneśvarī*, his Marāṭhī commentary on the Bhagavadgītā, in spite of the extract he has given on page 21 of his book. The pedigree given is as follows: (1) Matsyendra, (2) Gorakṣa, (3) Gahinī, and (4) Nivṛttinātha. As this last was a contemporary of Jñānadeva, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the names and the order of succession of the teachers preceding him, who, again, are only three, must be accepted as historically correct. Now, Jñānadeva at the end of his commentary says that he composed it in Śaka 1212=1290 A.D., when Rāmarāja of the Yadu dynasty was reigning. This Rāmarāja can be no other than Rāmachandra of the Yādava dynasty that ruled

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at Devagiri (Daulatābād). If this is the case and if we allot 25 years to a generation, the conclusion seems almost irresistible that Matsyendranātha, the founder of the cult, flourished in 1191–1215 A.D. Dr. Bagchi however is of opinion that Matsyendranātha probably flourished towards the beginning of the 10th century (p. 32)—a conclusion which, he apparently thinks, is confirmed by the fact that the MSS. of the Kaulajñāna-nirṇaya was written towards the middle of the 11th century (p. 5).

Dr. Bagchi also opines that Matsyendranātha lived 'in Chandradvīpa which in the present state of our knowledge may be located in the deltaic region of Bengal and may be identified with the island of Sundwip' (p. 32). But nothing is heard of Sundwip, so far as we know, before the advent of the Portuguese in the 16th century A.D. Besides, Buddhagupta speaks of both Chandradvīpa and Sundwip,—showing that one was different from the other. Again, it is true that while discussing about the location of Chandradvīpa, Dr. Bagchi has brought together a mass of information bearing upon the subject. But he does not seem to have noted, so far as we can find out, that the kingdom of the Chandra family was Chandradvīpa with its capital at Vikramapura. This also may afford some clue to the identification of Chandradvīpa where Matsyendra flourished.

The points noted above by way of criticism are, however, a small matter and do not in any manner detract from the sound scholarship or the extreme value of Dr. Bagchi's book. We, however, request him to pick up a bit of Marāṭhī so as to enable him to understand the standard translation of the Jñāneśvarī. He will then be in a position to compare the philosophical views embodied in this Marāṭhī work with those of Kaula and throw a flood of light upon a subject about which we yet know almost nothing that is systematic or even consistent, namely, the doctrine and philosophy of the Matsyendranātha School.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.

CANONS OF ORISSAN ARCHITECTURE, by Nirmal Kumar Bose, with 49 illustrations, published by R. Chatterjee, Calcutta, 1932.

In this work an attempt has been made to classify the temples of mediæval Orissa with the help of evidence furnished by eight Orissan manuscripts relating to architecture in Orissa. Five of these are the different recensions of a treatise on architecture called *Bhuvana-pradīpa* and the remaining three, the copies of a treatise called *Śilpī-pothi* or *Śilpa-śāstra* dealing with the erection of thatched huts. These manuscripts are not very old and the Lalita-giri manuscript and that belonging to Nīlakaṇṭha Mahārāṇā are definitely known to have been written down within the last thirty or forty years; yet the author rightly believes that the old canons about architecture as practised in mediæval Orissa have been embodied in these manuscripts. In the introduction the author has briefly stated that the classification of ancient Indian buildings has been made either on the basis of field-observation only or with the help of evidence recorded in certain Sanskrit treatises on Indian architecture or from the æsthetical point of view or with the help of evidence recorded in the manuals of craftsmen. The present author has classified the temples of mediæval Orissa according to the last point of view.

In the first eight chapters, which are not important from the purely architectural point of view, an account of highly interesting religious, sociological, and astrological factors underlying the erection of buildings, particularly temples, has been given. The most important and interesting portions of the book dealing with the types of temples of mediæval Orissa are found in Chapters X–XVIII. The author has rightly shown that the mediæval temples of Orissa may be divided into

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four main types, viz. Rekhā, Bhadra, Khākharā, and Gauḍīya according to the different types of the *pṛṣṭha* or the pedestal, the *bāḍa* or the wall, the *gaṇḍī* or the body, and the *mastaka* or the crown of the temples concerned. The Rekhā temple has to be subdivided into three divisions, viz. *Navaratha* (having 9 pāgās), *Saptaratha* (having 7 pāgās), and *pañcaratha* (having 5 pāgās). The *Navaratha*, *Saptaratha*, and *Pañcaratha* types of the Rekhā temple have each been subdivided into a number of types according to the measurement of different architectural parts. In like manner it has been shown by the author that there are five types of the Bhadra temple, viz. *Bhadra*, *Mahābhadra*, *Bijayābhadra*, *Keśarī*, and *Nalinībhadra*, and that there are three types of the Khākharā temple, viz. *Drāviḍa*, *Baḍabhi*, and *Kośalī*. But it should be pointed out that the author has not tried much to corroborate the evidence furnished by these manuscripts with the help of the known mediæval temples of Orissa which he should have done. Of the examples of the Gauḍīya type of temple there are only two late examples in Puri. In the last chapter a very useful dictionary of architectural terms has been added. In the two Appendices some known Rekhā temples have been classified and the text of the *Bhuvana-pradīpa* has been published. Among the defects from which the book suffers we should particularly mention that no attention has been paid to the diacritical marks in the English transliteration of Sanskrit and Oḍiyā terms. However the book is a valuable one, and we wish it a wide circulation.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.

BHĀṬṬACINTĀMAṆI, a commentary on the Bhāṭṭadīpikā of Khaṇḍadeva by Vāñcheśvara Yajvan, alias Kuṭṭisāstrin. Edited by Venkata Subba Śāstrin with an introduction by Aryasvamin, pp. 118+8+482. Printed at the Madras Law Journal Press, Mylapore, Madras. Price Rupees Six only.

The Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi together with the Bhāṭṭadīpikā of Khaṇḍadeva is published for the first time and its publication really adds a valuable treasure to the stock of Mīmāṁsā literature available in print. The Mīmāṁsā system of thought once occupied a privileged position in the field of Indian culture and its contributions to the various branches of study are as valuable as they are far-reaching. Owing to the decadence of Vedic ritualism in modern times due to various causes, of which the tremendous expansion of Vedānta philosophy may be counted as one, the practical interest in Mīmāṁsā has suffered a set-back, though in Southern India and at Benares the sporadic performances of Vedic sacrifices tend to preserve it from total collapse. Although it has fallen on evil days the study of Mīmāṁsā as a theoretic discipline cannot be neglected, if a full comprehension of the development of Indian philosophical speculations is to be acquired. Of the numerous authors of outstanding ability who have contributed to the development of Mīmāṁsā speculations, Khaṇḍadeva is a luminary of the first magnitude and he may be credited as the founder of the Navya Mīmāṁsā School. Khaṇḍadeva drank deep at the fountain of the new illumination which was ushered into existence by the school of the neo-logicians of Nadia and he imbibed the courage and self-confidence of the latter in the fullest degree. The result was that he gave a new orientation to Mīmāṁsā just as the Nadia logicians had done to Nyāya and his bold speculations have worked out new channels in many a place. He was a voluminous writer and the Bhāṭṭakaustubha is his *magnum opus*. The Bhāṭṭadīpikā is but an abridged edition of the former work and owing to its terseness and compact style it has become a difficult book. The difficulty of the book, however, tempted many ambitious scholars to write commentaries on it and we know of three such

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commentaries ; vide, one by Śambhu Bhaṭṭa, a direct pupil of the author, the second by Bhāskara Rāya, and the third by Vāñcheśvara Yajvan, our present author. Of these the commentary by our author is by far the best and most helpful. It is noteworthy that our author is not a mere commentator ; though he explains the text in clear and transparent language and expounds the positions advocated in the text with all their strength, he finds courage to differ at places and does not hesitate to criticize the original author. Khaṇḍadeva has been unsparing in his criticism of Kumārila and Pārthasārathi Mishra ; but our author's sympathies for the ancient doctors have led him to vindicate their views with additional arguments and he has recorded his dissenting notes. The scholarship and sobriety of judgment, which are writ large in every page of the commentary, are really admirable. His extensive study of the latest developments of Navya-Nyāya speculations and of the whole Mīmāṁsā literature have turned into a powerful weapon in his hands. He is bold in his originality, fearless in his criticism, and clear and definite in his exposition. There is no hesitancy, no defeatist mentality, no muddled logic in his writing. As instances of his originality we may advert to his brilliant lucubrations on the *Vyākaraṇādhikaraṇa*, where he establishes the correctness and authoritativeness of the native dialects perhaps for the first time. His condemnation of the learning of *mlechha* languages is interesting. His exposition of *Parisaṅkhyā* throws a flood of light on this knotty problem and his summing up shows the impartial judicial spirit and detachment which he brings to bear upon disputed matters.

A careful student will find that many obscure problems have been cleared up and polemics have been set at rest. Khaṇḍadeva, we have remarked before, was the founder of the new school of Mīmāṁsā. He most probably belonged to Northern India and he has been merciless in his condemnation of the custom of marrying maternal uncle's daughter which is prevalent in South India. The South Indian scholars, beginning with Mādhavācārya, have been at great pains to justify this custom on the evidence of Vedic texts and M.M. Anantakrishṇa Śāstrin has come forward as the latest champion. In his introduction to the Bhāṭṭadīpikā with Śambhubhaṭṭa's commentary he has endeavoured to make out that this custom is highly commendable and is sanctioned by the sacred texts. His arguments, we are afraid, would strike an unbiassed reader as a case of special pleading and this much is certain, that the South Indian scholars have allowed their patriotic bias to get the better of their sense of loyalty to Kumārila and Khaṇḍadeva. Our commentator too has not been able to rise superior to this parochial patriotism and in his defence he has neither been honest nor loyal to Khaṇḍadeva. Barring this point, the commentary of Vāñcheśvara Yajvan is an admirable performance and this edition is far superior to that of M.M. A. K. Śāstrin. The latter referred to his knowledge of this commentary, which however was not available to him. The publication of this volume has really removed a desideratum and a study of this work would greatly facilitate the researches in the field of Mīmāṁsā. It deserves to be prescribed as a text-book in the examinations of the Sanskrit Associations. Another appreciable feature of this book is that it incorporates the Tarkapāda, which is absent in M.M. Anantakrishṇa Śāstrin's edition. The get-up, printing, and editing are all that can be desired. We wish that the list of errata could be dispensed with. But after all is said and done, the whole thing has been admirably performed and we extend a hearty welcome to this publication, which if studied, will go a long way in resuscitating an active interest in this neglected field of study, which is absolutely necessary for the re-interpretation of our ancient Indian culture.

SATKARI MOOKERJEE.

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VEDIC HYMNS, translated from the Rig Veda with introduction and notes (The Wisdom of the East Series), by E. J. Thomas, M.A., D.Litt.

Dr. Thomas has done a great service to scholarship by publishing this booklet consisting of 61 Vedic hymns freely rendered into English. In the introduction the author has discussed the age of the Vedas, the local colouring of the hymns, the theory of the origin of religion, the type of nature worship found in the Vedas, the rise of mythology, and the progress of monotheism. While tracing the different stages in the Vedas the author has very aptly and clearly brought out the fact that plurality of gods and the different powers that are deified and invoked through the hymns of Rig Veda came to be regarded as 'manifestations of one Ultimate Reality'. The book contains useful notes and at the outset of every hymn the author has done well by giving a brief summary for the convenience of the readers. The book under review will undoubtedly be of great help to students of Rig Veda.

KALIRANJAN MUKHERJEE.

A QUERY

I shall be glad if any reader of the *Indian Culture* will be pleased to inform me whether any printed copy of a work called *Śalya Tantra* exists; and if it does, where it is available. I have procured an extremely interesting palmleaf MS. entitled *Śalya Tantram* from Tuḷuva (modern South Kanara) dealing exclusively with what may be called provisionally black art. There are forty-nine topics dealt with in this work which has a few lacunæ here and there. Aufrecht mentions two copies of a work of that name, as Dr. L. D. Barnett is pleased to inform me, one of them being that noticed by Rājēndralāl Mitra in the latter's *Notices of Skt. MSS.*, Vol. VII, No. 2255. But Rājēndralāl's copy begins thus: Bhānuvāre samādāya śarakoṣam ca sādhakaḥ। niśāsarṣapacūrṇena lepayet tat prayatnataḥ॥ And it ends thus: Etat sarvam prayatṇena kathitaṃ tava Bhairavi guṇānvitāya dātavyaṃ na deyam yasya kasyacit. But the version I have secured begins thus: pravatṣyāmi-atha-dēvēśi Śalya-tantraṃ sudurlabhaṃ। sādhakānāṃ hitārthāya sarvēṣāṃ hitakāraṇam॥ And it ends thus: etat sarvam prayatṇena kathitaṃ tava-Bhāmini iti pārava-taṅtraṃ iti Śalya-tantraṃ samāptaṃ Ōm Śrī-Narasiṁhāya-namaḥ.

198/11, *Tilak Road,*
Poona, 2.

B. A. SALETORE.

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IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTIONS TO ORIENTAL JOURNALS

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1935.

1. The New Śaktipur Grant of Lakṣmaṇa Sena Deva and Geographical Divisions of Ancient Bengal by N. K. Bhaṭṭasālī.

   It is an interesting paper and contains many useful geographical materials.
2. New Coin Evidence from Sīstān by J. Walker.
3. On the Form of the Bhagavadgītā contained in the Kashmirian Mahābhārata by F. Otto Schrader.

   In this note Dr. Schrader points out that during the reign of the Kashmirian king Harṣa the works of Śaṅkara and his school and so the vulgate of the Gītā on which Śaṅkara's Gītā-bhāṣya is based, began to attract the attention of the Kashmirians.

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London Institution, Vol. VII, pt. 3.

1. The Four Classes of Urdu Verbs by T. G. Bailey.
2. Iranian Words in the Kharoṣṭhi Documents from Chinese Turkestan by T. Burrow.
3. Beiträge zu einer Milindapañha Bibliographie by S. Behrsing.

   It is a bibliography of books dealing with Milinda-panho, an important non-canonical Pāli book.
4. Burmese Dedicatory Inscription of A.D. 1683 by J. A. Stewart.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, December, 1934.

1. A Hittite Text on the Duties of Priests and Temple Servants by E. H. Sturtevant.

   In this paper the author gives a composite transliterated text with complete critical apparatus, and with such supplements as he can suggest. It is an interesting text and ably edited with English translations and notes.
2. On Bhagavadgītā, X, 30 by M. Winternitz.

The Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. VII, pt. II, November, 1934.

1. Europeans in the United Provinces—1580 to 1800 by Sir Edward Blunt, Kt.

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In this paper the author has given a brief history of the Europeans in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh during the period mentioned above. It is very informative, instructive and interesting.

2. The Mālavas in Ancient India by Bimala Churn Law.

This paper gives a connected and systematic account of the Mālavas who played an important part in the history of Ancient India. A geographical picture of the place occupied by the Mālavas can be drawn from this useful paper.

3. The Revolt of Tilokchand of Bardwan 1760—An Episode in the relations between the East India Company and local Chieftains of Bengal by S. N. Das Gupta.

4. The Significance of the term 'Nirgrantha' by Kamta Prasad Jain.

5. Democratic Procedure in Ancient India by Radha Kumud Mookerjee.

The topic has been very ably treated by the author in this useful paper.

6. Important Sculptures added to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, during the last decade by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal.

This illustrated paper describes six sculptures belonging to different cults, two are Jain, two Buddhist and two Brahmanical.

Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Tome XXXIII—1933, *Fasc. I.*

1. Le Mariage de Draupadī par P. V. van Stein Callenfels.

According to some scholars, Bas-relief B. 214 of Aṅkor Vàt represents the Ramayanic scene of *Dhanurbhaṅga* at the time of Sītā's marriage, while others take it to represent the Mahābhārata story of *Lakṣyabhedha* that took place during Draupadī's *svayambara*. The latter view has been supported here with additional proofs from Javanese and Malayan traditions regarding the marriage of Draupadī.

2. Les Rois Śailendra de Suvarṇadvīpa par R. C. Majumdar (translated from English by Mlle G. Naudin).

The author has given an account of the Śailendra dynasty that ruled (C. 8th–11th Cent. A.D.) over Java, Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula. He thinks that the Śailendra power first flourished in Java, and suggests that the dynasty originally belonged to Kaliṅga and extended their power in the far East from Lower Burma and the Malay Peninsula.

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3. Aṅkor Vàt, Temple on Tombeau ? par G. Cœdès.
4. Cultes indiens et indigènes au Champa par P. Mus.

The paper deals with the question of Indian influence on the culture of Campā. The author thinks that Hinduism is a combination of the local culture of native Pre-Aryans and the culture of the Indo-Aryans. He shows how the local religion of Campā has assimilated Hinduism and how Indian deities, originated from Natural phenomena, have undergone modifications in the Far East. He also deals with the cult of *Kut* and *liṅga* in Campā and with the reversion of Indian influence in that country.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Vol. XX, Part II, 1934.

1. Yajñopavīta or 'The Sacred Thread' by A. S. Altekar.

The paper gives a history of the practice of wearing Yajñopavīta from early times.

2. Baudh Undated Grant of Raṇabhañjadeva by A. C. Banerji.
3. So-called Tribal Coinages of Northern India by A. C. Banerji.

The paper deals with the history and coin-types of twelve North Indian tribes many of which had a democratic form of government. He suggests some corrections in the description of certain types of tribal coins given by previous numismatists. He has also discussed the significance of nine symbols found on ancient Indian coins.

4. A Contemporary record of Śivājī's Birth by Dasaratha Sharma.

Mr. Sharma has published a horoscope of Śivājī found in a manuscript in the Bikaner Fort Library. According to this horoscope Śivājī was born in '*Saṃvat* 1686 *varṣe Phāguṇa vadi* 3 *bhṛgau rātrigata-ghaṭī* 1 *pala* 1 *samaye siṃhalagnodaye*'.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift, Neue Folge 10, *Heft* 5, *September-October,* 1934.

A Group of early Cōḷa Bronzes by Ajit Ghose.

The author describes the artistic peculiarity of four Cōḷa bronze images—two of Viṣṇu, one of Rukmiṇī (Lakṣmī ?) and one of Lakṣmī. He places the date of the images between A.D. 875 and 1032 and suggests that they may be the earliest specimen of bronze images in Southern India.

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Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. VIII, Part IV, October–December, 1934.

1. Antiquity and Evolution of Art in India by C. Sivaramamurti.
2. Foreign trade under the Kākatīyas by K. A. Nilkantha Sastri.
   The paper deals with the foreign trade of the Andhra country under the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati and his brilliant daughter, Queen Rudrāmbā.
3. Bahurūpamiśra's Commentary on the Daśarūpaka by V. Raghavan.
   The author gives an exhaustive account of the commentary of Mahāmahopādhyāya Bahurūpamiśra on the Daśarūpaka by Dhanañjaya.
4. Five stages of Pre-Vedic Determinative-Compound-Accentuation as surmised by the Historic survivals of their Representatives in Sanskrit by C. R. Sankaran.
5. Sūktaślokāḥ by C. Kunhan Raja.
6. Subhūticandra's Commentary on the Amarakoṣa by T. R. Cintamani.

Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. III, Part III, November, 1934.

1. Śirasaṁgi Inscription of Grāmeśvara Temple by K. G. Kundangar.
   Mr. Kundangar has edited a big Kannaḍa inscription dated in the eleventh year of Cālukya Jagadekamalla's reign. The date of the epigraph is either January 2, 1030, or December 29, 1029.

Man in India, Vol. XIV, Nos. 3 *and* 4, *July–December,* 1934.

1. Anthropological Notes on some West Bengal Castes by Bhupendra Nath Datta.
   The subject matter of the paper is a comparative anthropological study of some twenty-four different castes of West Bengal.
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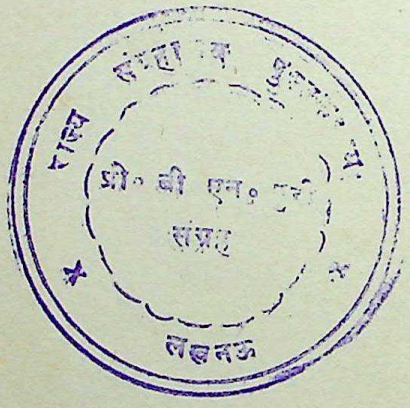

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